



the policy of the American Tract Society, and this was the first tract issued by the Tract Society which the friends of abolition started as a rival of the parent organization. His son referred to one form of his father's activity in this cause at the Colorado Republican Convention in 1893, when he declared that, when he was a boy, his home had been on "the underground railway," which helped escaping slaves to Canada; and he wrote to his mother in 1900 of having seen runaway negroes hidden in the attic of the house in Providence. Dr. Wolcott spent some time with Sherman's army before Atlanta in the service of the Christian Commission. During the latter part of his life he wrote a number of hymns, one of which is widely in use in Christian worship:

"Christ for the world we sing."

Mr. Wolcott's mother was Harriet A. Pope, of Millbury, Massachusetts. Her father, Jonathan Adams Pope, who subsequently removed to Norwich, Connecticut, was an extensive cotton-mill proprietor, and he was a grandson of the Jonathan Adams who shipped into New England the first bale of cotton ever taken to that section.

Part of the sturdiness of Mr. Wolcott's character may have come from one of his ancestors who belonged to another family, Rev. Benjamin Pomroy, of Hebron, Connecticut. His hearty co-operation in the revival methods of Jonathan Edwards, 1735-1738, led to the double charge being made against him of holding New Light views, and preaching these views without permission in the parishes of Old Light ministers. He was tried before the General Court in the Old First Church of Hartford, going in and out of the building between two lines of soldiers. The congregation were released from their obligations to pay tithes for his support, and he lived for the rest of his life on the voluntary contributions of the people. Another ancestor was Pomroy's son-in-law, David McClure, a graduate of Yale and an instructor in Moore's Indian Charity School, at the time that it was moved to the wilds of New Hampshire and transformed into Dartmouth College. There being no clergy-



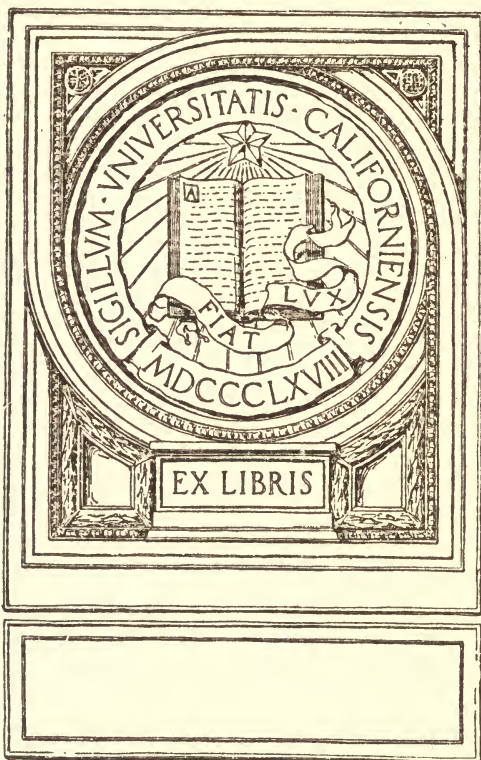
men in the neighborhood to join in the ceremony, President Eleazar Wheelock ordained McClure, and he went as a missionary to the Indians.

Dr. and Mrs. Wolcott were the parents of eleven children. All of them were born between September, 1844, the date of the birth of Samuel, and October, 1863, when Charlotte Augusta, later Mrs. Charles F. Bates, was born. All attained to manhood and womanhood except a little girl, Mary Alice, who died in infancy. In addition to Samuel, Henry, Edward, Mary Alice, and Charlotte, the children were: Harriet Agnes (Mrs. F. O. Vaille, of Denver, Colorado); Rev. William Edgar, of Lawrence, Massachusetts; Katherine Ellen (Mrs. Charles H. Toll, of Utica, New York); Anna Louisa, of Denver, Colorado; Clara Gertrude, of Lawrence, Massachusetts; Herbert Walter, of Alamogordo, New Mexico.

During an interval between pastorates the father seems to have been away from home much of the time. One of his letters, dated April 26, 1848, less than a month after young Edward's advent, makes the first written mention of the child. Saying that never again would he go away and leave his family at Longmeadow, he continues: "I can never leave you again where you are. I propose therefore until we are settled again to let Sammie stay with mother and Henry with Julia [a sister], and, storing our furniture in some convenient place, to take yourself and little Oliver—the flower of our family—with me where I go as a supply."

The warmth of feeling and the pride of family expressed in this letter remained unabated until the death of the father, almost forty years afterward. That Edward, or Oliver, as he then was called, was the father's favorite not only of all his sons, but of all his children, was conceded by the other members of the family, and, acknowledging the fact, none of them took exception to the partiality. Many references will be made throughout this narrative to the father's attachment for his third son, and it will appear that from the beginning there was a confidence in the future of the youngster, which must indicate that from a period very early in the boy's life there were discoverable traits of char-

GIFT OF  
Mr. Henry F. May

























EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

Life and Character  
of  
Edward Oliver Wolcott

Late a Senator of the United States  
from the State of Colorado

By  
Thomas Fulton Dawson

Volume I

*For Private Circulation*

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## In Place of Preface

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
June 1, 1909.

Senator Wolcott appeared before the Bar of the Supreme Court on several occasions, and I remember him as an unusually graceful and accomplished speaker, with good knowledge of the law and exceptional tact and skill in presenting his cases. He was a man of much magnetism, and the listener instinctively felt as if he wanted to agree with him. His success at the bar and in the halls of legislation was not the result of accident, but of genuine ability and real force.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Daniel C. Hansen". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
June 20, 1909.

Mr. Wolcott was a man of engaging personality; a lawyer of splendid insight; an orator of convincing power. His success in life was marked, but was not beyond his deserts. He was absolutely honest in his views, and we have had few public men who were so courageous in expressing their real convictions. Whether in private or public life he thought for himself, and he was never swerved from a purpose by self-interest or

public clamor. I was familiar with his career for twenty years, and I had a sincere admiration and real attachment for him.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "David J. Brewer". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, prominent initial "D" and a stylized "J".

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
March 4, 1909.

Edward O. Wolcott was a man of exceptional force of character. Not within my service of almost thirty years in the Senate was there a member of that body capable of more brilliant speech; but, notwithstanding his reputation was made as an orator, oratory was not the forte which most commended him to those who knew him intimately. They were drawn to him by his magnanimous nature and by numerous qualities of head and heart which compelled both admiration and affection.

Incapable of smallness of any kind, he was a man of conviction, of courage, and of strength. None could be more daring in the espousal of a cause and none more persistent in standing for a principle. His mental qualities were of a rare order. His penetration was intuitive, and his logic exact and unflinching. He was magnetic beyond most men, and when he set out to accomplish a given purpose he was quite irresistible. With a little more attention to detail and greater patience he would have excelled in executive position or at the head of a business enterprise. He detested pretence and insincerity, but he was more than generous to the unfortunate. With his intimates he was frank and hearty; to his friends he was loyal. He loved both his State and his country.

In the Senate Mr. Wolcott was perfectly at home, and his service there was highly appreciated by his associates. In legislation apparently he was impulsive; but, while he acted with promptness, he really gave careful thought to all problems, and worked on a much surer basis than many who gave more time to consideration. His legislative action was prompted by motives which placed the general welfare above individual interest. His continuance in office was desirable from every point of view, and I am confident that but for his untimely death he would have been returned to the Senate.

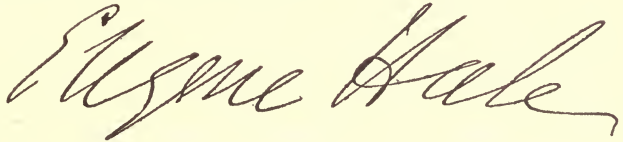
To me Mr. Wolcott's death was a personal loss. I had known him ever since his arrival in Colorado in 1871, and during that

more than a third of a century we had been on terms of intimacy. There were times when we differed on questions of public policy, but never a time when the ties of friendship did not hold.



UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
June 21, 1909.

I knew Senator Wolcott well, and I may say that our intimacy increased during all of his service in the Senate. He was a charming companion; had extensive knowledge of all of the good things in literature; enjoyed poetry and art, and was a fine orator, and, with all these accomplishments, when he put his great intellect into active and practical work, he was a most valuable legislator. He had excellent command of the best English style, and his wit and imagination made him one of the most attractive speakers I have ever known in the Senate. Some of us miss him very greatly and we will never cease to hold him in most affectionate remembrance.



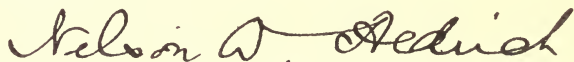
UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
August 4, 1909.

There have been few men in public life who possessed to such a degree as did Senator Wolcott the courage of his convictions.

Mr. Wolcott was a member of the Committee on Finance during much of his two terms in the Senate, and I knew him intimately. Of exceptional analytical capacity, he was quick in the perception of the points involved in any issue, and when once he arrived at a conclusion he permitted no consideration of expediency or self-interest to change him. Even though he stood alone in advocacy or in opposition, he held to views once formed, and with a conviction well established he did not hesitate to express his opinions. He was outspoken on all subjects and never hesitated to attack a sham or fraud of whatever magnitude or pretence. He spoke fluently and always spoke to the point. He was a most valuable member of the Committee

and of the Senate, and if he had remained longer in public life would have added greatly to his reputation.

Mr. Wolcott was a man of charming personality. Vivacious, well-read, quick-witted, and broadly sympathetic, association with him was always delightful. His nature was broadly generous, and if he did not spare the pretender, he was gentle and kind to the helpless or dependent. The world was made better by his life, but only his close friends can fully appreciate the loss occasioned by his death.



UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
June 23, 1909.

To me personally Senator Wolcott was a great loss. During our years of service together in the Senate, although we had often disagreed, I had grown very fond of him. He was a charming, a fascinating companion. He had not only seen much of the world, but he had strong tastes in art and literature which opened up wide fields where we had many sympathies. He was a man of great natural ability improved by reading and observation, and although not a student he made up whatever he may have lacked in sustained diligence by an unusual rapidity of acquisition. In public life and in the Senate he won a conspicuous place. He was a speaker of unusual power, one of the most brilliant I ever listened to, and with a voice and manner of delivery which, always effective, was in moments of excitement or emotion the most inspiring I have ever heard. When roused to his highest point he always made me feel as if a bugle-note was summoning cavalry to a great and victorious charge.

Added to all this were a wit and a humor which never failed and which made what he said as effective as the way he said it. I never felt that he did full justice to his remarkable natural gifts and great abilities, for he had an immense vitality and was eager to try all the enjoyments and test all the experiences of life. None the less, his career, both at the Bar and in the Senate, was a most distinguished one, and I have never ceased to miss him or to mourn for his premature death.



UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
June 22, 1909.

I knew Senator Wolcott very intimately and believe that I enjoyed a large measure of his regard and friendship. He was one of the ablest men that ever served in the Senate of the United States, and he was one of the greatest orators that ever addressed a National Convention of the Republican party. He was cultured and brilliant, was possessed of many accomplishments, and he had great sense of humor. I deeply regretted as a personal loss his untimely death, and, with all who knew him well, I greatly miss him and hold his memory in affectionate remembrance.

*Boies Penrose*



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# Youth and Young Manhood



## BIRTH AND FAMILY

EDWARD OLIVER WOLCOTT, of Denver, was born in Longmeadow, Massachusetts, March 26, 1848; served for a few months as private in the 150th Regiment of Ohio Volunteers in 1864; entered Yale College in 1866, but did not graduate; graduated from Harvard Law School in 1871, and removed to Colorado; is a lawyer; was elected District Attorney and a member of the State Senate in the same year; was elected to the United States Senate as a Republican, to succeed Thomas M. Bowen, Republican, and took his seat March 4, 1889. (Senator Wolcott's autobiography as printed in the *Congressional Directory* for the first session of the 51st Congress.)

In these few words Mr. Wolcott has left us the story of his life. It is such a contribution as all Senators and Representatives make to the *Congressional Directory*, although briefer than most of them. But, brief as it is, it is the only approach that he ever made to preparation of a biography of himself. Necessarily it is a bare skeleton, but it is accurate except in the one statement concerning his election as District Attorney and as State Senator. The first of these came in 1876 and the latter in 1878. With this correction, it would answer all the purposes of an outline of his career if it had contained two additional notations, namely, that in January, 1895, Mr. Wolcott received his second election to the Senate, and that, because his party was in the minority in the Colorado Legislature in 1901, he failed to be chosen at that time.

These data would finish the record, and as a record complete the skeleton.

But the flesh and blood—the strong heart, the teeming

brain, the smile, the tear; the eloquent utterance, the genial countenance, the dash, the courage; the animating purpose, the varied experience, the integrity of conduct; the struggle, the triumph, all that go to create human interest—they are lacking. They do not belong in a *Congressional Directory*; they do not come in “franked” publications.

Hence this book.

Longmeadow, the place of Mr. Wolcott's birth, is a quiet New England village, consisting of one broad elm-shaded street, near Springfield. It is a satisfactory place in which to be born; a place to get away from when the life struggle begins in earnest; a place to return to when there is no longer necessity for such struggle, and when there is nothing left to do but to rest and meditate.

It was in this village that Edward Wolcott's father and mother took up their abode after their marriage in 1843, and here their two oldest children, Samuel Adams and Henry Roger, as well as Edward Oliver, were born; and it was to this village that Father Wolcott and Mother Wolcott returned to spend the last years of their lives after they had reared their large family and established most of its members in the world. After the return of the family, it was with Senator Wolcott a favorite place of resort, largely, of course, because the family were there, and also because it afforded retreat from the world—a world which, while it brought fame to him, brought care also.

The two older brothers were given names which long had been indented with the family, but in Edward's case there was a partial departure from this custom. The name Oliver, applied originally probably in honor of Oliver Cromwell, was sanctioned by long family use, but that of Edward was new and seems to have been appropriated because of mere fancy. For a time apparently the middle name was preferred by its owner and by the family; but afterward it gave way to the first, and in time this Christian name, or its abbreviation, and the surname came to be so welded together that each seemed almost a part of the other. Throughout his life Mr. Wolcott was known to his friends and largely to the public as “Ed” Wolcott.

The subject of our memoir was not the first of the name

to attain distinction. Prior to his time the Wolcott family numbered among its members one signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of Washington's Cabinet, and three governors of Connecticut, and contemporaneously with him there was a governor of Massachusetts, who bore the Wolcott name and was a distant relative. But Edward Oliver is the only member of the connection who has occupied a seat in the national Senate.

Mr. Wolcott seldom referred to the standing of his family, but he was not unmindful nor unappreciative of it. He had the coat-of-arms printed, and he was fond of picking up relics of the deceased members who had achieved fame. During his speech as temporary chairman of the Republican State Convention, held at Colorado Springs in September, 1896, when some irresponsible persons were addressing open letters to him asking for his resignation as Senator, he read one of the demands to the Convention. Commenting upon it, he said that "Wolcott" appeared as the name of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, but that he failed to see any of his traducers' names among those attached to that transcendantly important historical document.

That the family had ranked well in England is shown by a story connected with its coat-of-arms. The shield of the coat includes three chess-rooks, the use of which was authorized by Henry V. to one of the Wolcott ancestors who checkmated the King in a game of chess. Following is a description of the arms:

**SHIELD:** Argent a Cheveron between three Chess-Rooks ermined.

**CREST:** A Bull's Head, erased argent, armed or ducally gorged, lined and ringed, of the last.

**MOTTO:** Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.

The motto is a line from the Latin poet Horace. Translated literally, it means, "Accustomed to swear by the words of no master." Dr. Wolcott, the Senator's father, interpreted it as a pronouncement against taking anything on trust. In reality, it was a declaration of independence, and as such is as much an indication of the character of the modern, as it could have been of the ancient, Wolcotts.



The family immigrant, Henry Wolcott, came from Tolland, in Somersetshire, where the family had lived for many generations, and where some of their tombs stand by the side of the ancient church. He came early in the Puritan migration, sailing from Plymouth, England, March 20, 1630. He was one of the company who settled at Dorchester, Massachusetts, but who in 1636 joined the movement to Connecticut under the leadership of Rev. Thomas Hooker. The members of the party from the Massachusetts towns of Dorchester, Watertown, and New Town, now Cambridge, settled the three Connecticut towns respectively of Windsor, Weathersfield, and Hartford, Mr. Wolcott going with his associates to Windsor. We are told that he was a "stout-hearted and God-fearing man," and that after the pastor "he was probably the most distinguished man in Windsor." He was a member of the Connecticut General Court or Legislature almost from the time of his arrival until his death. He also was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1637. The settlers had been led to change their abode largely by their opposition to the oligarchical ideas which prevailed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and the utterance of this Convention naturally was pronounced in its democracy. The Connecticut Constitution is the first document on record which establishes a government by the simple will of those who are to be governed by it, and in this respect it was the model for the Constitution of the United States. Hooker's sermon before this Convention, which contains the first suggestion of this fundamental law, was preserved to the world in outline in a short-hand note-book of a member of the Wolcott family.

While through intermarriage, Senator Wolcott traced his lineage to two of the sons and one of the daughters of the founder of the American house, the direct male descent was through Simon, the youngest son of Henry, as was that of the three Wolcotts who were governors of Connecticut and also that of the late Governor Roger Wolcott of Massachusetts. The division came in the second generation from the original Henry Wolcott, the founder of the American family. Henry's son Simon was the father of Henry, William, and Roger. The last-named was the first Wolcott who occupied

the gubernatorial chair, and his son Oliver and the latter's son, also named Oliver, succeeded him in turn in that office. The elder of the Olivers was the member of the family whose name is attached to the Declaration of Independence, and the younger was Secretary of the Treasury in the Washington and John Adams Cabinets, succeeding Alexander Hamilton, the first occupant of the office.

In his eulogy, delivered in Boston in 1901, on the character of Governor Wolcott of Massachusetts, then recently deceased, Senator Lodge paid high tribute to the Wolcott family, saying in part:

We here have one of the rare instances of a family which, starting in America with a man of fortune and good estate, always retained its position in the community. In the main line at least it never encountered the vicissitudes which attend nearly all families in the course of two hundred and fifty years. The name never dropped out of sight, but was always borne up by its representatives in the same place in society as that held by the founder. More remarkable still, in almost every generation there was at least one of the lineal male descendants of the first immigrants who rose to the very highest positions in military, political, and judicial life. The list of judges, governors, generals, Cabinet officers, and members of Congress in this pedigree is a long and striking one. From the days of the Somersetshire gentleman to those of the present generation, which has given a Governor to Massachusetts and a brilliant Senator from Colorado to the United States, the Wolcotts, both as soldiers and civilians, have rendered service to their country, eminent as it has been unbroken. War and statecraft were in the blood of this race, and can we wonder that they have found fitting exemplars in our own time? It is not a name made illustrious by some single ancestor in a dim past and suffered to rust unused by descendants who were content with the possession of a trade-mark. Here is a long roll of honor, where the son felt that he would be unworthy of his father if he did not add fresh lustre to the name he bore by service to his State and country, either in the hour of trial or in the pleasant paths of peace.

Simon Wolcott did not come to America with his father as did three older sons. He was only five years of age

when his father sailed, and he did not join the family until 1640, ten years later. His second marriage was romantic. Included among the temporary residents of Windsor one winter after young Simon grew to man's estate and had been married and become a widower, was an attractive young English lady named Martha Pitkin, sister of the Attorney-General of the Colony. She had come only for a visit, but owing to the scarcity of members of her sex, it was conceived to be against public policy to permit her return. The elders of the community put their heads together and decided that the most available marriageable man of the town should court her with a view to matrimony, and thus insure her retention in the community. They concluded that Simon Wolcott was most likely to be successful in such a suit. The result of the plotting was an early match, and in the union the branch of the family most productive of men of distinction had its origin. Among their sons was Henry Wolcott, second, who was the father of Gideon, who fought the Indians, and who became the father of Samuel who served with distinction in the Revolutionary War. This Samuel was the father of Elihu and the grandfather of the Dr. Samuel Wolcott who was the father of Senator Wolcott.

There was, however, far more of the original Wolcott blood in Edward Wolcott's veins than this tracing alone shows. It ran back not only through Simon, but through Henry the second and through Mary, his sister, to Henry, the Englishman. The connection with the Henry and Mary branches of the family came through the marriage of General Samuel Wolcott of the Revolutionary period to Jerusha Wolcott. She was the daughter of General Erastus Wolcott, a son of Governor Roger Wolcott, of Connecticut, and Jerusha, his wife, who had come down in direct line from the second Henry. Going back still farther, Roger Wolcott, Erastus's father, had married his cousin, Sarah Drake, daughter of Mary, the wife of Job Drake and daughter of the first Henry. Thus our subject was a Wolcott of the Wolcotts.

Elihu Wolcott, Senator Wolcott's grandfather, was the first of the family to go West. In 1830 he established himself at Jacksonville, Illinois, which at the time seemed to

have better prospects than the settlement about Fort Dearborn, on the Chicago River.

Dr. Samuel Wolcott, the Senator's father, was born at South Windsor, July 13th, seventeen years before the migration westward, and died at Longmeadow in February, 1886. He was a graduate of Yale College in 1833 and of Andover Theological Seminary in 1837. After a brief missionary service in Syria, he returned to the United States, where he had Congregational pastorates at Longmeadow and Belcher-town, Massachusetts; Providence, Rhode Island; Chicago, Illinois; and Cleveland, Ohio. The influences amid which he was reared are revealed in a letter which he wrote in 1864, accepting an appointment as one of the trustees of a fund for a monument to Elijah and Owen Lovejoy. He says:

With Owen Lovejoy I was personally acquainted, and I honor his memory as that of a brave and true man. The heroism of his conflict with oppression renders any monument unnecessary to perpetuate his fame; but the proposed memorial will convey a valuable lesson to the living, and be an incitement to public virtue.

I did not personally know the elder brother, Elijah Lovejoy, Freedom's proto-martyr in our age and land, whose name is properly associated with that of the younger in death, as it was an inspiration to him while living; but my honored father was by his side when he fell in defence of our common liberties. I was then a young man, living in the city of Boston, and attended the meeting which, amid much obloquy, was called in old Faneuil Hall, at the instance of Dr. Channing, to take some suitable notice of this tragedy. I there listened to the calm counsels of this venerable Christian orator and philanthropist, to the unworthy sophistries of the Attorney-General of the State, and to the triumphant, maiden speech of Wendell Phillips, who drew eloquence from the mute lips of Warren, looking down from the wall. Wonderful is the progress which has been made in our quarter of a century! May we not reasonably anticipate, within our short lustrum, the complete justification of our triumph of liberty?

He was an active participant in the discussion awakened by the Fugitive Slave Law. It was a tract of his, "The Bible against Slavery," which precipitated the discussion of



the policy of the American Tract Society, and this was the first tract issued by the Tract Society which the friends of abolition started as a rival of the parent organization. His son referred to one form of his father's activity in this cause at the Colorado Republican Convention in 1893, when he declared that, when he was a boy, his home had been on "the underground railway," which helped escaping slaves to Canada; and he wrote to his mother in 1900 of having seen runaway negroes hidden in the attic of the house in Providence. Dr. Wolcott spent some time with Sherman's army before Atlanta in the service of the Christian Commission. During the latter part of his life he wrote a number of hymns, one of which is widely in use in Christian worship:

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Part of the sturdiness of Mr. Wolcott's character may have come from one of his ancestors who belonged to another family, Rev. Benjamin Pomroy, of Hebron, Connecticut. His hearty co-operation in the revival methods of Jonathan Edwards, 1735-1738, led to the double charge being made against him of holding New Light views, and preaching these views without permission in the parishes of Old Light ministers. He was tried before the General Court in the Old First Church of Hartford, going in and out of the building between two lines of soldiers. The congregation were released from their obligations to pay tithes for his support, and he lived for the rest of his life on the voluntary contributions of the people. Another ancestor was Pomroy's son-in-law, David McClure, a graduate of Yale and an instructor in Moore's Indian Charity School, at the time that it was moved to the wilds of New Hampshire and transformed into Dartmouth College. There being no clergy-

men in the neighborhood to join in the ceremony, President Eleazar Wheelock ordained McClure, and he went as a missionary to the Indians.

Dr. and Mrs. Wolcott were the parents of eleven children. All of them were born between September, 1844, the date of the birth of Samuel, and October, 1863, when Charlotte Augusta, later Mrs. Charles F. Bates, was born. All attained to manhood and womanhood except a little girl, Mary Alice, who died in infancy. In addition to Samuel, Henry, Edward, Mary Alice, and Charlotte, the children were: Harriet Agnes (Mrs. F. O. Vaille, of Denver, Colorado); Rev. William Edgar, of Lawrence, Massachusetts; Katherine Ellen (Mrs. Charles H. Toll, of Utica, New York); Anna Louisa, of Denver, Colorado; Clara Gertrude, of Lawrence, Massachusetts; Herbert Walter, of Alamogordo, New Mexico.

During an interval between pastorates the father seems to have been away from home much of the time. One of his letters, dated April 26, 1848, less than a month after young Edward's advent, makes the first written mention of the child. Saying that never again would he go away and leave his family at Longmeadow, he continues: "I can never leave you again where you are. I propose therefore until we are settled again to let Sammie stay with mother and Henry with Julia [a sister], and, storing our furniture in some convenient place, to take yourself and little Oliver—the flower of our family—with me where I go as a supply."

The warmth of feeling and the pride of family expressed in this letter remained unabated until the death of the father, almost forty years afterward. That Edward, or Oliver, as he then was called, was the father's favorite not only of all his sons, but of all his children, was conceded by the other members of the family, and, acknowledging the fact, none of them took exception to the partiality. Many references will be made throughout this narrative to the father's attachment for his third son, and it will appear that from the beginning there was a confidence in the future of the youngster, which must indicate that from a period very early in the boy's life there were discoverable traits of char-

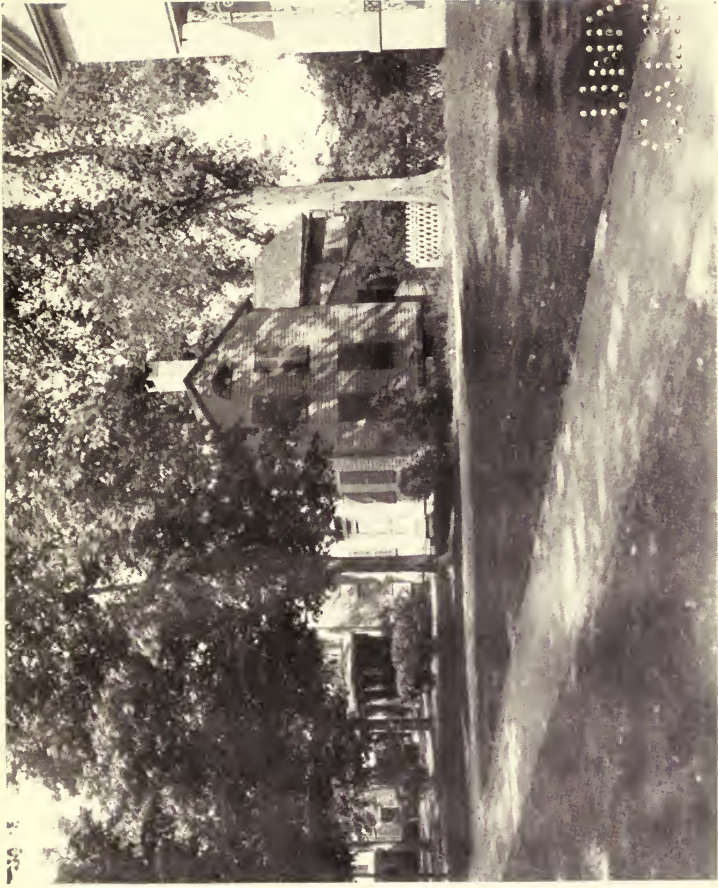
acter which made him appear unusual and of more than ordinary promise. So pronounced, indeed, was his precocity that the fact is emphasized by the next mention of the boy which we discover in the family correspondence. This is found in a letter from Edward's grandfather under the date of February 2, 1849, when, after expressing his goodwill toward his daughter-in-law, the mother of the three grandsons, he asks: "How are the three charming boys, Samuel, with his ardor and vivacity; Henry, with his sober thoughtfulness, and Edward with his gubernatorial dignity?"

Here is a suggestion of superiority sufficiently noticeable in the young Edward to attract attention even then, and the father falls into the same thought in a letter dated at Norwich, Connecticut, in April, 1849, when Ed was only a year old. Writing to his wife on that date he tells of his recent arrival from New London, "just three weeks from the day I parted from you and *the governor*." Repeating the same idea he closes thus: "Kiss the dear little fellows for their father, and with especial charge to Samuel always to obey his dear mother, and a polite request to *the governor* to hold his head up like a man, I close, etc."

From Longmeadow the family removed to Belchertown, Massachusetts, in 1849, and remaining there until 1853, went thence to Providence, Rhode Island, whence in 1859 they removed to Chicago, Illinois. A residence was maintained in Chicago until 1862, after which Cleveland, Ohio, became the family home and remained such until 1884, when the family returned to Longmeadow, where they continued to reside until after Mother Wolcott's death in 1901. Henry and Edward spent the last two or three Providence summers on a farm in Belchertown. They were there when the family started west and joined them *en route*.

#### EARLY DAYS IN THE WEST

We hear comparatively little of the progress of the subject of our writing until he begins to tell his own story in 1860. It may well be imagined, however, that his life was much like that of most New England boys; that he was kept as constantly at school as was possible during week



BIRTHPLACE OF SENATOR WOLCOTT AT LONGMEADOW, MASS.





days, and that on Sundays, after he became large enough, he was an habitual attendant at Sunday-school and occasionally at church. One of the Belchertown traditions is that, being once in the father's pew with the oldest brother, he became so restless that his father, who occupied the pulpit, paused in his sermon and said, "Samuel, take your little brother home." This was characteristic of him throughout life. He always was restless and impatient under restraint. That in his youth he was robust, vigorous, assertive of his own rights, even at so early an age, and yet jovial, and well disposed, and popular with his playmates and with the family, all who remember him at that time agree. He seems to have had an especial friend in the person of his teacher at Providence, a Miss Butts, a portion of one of whose letters to him of date of February 15, 1860, has been preserved. The letter manifests a keen interest in the entire family, but it shows especially that even before leaving for the home in Chicago young Edward, then only eleven years old, had so favorably impressed himself upon a discriminating and cultured woman that she found correspondence with him enjoyable. Her letter was in response to one from him, and she says: "It is vacation week here and the street is filled with children. I look out of the window, almost expecting to see you upon the brick walk, or sliding in the gutter, and running swiftly across to the opposite side as you used to do."

The Chicago to which the family went in 1859 was not yet out of its swaddling bands. The city was being raised out of the marshes, and the board sidewalks were interrupted every few feet by steps between lots of different heights. But some of the greatest events of that important era took place within the limits of the young city, and the father's intense interest in public affairs communicated itself to his household. One member of the family recalls that on the day of John Brown's execution a feeling of gloom pervaded the house as from a personal bereavement. The Republican National Convention which nominated Lincoln was held at the old Wigwam, after which there followed the campaign, the election, the secession of the Southern States, the enlistment of troops, and the first battles of the

war, particularly the capture of Fort Donelson. The excitement of those days throbbed as fiercely in Chicago as anywhere in the land, and a lad in his teens, eager and alert, could not but be affected by it. He was one of the crowd of boys who followed the funeral procession of Stephen A. Douglas to the burial place at the south end of the city.

His early impressions of his new home are shown in the following letter written, five months after his arrival, to a brother who had remained with the relatives at Norwich:

CHICAGO, Feb. 16, 1860.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

Father brought your letters from the Post-office this afternoon, and as Willie is answering his letter I thought I would write a note to go with it. We have had a great deal of good skating here and but very little snow, but the reason there are not many on the ponds is because they are down by the lake shore and the wind blows so strong that it is n't any fun.

Mr. Thomas, who is one of the managers of the "Young Men's Association" gives me the privilege of taking out any books from the library that I choose. I like Chicago very much indeed. Howard block in Providence would look almost like a shanty by the side of these great seven- and eight-story marble buildings, and there is ever so much more going on here than there is East. There are five steam engines here in Chicago, and I have seen them work.

There are more Dutchmen here in Chicago than you ever saw, and on some of the most important streets in the city you see the sign up almost everywhere, "Wines and Liquors of all sorts"; "Lager Beer," and "Sands pale XXX, etc."

It is very level here and the highest natural hill in Chicago is a mound about four feet high in the yard of one of our neighbors. Henry and I have got a cabinet and the other boys around have given us a great many curiosities.

Please tell Auntie that we are very much obliged to her for our caps that she sent us. Please give my love to Addie and all the rest of the folks.

But I must go to bed

So good-bye.

From your affectionate brother

E. OLIVER WOLCOTT.

The Chicago experience was brought to an end by the

removal of the family to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1862. The Standard Oil Company had not come into existence and the iron industry was in its infancy when the family reached Cleveland. The population numbered only about fifty thousand. The family home was on the south side of Euclid Avenue, then Euclid Street, not yet paved.

Ed soon entered the old Central High School, near the corner of Euclid and Erie streets, and, like all the pupils, acquired an affection for Dr. Sterling, who was the head of the school. He always was fond of reproducing the manner of his first grammar-school principal, a pompous and loud-voiced man, who would interrupt his morning Bible reading to impose discipline, with such an effect as this: "Then the King Ahasuerus said unto Esther the queen and Mordecai, the Jew,—ah, ah, Herrick, go out into the hall."

#### FIRST PUBLIC SERVICE

At this time, the war was pulsating through the air. A camp was established in the edge of the city; troops were going and coming; there were military funerals occasionally; many veterans wounded or otherwise disabled were about the streets; the truth as to affairs at the front, tragic enough of itself, was aggravated by numberless rumors from newspapers and private letters; the work of relief was vigorously carried on by the Sanitary and Christian Commission and other agencies, and the recruiting was supplemented by drafting men for military service. Henry and Edward had belonged to boys' military companies in Chicago, and were naturally not indifferent to what was going on about them.

At last a call was issued for recruits for a hundred days, and the temptation could not be resisted. Henry was barely of the age required. If, in order to be enrolled, Edward added a year or two to his age, let us trust that it was one of those faults which the sympathetic tear of the recording angel blots out of the Judgment Book.

He served for a brief period as a private soldier during the last days of the war. He was a member of Company D, 150th Regiment of the Ohio National Guard, and during the summer of 1864 was stationed at a small fortification

erected near Washington for the defence of the capital city. The place was called "Fort Saratoga," and Mr. Wolcott tells us in one of the letters written by him at that time and still preserved, that the men used the name facetiously as an indication that they were out for a summer vacation. "The boys here say," he writes, "that they are spending the summer at Saratoga Springs." That they made a holiday of their camping experience is evident from the character of the few and brief letters written by him during that period.

Many of Mr. Wolcott's friends recall slighting references by him to his military career, and with some he left the impression that the experience was an unpleasant one. His letters do not so indicate. That he did not at all times quite enjoy the "rations," and that occasionally there was a little more rough work than was agreeable to him is apparent. But that in the main the service was entirely to his liking, his letters bear abundant testimony. True, he complained of not having a chance to meet the enemy, and this appears to have been his principal cause of dissatisfaction. Naturally in his later years he felt that he had not played a great part in the war, and there were in his day so many persons who were disposed to make capital out of a military experience, however trivial, that he minimized his service. The truth is that he did perform real service for his country at a time of peril, and that he was impatient because he did not have opportunity to do more than he did. He enlisted for a hundred days when he was only sixteen years of age. He served for the entire hundred days and expressed his willingness to continue for another period of like duration. While brief and limited in its opportunities, his military experience was in every way creditable. He appears not to have shirked his duty and to have been willing to accept the conditions of the life of a private, rough though they necessarily must have been.

Mere youth that he was, our young soldier probably had little realization of how important a part he was playing in the great civil conflict. He saw only one battle, that at Fort Stevens, when that fort was attacked by General Jubal A. Early, and that from a distance; but on the result of that en-



counter, fortunately favorable to the Union arms, depended the fate of the national capital. The troops of which Mr. Wolcott's regiment was a part formed the defence of the City of Washington at a critical period in the war as Fort Saratoga was one of a series of sixty-eight forts with which the city was encircled.

Early in the war,—just after the great scare caused by the Bull Run disaster, indeed,—Congress had been aroused to the necessity of protecting the capital against possible invasion, and the systematic fortification of the city was undertaken in earnest. Latterly, however, fright had given place to confidence, and the force of experienced soldiery which had been detailed to man these works had been drawn away to the assistance of General Grant who then was engaged in his campaign in the Wilderness. A call was made for raw troops to occupy the Washington defence works. These were drawn largely from an enlistment of one-hundred-day men supplied by the Western States, of which in this service Ohio led the list. There were three regiments in the works from that State, consisting of the 150th, the 151st, and the 170th, and “our soldier” belonged to the first of the list.

Fort Saratoga was one of the smaller fortifications of a series of twenty-two forts lying between the Potomac River and the Anacostia, or Eastern Branch. It lay near the old Bladensburg road running north from Washington and was almost midway between the more pretentious works known as Fort Lincoln, on the Eastern Branch, and Fort Bunker Hill, well to the westward and toward Fort Stevens. Saratoga Fort was what is technically known as a lunette. It had a face of one hundred feet, was supplemented with stockaded gorges, and it occupied a commanding position for cross-fire in case of attack on Fort Bunker Hill.

Fortunately for the purposes of history Brigadier-General J. G. Barnard, who was the engineer in charge of the construction of these works, has left a detailed account of them, and we have deemed it worth while to here reproduce a brief extract from that report, as follows:

From a few isolated works, covering bridges, or commanding

a few especially important points, was developed a connected system of fortification by which every prominent point, at intervals of eight hundred to one thousand yards, was occupied by an inclosed field-fort, every important approach or depression of ground, unseen from the forts, swept by a battery for field-guns, and the whole connected by rifle-trenches which were in fact lines of infantry parapet, furnishing emplacement for two ranks of men and affording covered communication along the line, while roads were opened wherever necessary, so that troops and artillery could be moved rapidly from one point of the immense periphery to another, or under cover, from point to point along the line.

The woods which prevailed along many parts of the line were cleared for a mile or two in front of the works, the counter-scarps of which were surrounded by abattis. Bomb-proofs were provided in nearly all the forts; all guns not solely intended for distant fire, placed in embrasure and well traversed; secure and well-ventilated magazines, ample to contain one hundred rounds per gun, constructed; the original crude structures, built after designs given in text-books for "field fortification," replaced by others, on plans experience developed, or which the increased powers of modern artillery made necessary. All commanding points on which an enemy would be likely to concentrate artillery to overpower that of one or more of our forts or batteries were subjected not only to the fires, direct and cross, of many points along the line, but also from heavy rifled guns from distant points unattainable by the enemy's field-guns. With all these developments the lines certainly approximated to the maximum degree of strength which can be attained from unrevetted earthworks. They would probably realize in some degree the qualities attributed to fortified lines by Napoleon, though being but unrevetted earthworks, they were scarcely what his dictum contemplated.

When, in July, 1864, Early appeared before Washington, all the artillery regiments which had constituted the garrisons of the works and which were experienced in the use of the artillery, had been withdrawn and their places mainly filled by a few regiments of "one-hundred-days men," just mustered into the service. The advantage, under these circumstances, of established lines of infantry parapet, and prepared emplacements for field-guns, can hardly be overestimated. Bodies of hastily-organized men, such as teamsters, quartermasters' men, citizen volunteers, etc., sent out to the lines, could hardly go amiss.

Under other circumstances it would have been almost impossible speedily to have got them into any proper position and to have kept them in it. With equal facility the movable batteries of field-guns found, without a moment's delay, their appropriate places where, covered from the enemy's fire, they occupied the very best positions which the topography afforded.

The armament of the defences was composed mainly of twenty-four- and thirty-two-pounder guns on seacoast carriages, with a limited proportion of twenty-four-pound siege guns, rifled Parrott guns, and guns on field carriages of light calibre. Magazines were provided for one hundred rounds of ammunition, and some of the more important works had a considerable extent of bomb-proof cover, under which about one third of the garrison might comfortably sleep and nearly all take temporary shelter.

Four of the boy soldier's letters have been preserved, and they afford an interesting insight into the life which so many of the young sons of America then were living in the effort to bring to a close the civil strife with which the country was convulsed. There also is one brief letter of the period from the young man's mother. It presents a striking though brief glimpse of the other side of the picture. His letters are all written with lead pencil, and most of them are on half sheets of paper, because more was unavailable. Although he does not say so they probably were written upon barrels or boxes, and some of them indicate that the writing-table was not exceptionally clean.

All of the letters were dated in July, 1864. There is nothing from him in either May, June, or August, the other months included in his service. The first of the letters was written July 3d and comprises only a few lines. It is directed to his mother and is written from "Headquarters, Company D, 150th O. N. G." His first announcement indicated him to be what the soldier-boys of the day called a "forager." The waste spots and old fields around Washington are full of blackberry-bearing briars, and the berries ripen about the first of July. They are delicious to the taste of almost any one, and they must have been especially agreeable to the army men who were living on hardtack



and side-bacon. Here is his first sentence: "I have just come from blackberrying." Then he announces that he had picked three quarts of the fruit in less than an hour, which indicates that he had found a place where there had not been too many ahead of him. Three brief sentences follow, and they relate to the routine duty. "There is," he says, "only one company stationed at our fort, and we have more duty to do than any other company. We have to 'go on' every three days. It's rather tough."

The next letter bears date of July 8th, and is written on a whole sheet of paper, showing that the boy's fortunes had improved somewhat. In this he tells of having received a letter from his father enclosing a photograph of his mother. Expressing his gratification over the receipt of the picture, which he said was a good one, he adds: "I shall value it more than all the boxes or greenbacks that you could ever send." The reference to boxes and greenbacks was based upon previous requests of his own, which he afterward explained. Further along in this letter, he says: "I don't want father to think that because I wanted 'a box' I am discontented with Government fare and with the service. I only asked so that I might be on equal terms with the rest of the boys. On the contrary, I think there is not one in the regiment that takes things as easy and enjoys himself as much as E. O. Wolcott." He then explains a report which seems to have reached his home that the members of the regiment were discontented and dissatisfied with the service. Mentioning by name the author of this report, he said that that gentleman had taken home a wrong idea about the regiment. "The only men," he says, "that he knew were old fogies like himself, who of course would want to stay here. But the majority of the fellows were eager to go to the front. Anyway," and here Mr. Wolcott drops into a real Wolcott-like argument, the convincing character of which marked his after years; "anyway," he says, "those persons that stay at home doing nothing for their country had not better say anything to those boys who have gone from home not knowing where they were going, and are taking the place of veterans, who, of course, are better fighters than the 150th."

There are three sections to this letter. The first portion evidently was written early in the forenoon. At noon we have an addition, due to the most exciting episode of his military experience, the attack by General Early on Fort Stevens. Mr. Wolcott's company was an integral part of the force which prevented the capture of the city by the troops under General Early. Practically this was the last of the acts of offensive warfare on the part of the Confederate forces. If it had been successful it would have given the rebel armies a prestige such as at that time could have been achieved by no other single effort.

When in 1864 the Union forces under General Grant were crowding Robert E. Lee's command at every turn in Virginia, the commander of the Confederate troops conceived the idea of "building a fire" in his opponent's rear, and to that end selected Early to head a column of select Southern troops to invade Northern Virginia and Maryland with especial instructions to "threaten Washington." Fort Stevens was the scene of the principal conflict growing out of this manœuvre. This engagement consisted of a series of skirmishes on Monday and Tuesday the 11th and 12th of July.

Describing his experience General Early tells us how he led his worn and battered veterans down the road in the expectation of getting possession of the fort, which was only two or three miles out of Washington, with the intention of making it the base of his operations against the capital city, and how also he was led to change his plans. He says that while early in the morning of the 12th he was making a reconnoissance, and under his own eyes, "a column of the enemy filed into the works on the right and left and skirmishers were thrown out in front, while the artillery fire was opened on us from a number of batteries. . . . This," he adds without further comment, "defeated our hopes of getting possession of the works by surprise and it became necessary to reconnoitre."

These observations were sufficient to convince the Confederate leader of the futility of his enterprise, and he wisely decided to withdraw—not, however, until several hundred good men had been lost on both sides.

The force under command of Early has been variously placed at from 8000 to 30,000 men, the former being Early's figure and the latter the estimate of Major-General Alexander McD. McCook, who commanded the Union forces. General Barnard accepts neither of these estimates, but fixes the number at between 13,000 and 20,000. There were about 20,000 Union men in the works. Most of them were soon concentrated near Fort Stevens, the point of attack, where General McCook made his headquarters. The defensive force consisted in the main of new recruits, but there were some regulars. Many convalescents from the hospitals and not a few quartermaster's employees also were summoned to the scene, in the hope that they might be serviceable in case the attack became formidable. There is no doubt that as Early afterwards wrote, he succeeded in giving Washington "a good fright."

Wolcott's command was located only two or three miles distant from Fort Stevens and unquestionably would have been called into service if Early had not desisted from his assault. The young soldier could easily hear the firing of the artillery and, he tells us, he enjoyed seeing the bombs burst at night. As it was, a portion of his regiment was in the thick of the fight and some of the members of the 150th held the place of pickets when, in the hot afternoon of the 11th of July, General Early rode down the dusty Rockville pike with the hope of continuing into Washington.

The second section of young Wolcott's letter of July 8th was written just after the receipt of the news of the arrival of the invaders. "Orders came two hours ago," he says, "for no one to leave the camp, to drill four hours heavy artillery drill, and to spend all the rest of the time cutting the brush away from around the fort. This looks like work. It is on account of a rebel raid. I wish that the rebs *would* come up this way; I'd have something to write about."

At 6 o'clock there was another addition, in which, after complaining that he had failed to receive through the mail of the day either a letter or a paper, he adds: "We have just come from cutting that underbush. It's mean work I assure you. About fifty or seventy-five mounted guerillas

were seen to-day prowling around the country six or seven miles from here. It is supposed that the guerillas were raised in the City of Washington."

The next letter, bearing date of July 22d, presents a real touch of war color. Here it is:

Head Quarters Co D 150 O N G

FORT SARATOGA

July 22 1864

MY DEAR MOTHER:

I received your letters of the 12th and 14th two days ago. The mails are 8 days behind in Washington. The reason that I have not written before is that we have been too busy.

For the past week we have slept on our arms at our posts by the cannon and the cannon have been kept loaded. The rebels were about 3 miles from us. Two companies of the 150th were engaged. We did n't get a single shot at them. I saw the rebels at one time drawn up in line of battle near Bladensburg. The rest of the time there were hills between us. It looked grand at night to see the shells bursting in the air.

I went over to the battle-field yesterday and got a few trophies. At one place a rebel was buried with his head and arms sticking out. It was an awful sight. But I must n't describe it all, for this is all the paper I can raise now. Several boys owe me a sheet or two and I think that I shall get along. I now owe letters to 11 different persons, but I am going to stop writing to all except my parents. It does n't pay.

We will be home now in about three weeks; then I can tell you all about our campaign. I received a letter from Hen last night. He is well.

When convenient send a dollar. I'll make it up and more too when I get home.

Your affectionate son,

ED.

The fourth and last of the war letters, dated July 31st, mentions the fact that Ed's father and his brothers Sam and Henry were both at the front. He expressed the hope that they might return home safe, "as yours respectfully means to do." Then he referred to the near approach of the expiration of his service, for this was only two weeks distant, and added the opinion that he would get away at the appointed time. There was ever a strong attachment on



Mr. Wolcott's part for his father, and he was especially fond of his brother Henry. Expressing the belief that Henry would not return for a fortnight after his arrival, he added: "Will Father be home when we return? If he is n't it will spoil half the pleasure of getting home." The remainder of the letter is worth quoting. It follows:

I think that at the end of this hundred days I will look back to it as the pleasantest time I ever spent. We have been in a healthy place, not much to do, and have had the satisfaction of being within two miles of the rebels and seeing them drawn up in line of battle. To be sure it would be better to have had a skirmish, but *we* came pretty near it and two companies of the 150th were engaged and one man killed.

By the way, you say that they will try and keep us another hundred days. We've heard very little of it here, but I would n't object to going for another hundred days, if we could have a furlough, and if we didn't have to go back to the same place again. The boys here say that they are spending the summer at "Saratoga Springs."

We don't have very good rations now. The Government does n't issue any soft bread, nothing but hardtack, and that's wormy. It has also cut down the ration of fresh beef. If it was n't for the cabbages, cucumbers, tomatoes, and apples that we forage, I don't know what we would do.

If you have a spare greenback that you can't possibly spend on 10 children please send it along. I suppose, mother, that this asking for money at the end of a letter spoils it, but I can't help it. Things are so high here that money only goes a little ways.

The one letter written to Ed by a member of his family during his soldier days which has been preserved was from his mother and bears the date of July 13, 1864. In the main, this letter is a mere recital of the activities of other members of the family, but it contains some sentences which are more general. Expressing her pleasure over the cheerful mood observed in her son's letters, she says: "The reports in our papers make me very anxious, and yet I can hardly think the rebels will venture to attack Washington. I do hope the Government will be able to capture and destroy these raiders." Speaking then of her desire to have

her family gathered around her at home she mentions the fact that she is preparing to start to prayer-meeting, which, she says, is "made more attractive by the mention of the soldier-boys." Then comes a sentence showing how the anxieties of the time weighed on her, and indicating very plainly what was her reliance at a time of such general distress and when so many of her dear ones were separated from her as a result of the national crisis. She says: "If we had not a Heavenly Father to go to now, how helpless we should be, for we are often made to feel vain in the help of man."

President Lincoln and members of his cabinet were daily visitors at Fort Stevens and along the line of works while the scare continued, and once the President was under fire for a brief period. Mr. Wolcott did not see him at that time, but later he caught a glimpse of the soon-to-be martyr. He has left a brief account of this experience and of another, more gloomy, in his Lincoln Day speech made in Denver a year before his death. In that speech he said:

I can recall the two occasions when it was my privilege to see Abraham Lincoln. Once in '64, after the dark days following the second battle of Fredericksburg, a private in the army, with three or four associates, I stood one Sunday morning in front of the White House. He walked out, and after watching for a moment his boy Tad, who rode in front on his pony, he turned and with tired step walked slowly to the War Department. I saw him again in that solemn, triumphal funeral march, when his body was taken from Washington to Springfield, and the grief of the whole nation accompanied him.

Mr. Wolcott liked to talk of his experience in the army, but only with intimate friends. Especially did he shrink from any mention of it in a way which might indicate a desire to make political capital out of it. He was qualified to become a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, but he declined to do so, because, at first, he thought his service to his country was hardly sufficient to entitle him to share the honors with men who had fought and bled, while afterward he refused to join because he feared his

enemies would lay the action to motives of politics and charge that he was endeavoring to use the organization for political effect. *Farragut Post*, No. 46, of Denver, at one time appointed a committee to wait on Mr. Wolcott and solicit the honor for the Post of his application for membership. He set forth these reasons to the committee and declined the request with much regret. He had his discharge papers framed and prized them highly.

He often told his friends that he had spent the greater part of his time while in the service in the guard-house, explaining that it was pleasanter inside with friends than outside alone. Doubtless he overdrew the picture in a spirit of humorous self-depreciation; but that he was there some of the time his brother Henry confirms. Henry relates that he found Ed confined more than once during their service. Describing himself at this period of life as "a chunk of a fellow, neither boy nor man," Mr. Wolcott delighted to tell how on one occasion he had been "squelched" by his colonel. Growing tired of the monotony he went to that officer and told him that he wanted to go to the front where there was fighting. "You want to go to the front, do you? You can go back to your quarters as a starter." It was at one of the annual dinners of the Loyal Legion that the Washington public first became acquainted with the fact that Senator Wolcott had been a soldier in the Civil War. He appeared at the speaker's table as the star orator of the evening, and the badge of the organization peeking from beneath the lapel of his coat furnished the information that he was the comrade of the several hundred enthusiastic veterans present. Mr. Wolcott made a most patriotic and entertaining speech that aroused generous and genuine applause. His only reference to his military service was the casual remark that in the Civil War days he was stationed out on the Bladensburg road, but he added that he saw very little of Washington, as "most of the time he was confined in the guard-house."

#### GETTING AN EDUCATION

Having returned from the war, young Wolcott set out to continue his education. It was soon determined that he

should go to Yale, where many of his kindred had studied. Preparatory, however, to his entering that institution he took a course of study at less important schools, including Western Reserve College at Hudson, Ohio, and Norwich Free Academy at Norwich, Connecticut.

He entered the preparatory school at Hudson in September, 1864. The record of his life there is very brief, and must be told in a few sentences. That he gave careful attention to his studies and was full of enthusiasm over the prospect of entering Yale we have sufficient evidence. He was encouraged to believe that he could sufficiently fit himself for his higher studies in two years' time, and immediately began to apply himself assiduously to his Latin and Greek. He scarcely had reached the school when he wrote to his father on the 22d of September, 1864, saying: "I am studying Sallust and Greek. Whopping old lessons in both! One year in the Prep. School and freshman year in college will give me a splendid fit for freshman year in Yale."

It is not to be assumed, however, that his studiousness entirely absorbed his natural energy. He was still a ringleader in fun and in mischief, and the youth who could find so many ways of spending money was in ceaseless controversy over ways and means with his clergyman father with a large family, who had so little money to spare. In the same spirit in which he exaggerated his guard-house experiences, he was wont to tell how his father preserved his accounts of expenditures and proved by putting them together that his tooth-picks had cost him an incredible sum, and how he had paid on an average two dollars a week to a church for which there was no charge to students. His most intimate friend at Hudson was the late Prof. Thomas D. Seymour, for many years at the head of the Greek department at Yale.

Most of Mr. Wolcott's letters covering his stay at Hudson are devoted to boarding-houses and clothing, although there are frequent references to his studies, in which he professes much interest. In a letter dated September 30, 1864, he expresses himself as anxious to return home for a brief vacation, saying that he wants to "see about an overcoat and get some grapes." He seems, at this time, to have been



very much interested in the grape question, and in the course of a brief letter referred to it three or four times, evidently in a spirit of fun. Not satisfied with his references in the body of the letter he writes a postscript asking, "How are the grapes?" After this comes an "N. B." in which he says, "I would advise you to nail down that window in our room, or Will won't leave a single grape for the rest of the family."

After a year at Hudson Mr. Wolcott spent another twelve months at Norwich, Connecticut, making his home at the residence of his Grandfather Pope. He was among the best-liked of the young men at the institution, as many of his classmates still testify. His popularity was due not alone to his genial manners which are remarked by all, but to his standing as a student and his character as a man.

Writing September 29, 1909, Miss Alice F. Goodwin, still of Norwich, says:

Mr. Wolcott was a favorite with both teachers and classmates because of his genial, out-spoken manner. He was the centre of attraction in any group which he joined. He loved fun and frolic, but I cannot remember that he ever carried it to any disorderly extreme. He had, even in those Academy days, a masterful way of management, and any plan which he advanced was pretty sure of being adopted by his class. I remember he was the one chosen to go to Boston to select the picture presented by the class when they left their Alma Mater.

In scholarship he showed much quickness, and his later record justified our opinion of his ability.

I have always remembered him with pleasure, and followed his public career with much interest.

Other classmates testify:

Eleanor M. Rose—"I remember Mr. Wolcott as very jolly and popular. He declaimed well and had the reputation of being a brilliant student."

Rachel Jennings—"I remember him as a jolly whole-souled fellow who practised what is so often preached—'Don't worry.'"

Mrs. F. H. Clark, of Lima, New York—"I admired Mr. Wolcott as a very smart student and as such I think he was

regarded by the whole class. He was popular in the school for his ready wit and social qualities. He was quite a favorite with the teachers."

His cousin, Mr. Adams P. Carroll, of Norwich, contributes the following concerning young Wolcott's residence in that city:

While in Norwich, he lived with his and my grandfather, a couple of blocks on same street from my home. His grandfather, Jonathan A. Pope, and his two aunts, Misses Sylvia A. and Sarah E. Pope, constituted the family—people well advanced in years. Into these staid New England surroundings he brought a wealth of youthful vigor, so striking in its contrast, as to revolutionize its atmosphere. His ready wit kept the table at every meal in high humor, and the jollity of his presence about the house was sadly missed when the time came for his going to college.

Likewise in every group of boys, he was the promoter of the most fun, active in every sport, strong in his likings for congenial spirits, and keen in his ability to shake those he did not fancy, always in a way free from offence, a faculty that much impressed me.

With the young ladies, he was a general favorite. Every party, picnic, or gathering where he was present to contribute "ginger" to the occasion was sure to be the greatest success.

After leaving Norwich, Mr. Wolcott spent a few weeks in Oberlin College at Oberlin, Ohio. The only record we have of his stay at this institution is one brief letter. The text of this communication gave comparatively little information concerning the school, but the letter was interesting for another reason. It should be understood that the college at Oberlin was strictly co-educational. Not only was there no discrimination because of sex, but there was none on account of race, and negro students as well as white were admitted to the institution. His letter is addressed to one of the brothers, probably William, and so far as the written text goes the body of the epistle is a mere request to hunt up and send to him his sleeve buttons, of which he seems to have been possessed of two pairs, for he says: "If you can't find the gold ones please send the ivory ones." In this

letter both of the given names are preserved, and the signature and close seem to have been intended as an apology for the brevity of the letter itself. They ran as follows:

“ And oblige  
Your Affectionate  
Brother  
Ed  
Oliver  
Wolcott.”

On the same sheet on which this letter was written was an original drawing, which, in view of the mixed attendance at the college, is significant. It was a silhouette in ink of the head of a negro girl and portrays more pointedly Mr. Wolcott's idea of the school than could any language. It also may convey a hint as to the reason for his brief stay there. He did not enjoy mixed associations.

Mr. Wolcott entered Yale College in 1866. He remained less than a year, leaving without graduating. No adequate record of his experience at Yale has been preserved to us, but in his after life he frequently indicated his close attachment for and great interest in the college. We have in one letter, written not a great while after he left the institution, an account of an incidental return to it, and of an especial visit to one of the faculty there. Writing from New York, February 27, 1868, he says:

I left Norwich Monday noon for New Haven. I called, of course, on Mr. Dexter. I found him poring among the dusty volumes in the library. He was so kind to me, evinced such a real, genuine friendship for me, I tell you, Father, I was touched by it. He is a nervous shrinking fellow and never will fill any other position than that which he now occupies. Yet if I had half his manliness, half his noble, unselfish ideas, I'd give all I have or hope to have in the world. He said he hoped I would not give up my hope of returning; that I would not be a day too old a year from now. He urged me to write him and said that although, next to making calls, writing letters was his hardest task, he would be very glad to answer them. Perhaps you think I am writing too much about him, but my seeing him was worth my whole trip, and if you knew him you would appreciate him more than I can.



EDWARD O. WOLCOTT, AT EIGHTEEN.



The fact should also be here recorded that later Yale conferred on Mr. Wolcott the degree of Master of Arts. That he appreciated this high honor is shown in the following brief note to his father of July 14, 1883:

"The degree which Yale gave me was the most gratifying compliment I have ever received, and I was especially glad to get it on the fiftieth anniversary of your graduation."

The notification of the action of the institution has been preserved. It is as follows:

YALE COLLEGE, NEW HAVEN,  
CONNECTICUT. June 30, 1883.

MY DEAR MR. WOLCOTT (M.A.):

I have great pleasure in performing the official duty of notifying you of the action of the President and Fellows of the College, at their annual meeting this week, in conferring upon you the honorary degree of Master of Arts. The diploma certifying to this degree is sent by mail to-day, and will I hope reach you safely.

I feel personally gratified that the position you have gained for yourself has been such as to suggest and warrant this action of the Corporation; and I hope you will live long to enjoy the new connection into which this brings you with the College and all College men.

I am just about sailing for Europe, for a short vacation, and have to make all notes short: but you will believe me,

Always affectionately yours,  
(signed) FRANKLIN B. DEXTER.

#### EARNING A LIVING

Having left college, apparently under circumstances which were not entirely pleasing to his father, Mr. Wolcott, in 1867, set out to find employment for the purpose of earning a living for himself, and we find him occupied during the next two years in commercial pursuits. During the summer of 1867 he found his way to Chicago, where his brother Henry was engaged in business. His first employment was in a general mercantile establishment at Flint, Michigan. From there, after a few months' experience, he went to New York, where he was engaged in soliciting life



insurance. Next we find him travelling for a business house. All of these attempts were made during the years 1867, 1868, and 1869, and the end of the last mentioned year again presents him at his studies and preparing to enter upon the professional career of a lawyer.

Probably of all his experiences, that at Flint was the least agreeable to Mr. Wolcott. He was the youngest member of a big force in a general store, and, as much of the menial work of the establishment fell to him, he did not relish the service or enjoy the position. If, however, his few months at Flint did not establish him in business and make a great man of him the fault was not due to lack of good advice from his father. The elder Mr. Wolcott was a man of much piety and great probity. He also was much concerned for his boy's welfare. He seems to have been greatly interested in Ed's obtaining employment and to have been desirous that he should remain away from the large cities. He was instrumental in locating him at Flint, and on the 5th of August, 1867, wrote to the young man from Cleveland as follows:

A line from Henry informs me that you were expecting to leave Chicago for Flint yesterday, and I hope that you are safely there and pleasantly introduced to your new duties. This is a great relief to me, and will be to your mother, from whom, I have just received a line, expressing her solicitude about your going to the city. Whether the new plan be in all respects to your taste or not (I hope it may be, though it would be strange if it were), the test of achievement will be in taking it as it is, and making it tributary to your purpose and life-plan. You will remember that you have gone there with no slight recommendation, based on high, yet untried, faith in you. If, in the kind protection of God, there is a position of honorable independence for you in the future, its *foundation* will probably be laid, during the coming twelvemonth, in the store which you enter to-day. Please do not forget this, for a solitary hour. To command the complete confidence of your employers and the respect of your associates, and on a moderate income support yourself without debt and save a little, if possible, is the problem and the test. Can you meet it? With God's blessing you can, nobly. Will you do it?

A number of letters from Ed while at Flint have been preserved, and all of them indicate anxiety to get away from the place. The character of work in which he was engaged was especially repugnant to him. Writing to his mother as early as August 6th, probably only a day or two after he arrived, he said: "I am not in the active search for any more lucrative position, but I am keeping my eyes open. I mean to write you and father when I can get time and tell you all my reasons for wishing a change. However, I want to do what is best."

September 26th, he followed with another letter, saying: "I have just finished the dirtiest job I have ever touched. We buy rags, and I have packed over 3500 pounds to-day and spoiled a suit of clothes." He then refers to his father's efforts at discipline, and in a few words indicates that even though under twenty years of age, he was beginning to think for himself, though without lack of respect to his parent. "When," he says, "father reads this," referring to the experience with the rags, "he'll say 'it is just the thing for Ed; I tell you he will regret that he did n't stick closer to his text-books. But it's a grand experience for him, isn't it?'" Commenting on this imaginary utterance of his father he adds sententiously: "I differ."

In this letter young Wolcott indicated that, although he had been in the store little more than a month, he had become quite familiar at least with the names of goods and with the prices of them. In one place he says: "I am learning something of this business every day; but I am getting a wretchedly poor salary for the number of hours I work and the goods I sell." Telling his mother that if he could raise the money, which he considered doubtful, he would be at home Thanksgiving, he adds:

I have the privilege of buying goods for myself or the family for ten per cent. above their wholesale New York cost, and if you are in want of any goods—dress goods, delaines, flannels, woolens, shoes, balmorals, prints, crash, sheeting, or groceries, provided you are willing to trust to my selection, I will bring them to you when I come and can probably save you a good deal of money.



That he afterwards did send some articles home for the family use is indicated by a letter from his mother thanking him for them and complimenting him upon his selection.

This letter from the mother was written on November 10th, and indicates that by this time the family had begun to take note of the son's dissatisfaction with his employment. Referring to this condition she says: "I have no doubt you will have much to try you, but you will have trials of some sort in any situation." The father was not quite so philosophical or gentle, and writing on the 27th of December with reference to an offer which the son had received to enter insurance work in New York, he said:

I am quite satisfied with your present place, as favorable for acquiring business habits. Were you to serve in it steadily for three years and do well, you would be in demand in first-class houses at \$1000 a year, or more, and would occupy an independent position. You *risk* more by leaving than by remaining. We are not without anxiety now, and should tremble if you went to New York. But I decide to leave the matter wholly with yourself, neither encouraging nor discouraging acceptance of the offer. Do what you think best.

The differences between father and son were soon adjusted, and we find the young man transferred from Flint to New York City early in the coming year. In New York he entered the office of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, then at 92 Broadway.

Mr. Wolcott's letters from New York cover only the period from January 20th to March 18th, although his stay in the city continued throughout the year. Much of their detail is taken up with accounts of church-going, boarding-house hunting, meeting with old friends of his father, and the solicitation of business. The letters take on quite a business air, and as early as January 28th, we find him writing to his father: "If I were working for myself I could get twenty-five per cent. and ten per cent. on renewals. I like my way the best, however,—a sure thing for enough to pay my board. Business looks well at present, but how it will continue I don't know." By the end of February

he had made a trip to Norwich, Connecticut, where his Grandfather Pope and many relatives resided, in the hope of doing business there. In this respect he was, however, disappointed, and in relating his experience probably tells that of many an insurance solicitor. He says: "Grandfather is too old. Mr. Carroll [an uncle] thinks it is bosh, and Everett and Captain Gallup have now as much as they can pay for. Everett gave me letters to five or six steamboat men, the best class of men in New York City. I can do something with them I am confident, but I guess the other set resemble too much my worthy Uncle."

By the first of March we discover the young solicitor sending to his father a statement of his business as follows:

Earned as computed on \$41,500 of insurance	\$109.33
Earned as salary for six weeks	75.00
	<hr/>
Total	\$184.33
Drawn for current expenses, about	180.00
	<hr/>
Due me, about	\$ 4.33

In addition, he said that about fifty-three dollars would be due him in six months from premiums which were to be paid semi-annually.

He then commented upon the fact that his expenditures kept pace with his income and said: "In spite of my honestest and best efforts I run up to the limit if not behind hand in my expenses." After giving an account of his expenditure for clothes he adds:

My business is especially provocative of extravagance. I am busy probably on an average two hours a day, hardly that. Even then I am on the streets half the time. The rest of the day I am either loafing in the office or in the office of some friend. Yet I am not lazy and I work all I possibly can. A man won't talk insurance early in the morning nor after business hours. My hotel life for the first two weeks was an expensive one. My trip to Norwich and New Haven cost a good deal, and, last of all, smoking is my bane as regards health and money.

Realizing then apparently what an opening he had made for his father he added: "Now you see, Father, with my usual foolishness I have put my head in the lion's mouth, as regards a lecture on spendthrift habits, where there is no need of it. So draw it mild, please."

Further along in the same letter he comments upon the uncertainty and infatuation of the business of soliciting life insurance, saying:

I begin every week without the remotest idea where I am to earn my daily bread. I am frightened sometimes when I think of it—to think that I am liable to go a month without a man, although it is said that if a man will devote a certain number of hours daily in persistent effort, he is just as sure to effect business as the sun is to rise. I have probably talked insurance to a hundred and fifty men, and I have never yet received a discourteous answer. The business is getting really attractive to me.

By the 18th of March, we find from another statement to the father that Mr. Wolcott had earned \$211.37, and that he had overdrawn his account to the extent of twenty-five cents. He pointed out that this income was at the rate of \$1200 a year. He added, however, that not from the first of March up to that time had he obtained a single application. "But," he says, "I have at least the satisfaction of knowing that I never worked harder. My employers do not feel discouraged; so why should I?"

In those days Mr. Wolcott seems to have been very scrupulous in the matter of church attendance, and his first letter from new York, dated January 20th, is largely taken up with an account of his experience in that line on the Sunday previous. He tells of visiting for the morning service, a church presided over by an old-time friend of his father's and says that in the evening he went to Dr. Chapin's church. "There," he says, "I heard a splendid sermon, not wholly sound, perhaps, but one of the most eloquent productions I ever heard." In his next letter, dated a week later, he says: "I attended Henry Ward Beecher's church Sabbath morning and was never so disappointed in my life. My friends, however, said he did not do himself justice. In the evening I

attended the Unitarian Church to hear the finest church-singing in the country—not a very profitable Sunday.”

In another letter he tells of finding a home at the residence of a Mr. Clapp, who was a friend of his father’s. Writing on the 18th of March he spoke of having attended, on the Sabbath before, the church over which Dr. H. M. Storrs presided. “I like him very much,” he said. “I wish his church was nearer—I’d attend there regularly.”

That the father was much concerned over the son’s proper conduct of himself as well as over his church-going is made evident in a letter written at this time, as it was in many other letters written to the son at various periods of his life. This letter is one of advice concerning his deportment at Mr. Clapp’s house. It is dated Cleveland, January 23, 1868, and is as follows:

Take good care of yourself that Mr. Clapp may not regret the arrangement with you. Attend to your person, your clothes, your room, etc. Never molest a foot of his premises (or any other) by that pest—tobacco smoke. Spend your evenings generally at the house (refraining from eating anything after ten) and retire early; if you go out of an evening, come home seasonably. If it is agreeable with the family to have you sit with them at church, accompany them every Sabbath morning. If Dr. Eddy is their pastor (as I believe he is), you will hear an able and instructive preacher. Go with them Sabbath mornings wherever they attend, if they would like to have you. I wish you to be present in the same sanctuary every Sabbath morning in the year. If you rent a seat of your own, you can take your choice among the able and sound preachers of Brooklyn; and become acquainted with your pastor. So much for Sabbath morning. I wish you every Sabbath afternoon to attend some Bible class. It is usually better to attend where you worship. I shall, of course, prefer to have you keep with the Congregationalists. Dr. Henry Storrs, fresh from Ohio, would take a special interest in you. I leave your Sabbath evening without suggestion. I would like much to have you attend *regularly*, a weekly religious meeting, and be always ready to accompany Mr. and Mrs. C., or Mrs. C., to such a meeting.

After quitting the insurance business young Wolcott took the road as a travelling salesman, and the first we hear from

him is in a letter dated at Frankfort, Kentucky, February 13, 1869. The letter is addressed to both his parents and is full of good cheer. Speaking first of his business he says:

I am very tired to-night, but feel more than satisfied. I have sold five bills of goods in the last twenty-four hours in three towns, amounting to about \$4500. I obtained full prices and I know made a handsome profit for the House. But it cannot last. I happened to strike the merchants at just the right time, and as no drummers had recently visited the towns, I was successful. For the week previous I had sold comparatively nothing.

He then outlined his desire for the immediate future, saying that after he had finished his canvass of Kentucky he would ask the firm for which he was travelling to send him South; but it does not appear that he carried the plan into execution. Giving his reason for wishing to continue in that field, he says: "They have more money than Ohio people at present, and will spend it more freely."

That his experience in travelling was a varied one, but that it was not without pleasure to him in his buoyant young manhood is made evident:

Yesterday [he says, continuing his letter], I rode about twenty-five miles to Shelbyville through the pleasantest country you can imagine. It was as warm as a summer day, and in some places the fields were as green as in summer. In Shelbyville, as in many other Kentucky towns, the black population is much in evidence. I went last evening with the clerk of the little hotel where I spent the night to a negro fair, and never enjoyed anything more.

That the young man was not devoid of interest in the charm of attractive womanhood may be gathered from the following quotation from the Frankfort letter:

This [he says] is a beautiful spot as I am told is almost all of Kentucky. The Legislature is in session and the town is full of life. Kentucky is noted for its beautiful women, and really I never saw so many pretty faces in my life. A South-



erner keeps his wife as he would keep a blooded horse; he spends all his money on her and takes pride in seeing her gaily fixed up. In the parlors of the hotels I see men with slouch hats and wearing their pants in their boot-legs sitting by the side of women richly and beautifully enough dressed for a court ball.

The next and last letter from Kentucky is much briefer, and the business report is by no means so encouraging. This is written from Bowling Green, and in it he reports: "Business is very dull and expenses very heavy. When I am making two towns per day it costs me about \$10 besides personal expenses." This letter was written on the 4th of March, 1869, and apparently he had by this time changed his intention of canvassing the South, at least to any great extent. "I expect," he says, "to be in Dayton, Ohio, in a week or ten days. From here I go to Franklin, Gallatin, Nashville, Hopkinsville, Clarksville, and then to Paducah and Henderson and on through Ohio."

Six months afterward we find the travelling salesman laid up at his home in Cleveland by a temporary illness. There is no record of the negotiations in the family which then took place, but we know that it was at this time that it was decided that Mr. Wolcott should become a lawyer. He had tried the mercantile life, and while he was even more fortunate both in obtaining employment and in the business transacted than are most young men of twenty-one, his success had not been sufficiently marked to satisfy him. Those who knew him in after life and knew him only as the successful, impulsive man of affairs, probably will be surprised that he could have given the attention he did give to routine affairs of a business nature. Doubtless he chafed somewhat under the conditions. But if promotion had been rapid in the store at Flint; if insurance premiums had flowed in in larger volume to his credit in New York, or if his experience in the vicinity of Frankfort could have been repeated one day after another in a tour of Kentucky and the South, it is not impossible that his life would have been given to business rather than to professional pursuits. With Mr. Wolcott success was the test in most matters.



He had natural business instincts and splendid executive capacity, and with a little more patience would have wrought excellently in the commercial world if he had remained in it. His ambition was, however, in the direction of a professional life.

Father Wolcott was insistent upon Edward's becoming a lawyer, and in this determination had a staunch supporter in Ed's next older brother Henry. While Henry had engaged in business in Chicago soon after the close of the war, and in a measure had been successful, he had not found conditions entirely to his liking and had emigrated to the then territory of Colorado, where he was gradually establishing himself in the business of mining and milling ores. He was the pioneer of the Wolcott family in the Rocky Mountains, where both he and Edward were destined to achieve reputation and wealth, and whence we find him writing concerning Ed's professional plans. On the 28th of September, 1869, he expresses the hope that his brother "will have application enough to stick to law, for," he says, "he is capable of making a good lawyer."

In execution of these plans we discover Edward located in a lawyer's office in Boston before the close of the fall season of 1869. Previous to removing to Boston for the purpose of taking up his studies the young man spent some time with the family in Cleveland, but the only glimpse we get of him there is in a letter to one of his sisters, dated the 15th of August. The letter occupies only a half sheet of paper. Still it contains a picture of the home life and presents a fleeting view of the irrepressible joviality of the young man. He had returned from his Southern tour in rather poor health, and, at the time the letter was penned, was quite an invalid on account of an ingrowing toe-nail, which gave him trouble long afterward. "I have," he said, "drawn the large table in the study up to the sofa and will try to give you an apology for a letter, though since Thursday I have n't been out of this room. I am writing on a portfolio full of Father's hymns, and I feel a little 'Dr. Wattsy' myself. So please tell [mentioning the name of a sister] from her erring brother that

In doing right she must never fail,  
And she won't be troubled with an ingrowing nail."

By way of direction he says:

"The above is to be sung or chanted. V. S. P. M.—Very Short, Particular Metre."

He then adds:

"I haven't played a game of chess since you left. If I had you here now I'd beat you a game *If* it was n't Sunday and *If* about all the chessmen were not lost."

## STUDYING LAW

FORTUNATELY, Mr. Wolcott has left a quite complete record of his life while he was engaged in studying law. There have been preserved between forty and fifty letters from him covering the period from the time he began his course in Boston in the law office of Charles T. and Thomas H. Russell, in September, 1869, until he was given his diploma by the Harvard Law School in June, 1871, and as they tell the story more graphically than it can be told otherwise they will be quoted liberally. Possessed of the faculty of observation to an exceptional degree and ever almost intuitive in his judgment, his letters to the folks at home abound in passages of abiding interest, interspersed with much of the detail of every-day life.

He had gone to Boston with the understanding that his expenditures should not exceed fifty dollars a month, and naturally he found it difficult to live as he desired on this sum. Carrying letters to many of his father's acquaintances, all of whom were men of standing and, many of them, of wealth, he was entertained to a greater or less extent, and even then seems to have been the same universal favorite in society that he was afterward—a favoritism which he never especially enjoyed. Still, he necessarily went out to some extent, and respectable clothing was a necessity. To those who knew him only in after life and who knew him then as one of the most fastidious of dressers, the sartorial economies he was compelled to practice while engaged in his studies will be a revelation.

That Mr. Wolcott was possessed of a tendency toward literature is shown in many of his letters. Those from

Boston are full of reviews of his father's hymns. Appreciating the son's critical acumen, the elder Wolcott fell into the habit of sending to him his compositions, with the result that we find many long epistles devoted to criticism and some containing constructive suggestions which were of acknowledged assistance.

While studying he assumed a place at a desk in the office of the Messrs. Russell, and soon he was so engaged in clerical labor that for a time he found little opportunity to give attention to his Kent and Blackstone. The Russells were brothers. They were fellow-churchmen of Dr. Wolcott's, and were gentlemen of the old school, men of high character and successful in business.

In a letter of September, 1869, which is directed to his father, he tells of getting established in a boarding-place, speaks of the continued poor condition of his health, relates a thrilling experience as a sleep-walker, and then outlines his work, as follows:

I am reading for my first law, *Kent's Commentaries*; and, although it is rather hard at first for me to concentrate fully, yet I really like the study, and am sanguine (you will say that I always am at first) that I shall study with success. The average amount usually read in a day, where one has the time, is from 20 to 25 pages, and it is said to be ruinous to read 50 pages daily and remember it. The one clerk now studying here says that about two thirds or three fourths of his time is employed by Messrs. Russell, but now that there are two of us, I suppose we shall divide.

By November 15th we are told that in his studies he is "progressing, but slowly." Then we get a glimpse of his outlook for the future, which, as it proved, was in many respects different from the subsequent reality.

I hope when I have finished my studies [he said in this letter], to practice here in this city. If I can in time work into a supporting business, I can find no pleasanter place to live in. As Mr. Russell—Thos. H.—told me the other day: "A man leaves all hope of acquiring wealth at the threshold of the profession, but he lives in a higher, purer atmosphere, which wealth cannot purchase."

Within less than two weeks afterward, the young aspirant to legal fame earned his first money as a lawyer, and in Boston.

Last Monday [he says in relating the experience] Amos Bars-tow came in and said there was a hardware merchant in Brook-line who owed him about \$500, and that he could n't collect any of it, and wanted me to do what I could toward getting it. Mr. Russell said I could attend to it and advised me about it. I took a sheriff and keeper and attached his property and succeeded in getting it all in money and security, and learned more law in that one transaction than I had learned in three weeks before.

But he could not keep the money. As he had not been admitted to the bar he did everything in the name of the Russells. The charge was \$20, of which the firm took half and gave him the other half. He was satisfied, for he says: "I felt that they would have had a perfect right to take it all, as my time is wholly theirs."

Proceeding, he tells how his time not only belonged to, but was claimed by, the firm.

You would think it so [he says], if you had been here during this last fortnight. I have n't during that time read fifty pages. Dorr, the other student in the office, happens to be an unusually poor writer,—worse than Will, in his palmiest days;—and so I have almost all the deeds, agreements, contracts, etc., etc., to make out. I have, during the past fortnight, written papers, not original ones, either, but simply copies, etc., for which the Russells have received at least \$50, and besides that we have been engaged on a large salvage case which has been very interesting to me. The Russells, considerably to my disappointment, rarely go into court. When they have a case like the one of which I am writing, they invariably represent the capital of the case, whose interest it is to buy up the sailors' claims and keep the case from going to court.

Whether he knew the fact or not, the young student soon made a favorable impression on his preceptors, for we find Thomas H. Russell writing to Father Wolcott on January 2, 1870, in the following complimentary terms:



We (both my brother and myself) are greatly pleased with your son. If he has faults he keeps them to himself. He is diligent and very ready and useful in the office and is making the best of his way into the mysteries of the profession. I have no question at all of his ability for marked success in the profession of law. His address, a great item for a lawyer, is quite unusual. He has only to plod over the road,—no royal one and often dusty and dry,—the inevitable condition precedent to legal life, and that he shows an entire disposition to do thus far. We have the pleasure of seeing him at our house occasionally and want him to feel that the latch-string is always out.

On the 27th of February, 1870, we find the young man engaged in taking down testimony for his firm in the matter of widening the draws in Charles River. With nine lawyers in the case and almost every one representing conflicting interests, he found the work quite exciting. "It has to be quick work taking down evidence as fast as spoken," he says, and adds: "I have an idea of taking lessons in shorthand; it would be a great advantage to me."

In April there was a period of depression, as he frankly confessed to his mother, to whom he said in a letter of the 19th of that month: "I have been feeling blue and rather despondent all the last week, and Father must be gifted with intuition, for the close of his last letter, 'Stick Ed, stick,' reached me just when it was needed." The father's letter here referred to has not been retained, but his response to the above has been, and is as follows:

"Make the most of every day,—and leave the future with your Maker. Feel habitually that if you can succeed in anything, you can in law; and that if others can succeed in the law, God helping you, you can and will."

Apparently the "blues" soon went the way that all blues should go, for by July 25th we find the young man in jocular mood. Writing on that date and again to his mother, he says:

When is Father coming to Boston? Is he going to drop down on me suddenly to see if I have Blackstone in my hands? I rather think he is. So I have placed law-books in every con-



ceivable position, so that I can lay my hands on them at a minute's notice when I hear the door open. Seriously, I would like to know when he is coming and whether you will come with him. Am studying pretty hard though the thermometer forbids any very intense application.

#### CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Mr. Wolcott then was a regular attendant at church. The only exceptions made to this practice were on the Sundays when he was invited to spend the day at the country homes of his father's well-to-do friends, and for these he always made apologies to his parents. But he not only went regularly to service; he was an attentive listener. He heard everything and was able to give an account of the sermons and to tell why he liked or did not like them, as a few extracts will show.

I attended Mr. Plumb's church yesterday morning [he tells his mother, October 4, 1869], but his colleague in the other church, Mr. Herrick, preached for him. Not a very interesting preacher. In the afternoon I could n't resist the temptation of coming over to Park Street again and hearing Mr. Murray, and he did preach a real "redhot" discourse on the overbearance of churches making their ministers preach two sermons a day. He said the country was full of ministers with softening of the brain caused by overexertion and turned loose by the churches. He seemed to be raising the Old Harry among the old Patriarchs there. In the evening I went to the monthly missionary meeting at Mr. Plumb's church.

Again, on November 15th, after having spent a brief time at a country boarding-place, he tells of going to three services at as many different places in one day, and he promised "not to run around so much" in church-going when he should get settled in Boston. November 28th he "had a very pleasant Sunday; went both morning and afternoon to Central Church and heard the two finest sermons I have listened to in Boston, by Prof. Bascom of Williams College." After the afternoon service he read an essay on "The Book of Job," by James Anthony Froude, and apparently became much infatuated with Froude, if not with Job.

December 5th, we find Mr. Wolcott acting as usher at the Central Church, which he says Theodore Tilton called "The Fire Gilt." There he heard a sermon by Dr. Storrs. The discourse was, he says, "a magnificent one, very finished, and eloquent. But," adds the writer, "he seems to a listener to be a cold-blooded fellow, rather selfish, and very self-conscious." The exercises he thought altogether too long. "But I guess it's a common fault," he adds. At another service on the same day and at the same church Dr. De Witt was the preacher, and the young critic was disposed to like him—with a reservation. "He is an earnest speaker and has the advantages of a fine voice and a good delivery. There is nothing sensational or unusual about him and no doubt as to his orthodoxy. He is going to wear well, I think, and is the kind of preacher one likes to hear 'all the year round.' But I can't see that he is the extraordinary man some of his church assume him to be."

As if necessary to make "a full day of it," he tells in this letter of going to Sunday-school, and in his account of this experience we get his idea of what a Sunday-school should be. He says:

After church, from 12 to 1, "Sunday-school keeps." I attended. Mr. Childs, who Mr. Russell says always reminds him of Dr. Johnson, asks no questions, or at least didn't yesterday, but delivers a sort of lecture on the lesson, and any of the scholars are at liberty to ask questions. He is quite interesting. I think this is the true way to conduct a class who are able to give attention to the lesson without having a question, often a senseless one, popped at them every few minutes to make them keep their eyes out of the Bible and book. A teacher of an adult class ought to know as much as, or more than, his pupils, and is supposed to have given fully as much time to the study of the lesson and to know how much more ground he can go over and how much time he can save.

Somewhat later, May 17, 1870, he again speaks of attending Mr. Childs's class, saying:

We, in the Sunday-school class, are studying Exodus, and Sunday we had the Ten Commandments. Mr. Childs turned to me and told me to compare the Commandments with my law

books and said I would find that they comprised all the law that was ever written. "I don't mean," he said, "to tell you to refer to the Commandments, for Dr. Wolcott's son cannot but have studied them thoroughly." Pretty good, wasn't it?

In an epistle of December 5th there is an account of attendance upon a church council. Mentioning that this had been his "first council," he says: "I think it is a perfect inquisition and imposition. Dr. Blagden was moderator and they all asked him all the tough questions they could think of."

November 20th he responds to a slight reprimand from his father with the following explanation:

I notice that you say in your letter that you hope I will attend the services, etc., *steadily*. I have done so. I have not missed a Friday evening, but have not written of them because they have not been especially interesting. I am sorry that all my invitations are to spend the Sabbath. It is because businessmen living out of the city are really "at Home" only on that day. Mr. De Witt preached three Sabbaths ago on a text I meant to have suggested to you at the time, "For I have trodden the wine-press alone, and of the people of God there were none with me." It was on the solitariness of Christ's life on earth. It makes a very fine sermon in the sentimental line, and Mr. De Witt closed very impressively with the warning, very beautifully expressed, that the impenitent would tread the wine-press of Jehovah's wrath *alone*. Yesterday he preached two excellent sermons, and Mr. Childs gave us a sort of lecture on Jacob and Esau.

By Christmas of 1869 he had engaged a seat at church, thus preparing to meet the demand of his father for "regularity." That Mr. Wolcott was disposed to cultivate a religious spirit even when out of church may be inferred from the following extract from a letter of April 6, 1870:

I meant to tell you when I was relating the events of last Sunday that I spent the day at Mr. Russell's. If you realized that it is the only religious house (except his brother's) I ever visit and the pleasant home influences which surround me there, you would be grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Russell, as I am, that they are kind enough to make it a home for me too. After

tea, till church time, they spend the time in singing. Mr. Russell says he always has them sing "Father I Own Thy Voice,"<sup>1</sup> and it is one of the sweetest hymns he has ever heard.

The following, written December 13, 1869, will serve as a fair specimen of his accounts of the Sundays spent outside of Boston :

Mr. William Peters called for me Saturday afternoon at about 2 o'clock, took me to his club, the "Union," where we had a fine dinner, and then for an enjoyable sleigh ride on the "Brighton Road." I suppose there is no city in the world where sleighing is carried to such an extravagant extent as here. For a mile the road was three deep on one side walking up and on the other two deep racing down. We got to Mr. Peters's house about supper-time. He has an elegant house with eleven acres of land. They live very finely. Sunday morning we attended the Episcopal Church. Mr. Henry Peters came to the house to dinner. In the afternoon the two Mr. Peters and myself walked over to the old homestead, where Mr. Andrew Peters is living. He insisted on my spending the Sabbath a fortnight hence with him. In the evening we called on Mr. Ellicott and his wife (formerly Nancy McClure) and this morning we came in on the cars.

I had a more than pleasant time. They were all very kind to me and often spoke of Father. Said he was known by all the family as "Cousin." All of the brothers said I looked almost exactly as he used to.

#### AS A CRITIC

As early as October 4, 1869, we find Edward asking that a copy of his father's hymns be sent him, but it was not until November 29th that his criticisms of them began. On the latter day he mentioned the fact that he had received a revised copy of a new hymn, and added :

I think it is somewhat improved, especially in the first verse ; but it seems to me that a mere statement of facts, put together so that the last word of every other line rhymes is not poetry. Nor will it make a standard hymn. I think the last verse is an excellent one—more like the rest of your hymns. Still my

<sup>1</sup> One of Dr. Wolcott's hymns.

opinion is not probably of very great value, and perhaps I have failed to comprehend it fully. I like the hymn, but I do not like it beside your other productions.

December 13th, he writes: "I have compared the three versions of 'Spirit Worship' and think the improvement of the second over the first and the third over the second is very marked. The proportion of this hymn originally to most of the rest of your hymns is about 60%; after the first correction 65%; after the last improvement 85%."

In a letter on the 20th of the same month occurs the following commendatory criticism:

I have examined as carefully as I could the hymn "Tranquillity" and compared it with your others and I think it is on the whole the best you have ever written. If I remember rightly, you wrote part of the hymn on your last trip East the past summer. By the way, I think one of the good points in the lines is that it is not a hymn. I like it because it is imaginative. If you are to send any to the *Independent* I would send this one by all means. I should think you would prefer writing this style of poetry to hymns. Now would be a good time to begin those lines to your Bible class you spoke of writing while I was at home. I think nothing is especially gained in having the third and fourth lines begin with "and" in each verse. In the first verse I think that "Peace stole, etc., so sweetly, etc.," would make the verse a more logical one; but very likely I am wrong. The calm, majestic influence of silence in nature, is a fine thought and one often employed in poetry, but I don't think you have quite the right word in "The *hush* of quiet shed." The third verse I like very much and the fourth also, but the third and fourth lines of the latter seem for some reason a little weak, and you have used nearly the same words if I remember rightly in some of your other hymns.

That even the father was not too sacred a personage for the son to crack a joke at his expense is seen in the following extract from the same letter: "Who is J. H. Tenney? Has he ever written any standard music? He evidently writes music easily. You and he ought to form a co-partnership. You would do a rushing business, I am a little tempted to say, without meaning it, *on a mighty small capital.*"



A month later he urges the writing of a revival hymn by his father. "Why," he asks, "would n't that be a good subject—the warning trumpet, the watchman on the tower, and the doom sure to await those who heed him not?" Not a bad suggestion surely! Apparently the father had anticipated the suggestion of a hymn of this character, and between letters had sent him one, of which the son spoke in terms of praise, saying that he thought it would become very popular, "as it is a smooth, simple appeal, and is better than I have ever seen to bring in at the close of impressive prayer-meetings or revival services."

Other remarks in the same letter are to the following effect:

On studying the hymn "My Shepherd" more carefully, I withdraw my statement that none of the new hymns are up to the standard of the others. I think this is, and, after referring to "Canticles," I think it is admirable. I like the metre too. It is a new one to me; is n't it an unusual one?

I do not think these criticisms are worthy such a name and am aware that my remarks on the first hymn, "Prayer of the Penitent," are vapid and foolish. I want to compare it more fully with all your others.

Again, on May 7, 1870, we have this:

The "Shulamith" was received. I like it very much better than your hymns generally. As in your sermons, you have the faculty of closing your poetry finely. The last stanza of the one before me is an example. I don't quite like "sweeping o'er;" it is too violent, and "stealing o'er" and "are breaking," are of course inconsistent. I don't like "Haste I where he lingered." "Lingers" implies a voluntary, unnecessary waiting—prolonged, whereas I should judge from the text that he was impatiently knocking for admittance. The last lines of this verse, "Perfume of sweet-smelling myrrh *dropping from her fingers*," are perfect. In the last verse, if it were not for the fact that, as you say, the Bride was from a foreign country, I should think "a lover's anguish," or some other expression of kindred meaning better than "a stranger's anguish." And she does n't tell the "Daughters fair of Salem born!" whom she is hunting after.

But I like the idea of your writing these paraphrases much



better than your ringing the changes on your revival and other poetry. All these hymns in our hymn-books are nearly the same thing. Glancing over the *Sabbath Hymn and Tune Book* the other day, I looked under the different headings and was surprised to find such similarity in the hymns. Don't you think it is so?

There are many of these long analyses, but a few specimens must suffice. In the next quoted, our critic goes more into detail than in others. The hymn before him is entitled "Divine Guidance," and of it he says:

The subject and the style are both good,—much better than in "Trust," and there is something dignified and impressive in the descriptive part. But, as in all your hymns and all your sermons, the last part is much the best. In the first verse—"flung" is n't good. It is not a very elegant word, any way, and certainly not to close a stanza with. It is natural that a pillar of fire should "hang" in the heavens and "fling" its "token" "earthward." But could a pillar of cloud be said to do the same? In the second verse, "that host" seems to refer to the "flame" and "cloud" and "a pillar of flame and cloud" hanging in the heavens, which though moving could n't be said to be moving in a "desert pathway," could it? I don't like "waited still," and in all three verses there are too many "it's" and "its"; seven I believe. They seem to make the meaning sometimes vague. In the fourth verse, a "columned shade" is a rather mild way of designating a pillar of cloud. Five "Thys" are rather tautological. The last line of the verse "Thy banner still thy church precedes" is splendid. In the last verse, there seems to be something in the construction not quite right. I do not see what it can be unless it is the "By" at the beginning of the third line. If you left out that line would the verse make good sense? I think you will make the hymn one of the best you have written.

Writing February 19, 1871, on the result of the above suggestions, Mr. Wolcott remarks:

"I see you are predetermined on not altering your hymn on the 'Pillar' as regards the first two verses. The two new ones are an improvement, as all your changes are. I think it would be a good idea if you always kept a hymn

at least a week after you considered it ready for publication before you sent it away—a week after the last change.”

In other letters we find the following general thoughts relative to the theme in hymn composition. December 8, 1870, he writes to his father: “Your Thanksgiving hymn read very nicely in print. One phrase in it seems, however, not quite appropriate. ‘Awe’ and certainly ‘reverend awe’ is not the feeling with which we view our lands and government. We feel ‘awe’ at the thought of eternity, or the Almighty or a funeral.” And on May 8, 1871: “Hymns in which the name ‘Jehovah,’ ‘God, the Lord,’ and ‘Deity’ are used are generally of the sterner or more impressive kind, while those which appeal more to our sentimental nature make more frequent use of the word ‘Spirit’ or ‘Christ.’”

These extracts must close with the following from a letter of March 2, 1871: “You were very wise to send your hymn to a magazine like *Scribner’s*. It meets a much larger and more cultivated class of readers than either the *Congregationalist* or *Advance*. It was, I think, quite a compliment to you that Dr. Holland accepted it, as a monthly of that character rarely gives place to religious poetry.”

That the father appreciated his son’s comments was of course evidenced in the fact that he continued to invite them. He also has left testimony to that effect, when, writing on February 1, 1871, he said: “I do not overrate any of my lines, and wish you to be perfectly free in your criticisms of them. I think you are a good critic. Sam is much more unsparing and irreverent in his strictures than yourself, and, usually, makes some good general points; but I do not always agree with him in his application to the case in hand.”

And again on the 11th of the same month: “Your criticisms on my hymns, considering how little staple they offer you, give me more hope of your success as a lawyer than anything else which I get from you.”

In still another letter the father says: “I always welcome your criticisms, which seem to me to exhibit more of a judicial cast of mind than anything else which I see in you, and I almost always adopt some of them.”

Young Wolcott was also disposed to advise his father to effort along other than poetical lines, as witness the following from a letter of December 28, 1869 :

I meant to have mentioned in my letter last week that I saw your article in the *Congregationalist*. I liked it. I remember your incorporating the substance of the article in a sermon you preached the past summer. I have been thinking of a grand undertaking which I think you could accomplish most successfully. It is writing up the Ecumenical Council for some Review. If I had the age and the ability, there is nothing I would like so well as to study the Romish Church from the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century to the present time and follow the council now sitting, in its deliberations and then write up the whole matter. I wish you would think of it. I hope hereafter you will determine upon having at least one prose article appear after each hymn. For I think the one improves the other.

Rather sage advice for a young man just past twenty-one!

We also find him taking note of a newspaper controversy in which his father had engaged over the question of the compulsory use of the Bible in the public schools, in which he had taken the negative side. Agreeing with and commending him, Edward wrote, July 7, 1870 :

As to the newspaper discussion I think you have far the best of it. "Senex" is rather gassy I think, especially when he talks about atheists, etc., getting control and shutting the Bible out of our churches and families. He makes, however, I think, one point not very easily answered, though I am not certain. The Constitution of the United States says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment, of religion *or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.*" And whether it could prohibit the reading of the Bible in the schools or not, is I think a question. It could, however, let the matter rest and the school authorities could quietly let the custom drop:—this is I think the true way. It is certainly, as you say, an infringement on individual liberty to tax a parent for the support of public schools and then have him compelled to have doctrines instilled into the minds of his children which he deems hurtful. I think you have taken the true course, but I should think, from the

“material” of your church, that it might cause some very wide differences of opinion. Does it?

#### A RHYMSTER HIMSELF

Senator Wolcott's friends of the later period will doubtless be surprised that in his younger days he was inclined to follow in the footsteps of his sire and drop into poetry. Such was the case. Whether because of an “hereditary taint,” because of the influence of association, because of the natural activity of his mind, or, which is most probable, because of his love of a joke, he made one or two attempts at versification. As might be expected the composition was crude, and the effort was of short duration. If he had been frank with his father regarding the latter's verse, the father was brusque and unsparing towards his first trial. But his method was effective;—there never was any necessity for a second stricture.

Without giving any premonitory warning, Mr. Wolcott wrote his father the following letter:

CAMBRIDGE,

6 January, 1871.

MY DEAR FATHER:

Apart from the sense, subject, etc., will you please tell me whether the rhythm and metre(?) of the verses below are correct?

Three questions are ever recurring to me  
 When I am alone, but oftener at night  
 As I sit in my study or walk by the sea,  
 And not till the dawn comes will they take their flight;  
 From somewhere they come, and are prompted by—what?

Isn't it proper to have a line at the close of a verse not rhyming with any other line as a sort of refrain?

Here is another without any fifth line. I have written several, and you are at liberty to make all the fun of them you please:

Let the others all die, and all things be broken—  
 The ewer at the cistern, the bow and the quiver.

To me in my might what do these signs betoken?  
I will never die and I *will* live forever.

Ed.

The father's reply was as prompt as it was crushing. He wrote on January 11th, but his letter had not been received on the 15th, when Ed addressed him again, saying:

"You make no comments on the *poetry* of the two stanzas I sent you. I am writing a Hymn and until you write me that my productions are unmistakable trash, I shall probably continue to gush."

The father's remarks must have been received soon afterward. Here is what he said:

Yours of the 6th, with original stanzas, perplexed and troubled us not a little. It is the first thing which I remember to have seen from your pen, which, like your penchant for a human skull, indicates mental idiosyncrasy. It was a suggestion of something written in a fit of somnambulism, or drawn from the source of some of Byron's inspiration. We were even apprehensive that if you were sober you were a little deranged. If my tagging rhymes together after I had passed my 55th birthday encourages any of my children to do it before they have reached their 50th, I shall feel that I have made a double mistake.

He afterward referred to the "effort" as a joke. Whether it was such or not the criticism was effective. Ed's reply, dated February 6th, follows:

Your letter "chewing up" my effusion was duly received. I have finished. The world will never see my "poem" nor a Hymn I had just finished on an interesting passage of Scripture. I confess that at times I have felt that I had a gift that way, but your letter has disillusioned me. The dying notes of the swan are the sweetest, and this stanza which emerged impromptu from my teeming brain is the last that Edward, the Son of Samuel, D.D., will ever write:

Father says I must n't write—  
My po'try has no metre;  
Father prob'bly thinks he's right;—  
But is n't he a jealous "cretur"?



It was while he was studying law that one of the sisters conceived the idea of having a family newspaper, to be circulated in manuscript, and the contents to be furnished by the members of the family. The father's criticism had not so crushed him but that Ed was able to furnish the following:

## TO A ROBIN REDBREAST

Oh, Robin,  
A-bobbin  
On a tree  
In front of me,  
How I wonder  
Where in thunder  
You have beenter  
All the winter!

Father Wolcott did not confine his criticism to remarks upon the son's verse. A letter from Ed requesting that a Latin dictionary be sent him elicited the following response:

You do right never to pass over a word without ascertaining its exact meaning. I have habituated myself to this course, and now reap the benefit of it. Your acquaintance with terms and phrases not contained in Joe Miller's vocabulary, is less extensive than I supposed, but persevering attention to the Dictionary will supply the deficiency. We have many text-books in the house, of the kind which you mean. I will have a list made out and sent, and forward such as you may desire.

## MISCELLANEOUS STUDIES

As we shall see, Mr. Wolcott possessed a great fondness for reading, but that while engaged in his studies he encountered many obstacles in this improving pastime is evident from his letters, and we find him telling his parents of distracting calls by his chums and of demands from the outside upon his time. On one occasion we are told that the young ladies of the boarding-house were somewhat in the way. "I don't know what I can do this winter with my reading," he wrote soon after reaching Boston, in 1869. "It will be too cold to sit in my own room, and if I sit down-



stairs there will be little chance for me to read, although all but one of the daughters are so unkind that for the last week they have n't spoken to me—I guess because I won't go down every evening and play backgammon and because I took the liberty the other evening of going to prayer-meeting."

Two weeks later he writes:

My greatest difficulty is to acquire what you wish me to get, and what is necessary to me—"the habit of close and uninterrupted mental application." I get almost discouraged sometimes. I find difficulty in my evening readings, and during the day I hardly ever have an hour's *uninterrupted* reading. I feel the lack of concentration in reading the reviews, etc. As I have written you, the office closes on Saturday afternoons. I generally go up to the Public Library to spend them, and I find it almost impossible for me to concentrate on some article in some of the English reviews that I know I ought to read, and which perhaps Mr. Russell has advised me to read.

And a fortnight afterward:

I am a little disappointed at not receiving those books from home. I think you had better direct them to the Winthrop House. I was about two thirds through the first volume of *Smith's History* when I came to the *History of Greece and Macedonia* and found it impossible to go on without an Atlas, and as I can keep books but a limited time from the Public Library I had to return it and shall not take it out again just yet, as after I have finished *Froude* (I am just beginning the tenth volume) I shall take up the course I sent home in my letter to Hattie. I wish, Father, that you would, at your convenience, make out a list of books on any subjects—History, Belles Lettres, etc., that a young man ought to read. I mean to get, if I can, a complete list of works, that are indispensable as a *foundation* and then make a schedule and regular course.

Many times the young student speaks admiringly of Froude. Writing of his *History of England*, he says, "I think I have never enjoyed any book as I have this." In another connection, he says: "I have a very great admiration for Mr. Froude and for all that he writes," and then proceeds to comment upon an attack upon

the English author which had been printed in the *Catholic World*, because of his treatment of Mary Stuart. Stating that he had taken up Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella* he said that he did not enjoy Prescott so much as Froude—"the latter's style is so simple and earnest." Then he adds a significant general opinion as follows: "I am beginning to find out that the simple style is better than the didactic for general reading. Even a description of some tragic and unusual event, as the murder of Darnley by Bothwell under the guidance of Mary Stuart, is brought the more vividly before the reader because painted in the simplest colors and told directly and earnestly."

Mr. Wolcott appreciated to the utmost the necessity of good society to prevent falling into bad habits. As a specimen of his frankness on this subject read his letter to his father of November 29, 1869, wherein he says: "If I write about books and about my reading it seems to me as if I was deceiving you, and you would think I had improved much more than is the fact, for I am just as heedless and selfish as I ever was, and just as incapable of shunning wrong because it is wrong." Again on June 29, 1870, he writes regarding his residence, for the time, as Medford:

It is a very pleasant old place and I cross almost every day the old Medford bridge which Paul Revere rode over and see often the old Craddock house, the oldest house in America, built in 1634; but, above all, I have the evenings to read in, and I am improving them as I have not for the last two or three months. I don't think it was a bad move to leave Chelsea, but as I grow older I don't grow more stable, and I find that my only way to resist temptation is to run away from it.

On another occasion we find him writing to his parents and saying: "I never see any of the young men in their rooms and I give them no encouragement to call on me. I have accomplished more reading here than I did in Chelsea."

#### PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC QUESTIONS

We find in Mr. Wolcott's letters frequent mention of public lectures, with occasional outlines of their addresses. There

are two such references to lectures by Ralph Waldo Emerson. The first discourses by Mr. Emerson which Mr. Wolcott attended were on the distinguished author's favorite theme of Transcendentalism, "not twenty words of which could I understand," he says. That letter was written in December, 1870, and writing a year later he promised to give a detailed account of Mr. Emerson's lectures on the human intellect, which he pronounces "quite interesting and instructive." If the fuller account was written it has not been preserved.

Early in December, 1869, Mr. Wolcott tells of having heard a lecture for the first time by Wendell Phillips, and he says he never enjoyed a public address more. "I think," he says, "his style is magnificent. Mr. Russell says the French Revolutionists are his ideal—Mirabeau, and the rest. What he says is of course folly, but his manner of saying it is wonderful." April 6, 1870, we are told: "I have had two splendid intellectual treats since I wrote last; one, last Friday evening, in hearing President Wolsey on the Police Power, but especially last evening when David Dudley Field lectured on the Representation of Minorities." He adds: "I think I never listened to so instructive a lecture. He showed how unjustly the people were represented in our present system of elections, and suggested several remedies. I was surprised at many facts he laid before us, as, for example, that sixteen States elect thirty-two United States senators on a smaller vote than New York State casts for two." He heard and greatly admired Phillips Brooks.

April 28, 1870, Mr. Wolcott speaks of the honors paid to Anson Burlingame after his death, saying:

I went to Faneuil Hall last Friday where Burlingame lay in state, and the following day I saw the funeral procession. The whole thing was very impressive. Mr. Russell was at the Law School years ago with him. He says he was the most ambitious man he ever knew; that his acceptance of his office under the Chinese Government was with the expectation that the prestige he would gain would carry him to the Presidency. I think he had a better chance for it than any civilian in the country. It seems hard that after a man has spent his whole life laying plans he should be cut off when he was near the goal.

It is interesting to note that in this correspondence we have two expressions of appreciation by his contemporaries of the style of Webster as compared with that of Choate. The first of these is reported by the younger Wolcott in a letter to his father, dated November 15, 1869, in which he says:

He [Mr. Russell] is very entertaining and is full of anecdotes of Webster, Choate, Jere Mason, and others, whose contemporary he was, and although he talks a great deal, I think most of what he says is very instructive to me. I was rather surprised at his definition of Webster's style:—he says it was very simple, and that he used the Saxon almost wholly. I always supposed it was the opposite, the Johnsonian style. He has tried cases often with Rufus Choate.

The second reference to Webster and Choate is from Dr. Wolcott under the date of November 17, 1869, and is as follows:

I have heard Webster and Choate often, and had the same impression as Mr. Russell. You will see, on reading Webster, how simple and perspicuous he is—remembering, as he once said, that it was the thought which impressed. Choate was always coruscating; his metaphors were exuberant and often very brilliant. In some plain matter-of-fact case, when he had got off his usual pyrotechnics, Webster, who followed him, commenced by reminding the court that the case before them was not one which called for that kind of eloquence “which shook the arsenal and fulmin'd over Greece.”

During these times the young student gave no little attention to general religious and political questions. He seems, for a time, to have been attracted toward the subjects of Catholicism and free trade. Speaking of the latter in a letter dated December 8, 1870, he says:

I am very much interested at present in the question of free trade and protection, though as yet I have not read up much on the question. I don't know whether I told you that we have at the Law School besides smaller societies one to which almost every member belongs called “Parliament,” conducted very correctly and according to the manual, and there

we settle conclusively some of the great questions which seem to bother other statesmen. We have settled almost everything but the free trade question. The Society meets every Friday evening.

Nor were the young man's observations confined entirely to subjects upon which he was reading. He began thus early in life to think along independent lines on national questions, and that his thoughts were quite radical may be inferred from the following extract from a letter to his father written May 27, 1871:

Great preparations are being made for the observance of Decoration Day to-morrow. It is, I think, a foolish custom. Not as foolish, however, as the erection of soldiers' monuments. Every common in Massachusetts has one, and in fifty years our descendants will cart them to the cemeteries—anywhere to get out of sight the reminders of a war between brothers. Half the fuss about Decoration Day is made for political effect. So is most everything. Grant found that Santo Domingo fell flat; so he fell back on Ku Klux.

#### MONEY AND CLOTHING

We find in Mr. Wolcott's letters much concerning his accounts, his clothes, his boarding-places, and like subjects, and he discusses all of them in an interesting way. Restricted as he was to a limit of fifty dollars a month for all expenses, he necessarily had difficulty in living as his tastes demanded. Even as a young man he required the best when he could get it, and while he devotes pages to recitals of his cares in the matter of clothing, it is evident that even then the taste which afterward became so pronounced was there in embryo. It is not intended to reproduce here many of his representations on the subject. The following extract from a letter dated April 19, 1870, will afford an idea of the attention he gave to it:

I have the checked pants—new when I left home. They have been re-seated and mended, but there is a good deal of wear left in them. They are, however, altogether too thick for spring and summer wear. I have the pair of pants I bought here the 27th



of November. They have also been re-seated and a piece set in at the foot. They are not in as good a condition as the others. I have the blue vest, new when I left Cleveland, and in pretty good condition.

I have the thick short coat, bought two years ago, and lots of wear still left in it; but it is altogether too heavy to wear except in cold weather, and I couldn't wear it with the two pairs of pants I have mentioned, as it wants a coat-tail to cover up the seat which shows very plainly where it has been set in.

I have the blue coat, new when I left home, which I have worn every day since the 1st of March, and which I am sorry to say is worn out; the seams have become worn out and the back shiny. I would like to wear it as an office coat and for stormy weather.

I have my new suit of clothes—the best I ever had—made very nicely and of a material that will wear splendidly. The whole suit is dark, and I want to keep them for my best for a long time to come.

Now, as the warm weather is coming on, wouldn't it be economy for me to have a coat and vest made of not very thick material and a pair of lighter pants than my present ones for a spring-summer suit and save my best suit? It seems so to me, and yet I dislike to write about it, for it costs money.

Both wit and practicability are to be found in the following extract from a letter of February 6, 1871:

"Next to a clean heart there is nothing in this world I need so much as a clean night shirt. I was going to buy some, but you wrote that mother had some made and I have been hoping every day for them."

As further evidence that he was practising what to him must have been severe economy we find him relating that on one occasion he had had his black suit bound over and cleaned and a seat put in the pants, "so that they seem like new ones." At another time he informs his parents that he is having his landlady make some shirts for him, "so that they will not cost me as much as if I bought them ready made." Once his overcoat was to be rebound, cleaned, repaired, and supplied with a new collar at a charge of eight dollars, which price he said he considered very reasonable. That, however, he did not hold himself strictly to the



economical side is found in the announcement that he had bought for himself a fourteen-dollar pair of shoes.

Many changes in boarding-houses were made, and the last place generally was the best. We find him always looking for well-fitted rooms, and, young as he was, he sought the best surroundings in his boarding-places. On one occasion he entered upon a long argument to support his position that it was better for him to be at a hotel than at a private boarding-house. He then contemplated locating in Boston as an attorney, and even at that early date looked forward to entering upon a political career, in which event he was of opinion that residence at a hotel would be of greater assistance to him than a home in a family. The summer months were generally spent at country places.

Mr. Wolcott's father adopted the general plan of sending his son ten dollars each week with which to pay his current expenses, adding more when necessary to meet some extraordinary demand, and he required not only a strict acknowledgment of the receipt of the money, but a detailed statement of the expenditure, which, while cheerfully given when it could be given at all, still appears to have been the subject of no little care to young Wolcott. He always was impatient of detail, and it may readily be supposed that he found it somewhat difficult to keep an accurate account of all his outlays. More than once his memoranda were lost, and it not infrequently happened that, even when these data were furnished, some items were missing. In either event we find him making due explanation and frankly acknowledging his deficiency in the matter of bookkeeping.

It is not the intention to give all the details of his difficulties in these matters, but merely to relate a few instances for the purpose of showing the character of the boy, who, in this as in other instances, proved to be the father of the man. "In my account you will notice an item of fifty cents for boots," he says in a letter to his father written in December, 1869. He was then staying at a hotel, and he proceeds to explain: "When I came to the house I noticed that all the men left their boots outside their doors. In large hotels nothing is charged for cleaning them, but the other day I found a bill in my shoes for two weeks at

twenty-five cents a week. Since then I have polished my own shoes." This incident seems to have influenced the young man to a serious line of thought, and after narrating it he says: "I have fallen into a way of figuring which helps me keep down my expenses more than any other method. It is figuring by the year. That is, if something costs twenty-five cents a week, I ask myself what it will cost in fifty-two weeks. Very simple arithmetic, but if I had learned it four years ago I would be a Yale Senior to-day."

We have another letter, without date, but probably written from Cambridge, showing an awakening in the direction of economy, and suggesting a method of reducing expenses by serving himself. In this letter, for the second time in his correspondence, Mr. Wolcott resorted to his crude talent for drawing to express his ideas. He wanted a shaving-set, and not only by word but by sketch undertook to convince his father that it would be more economical for him to shave himself than to have others perform the tonsorial service for him. The letter, together with the sketch, is very unique, and the latter and a portion of the former are reproduced.

Christmas of the same year finds young Mr. Wolcott with no very large sum of money in his pocket, but, slender as is the amount, his big heart is moved when he meets a poor woman begging in the street, and he generously hands her fifty cents, "because," he says, "she really needed it." In the same letter he generalizes somewhat regarding his expenditures, saying:

There was one sentence in Father's letter that I have thought of a good deal and which I think has done me good—the remark about my expenses, and it has impressed me the more because it is the first time since I have been in Boston that they have been referred to. I never mean to reach that stage again that I feel obliged to apologize for my expenses. But, on comparing my account of the last week or two with former ones, I find that I have unconsciously drifted into, at last, a more liberal construction of the word economy. Take my present account. I went to the Young Men's Christian Association Fair because all Boston went and because the Central Church had a table and I rather wanted to meet the few acquaintances I

## "Cosmetics"

My beard grows rapidly and stiff.

I need shaving & do shave three times a week.

I rarely get shaved - only when I am going out - where a cut, which I almost always adorn myself with, would not be an ornament.

Bay Rum is indispensable when one shaves. I especially need it as my face is rough & very liable to break out.

— Estimate —  
If I must go the Barber —  
Shave 3 times a week @ 15¢ - 52 weeks \$ 23.40

— Estimate my way —  
Throwing Razors - per year - say .75¢  
Get shaved per year say 20 times @ 15 3.00  
"B.R." @ 1.50 per qt. say 3.00 6.75  

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16.65



Facsimile of Mr. Wolcott's letter requesting a shaving outfit.

have there; but it was not necessary. And the Christmas present was not absolutely necessary, but I thought you would have given it. With my new boarding-house arrangement, when I get settled, the saving in price will pay my incidentals and washing. The next thing I shall need, after shirts, will be a pair of gaiters. I can save from one to three dollars by getting them made in Cleveland, at Gross's. He has my measure. I shall not need any clothes for some time, except perhaps a vest. I am very anxious to earn some money and have been looking for some evening employment.

#### LECTURES FOR A STEREOPTICON

This desire to enter upon some employment which would add to his receipts led Mr. Wolcott into a line of employment in which it is difficult to contemplate him, which, however, was not entirely uncongenial. At any rate, it served a useful purpose.

He became a lecturer for a stereopticon exhibition. In his determination to take work of this character, he encountered the opposition of his father, but, before the latter could make his objection known to the son, the enterprise had been undertaken. The young orator was then holding forth nightly in front of the picture exhibition, and earning \$5 a night. The father based his objections to the lecturing upon the ground that it would interfere with the young man's course of night reading; but that Ed appreciated that there might be another reason is discoverable in a statement made in a later letter, in which he said that he had not called upon a distantly related and well-to-do member of the Wolcott family residing in Boston, to which statement he added the opinion that the gentleman referred to was "the only member of the family who might feel compromised by my going into the show business."

Acknowledging the receipt of the father's letter of objection, young Wolcott explained that he had already begun the work and expressed his appreciation of the father's interest in his welfare. "I have," he says, "no doubt whatever that it unsettles me somewhat, and I know that there are few advantages connected with it except those of a pecuniary character." He then adds:



But this fact is true: I am getting an excellent knowledge of the Arctic regions and of the formation of glaciers, icebergs, etc. It is, to a certain extent, only moving from Castile and Grenada to Greenland. My week is up to-morrow, and I shall draw thirty dollars, earning enough in the evenings of one week to support me more than two. It may last but a few evenings, but possibly it may continue for three weeks. I hope the latter. When this lecturing began I found myself very short of shirts. So I bought two nice ones, ready made, and I think they will carry me through. But I may have to get another.

His wish that the lecturing might continue for some length of time was to be disappointed, for a week later, on January 18, 1870, we find him writing that his engagement had ceased three or four days previously. He could remain with the show only on condition that he would take time enough each day to attend to the advertising. That he could not do and give proper attention to his studies, and he accordingly declined.

As usual, the experience brought Mr. Wolcott into a line of reflection, and he did not fail to see wherein it had been of assistance to him. It had given him confidence before an audience, but at the same time it had shown him that, as he says, "he was very deficient in extemporaneous speaking." He concluded that he must cultivate this habit.

The experience was also valuable to him in another respect. Through it he found his voice. "I don't mean to speak of it egotistically," he says, "but I have discovered that I have an unusually fine voice for public speaking, though pitched in a rather high key. A good part of the time I have been troubled with a severe cold, but my voice has not failed in the least."

Recurring in this connection to his desire to earn money for himself and at the same time meeting his father's objections to the line of business in which he had been engaged, Mr. Wolcott continues:

It has undoubtedly unsettled me somewhat in my studies, for the time being. That I shall get over now, but it leaves me the desire, stronger than ever before, to find some way to earn

money, either by evening work or by sacrificing two or three hours during the day. It is pleasant to know that your parents are so interested in your getting an education that they will deny themselves to give it, but it is much pleasanter to have the feeling that you are paying your own way.

That the young lecturer made a favorable impression on his stereopticon employers is evidenced by the fact that they besought him afterward to resume his connection with them, and prevailed upon him to join them temporarily while at Providence a month or so later. He remained with the show two days while in the Rhode Island metropolis, where there were crowded houses at each of three daily performances. The entertainment was of such a popular character as to cause the public schools to close in order to permit their pupils to attend. Giving an account of these performances, Mr. Wolcott says: "I find I have a pair of lungs and a voice that will bear almost any strain."

This is the last reference we have from the young man to his connection with the stereopticon, but one of the father's letters relative to the son's work is entirely too good to be lost. Writing on the 10th of January, 1870, he says:

Yours of the 6th instant opening with the very remarkable sentence, "Please don't send me any more money just yet"—reached us Saturday evening, and fairly startled us. We read it with great doubts of its authenticity; but on comparing the handwriting with that of your other letters, we conclude that it is genuine,—though you lack your younger brother Will's accomplishment of a handwriting which can't be imitated.

In the face of your deprecatory appeal, I can scarcely refrain from inclosing an X, both because I cannot help feeling that you will want it before the week is out and because I cannot make this seem to be any letter at all without it.

We shall all feel interested to know how you succeed in your new rôle. I am, of course, glad to have you earn something, but not at the expense of the future of your profession. You will please send me right along, as you have done, your weekly account of receipts and expenses, and I shall know when you will need another remittance without your asking it.

Early in life Mr. Wolcott contracted the habit of walk-



ing in his sleep, and there are many accounts of such experiences to be found in his letters. The habit was probably due to poor health, from which at this period he suffered, though he repeats, but as a joke, the explanation made by one of the Messrs. Russell, who attributed it to *over mental exercise*. One of his recitals on this subject is sufficient. Writing to his father, June 23, 1870, he says:

I had a delightful experience last night. I have just gone to my new boarding-place in Medford—the house by the way is a very quiet one filled mostly with ladies—and last evening about 11:30, half an hour after I had retired, I treated them to the most horrible nightmare I have ever indulged in, and as a consequence I feel a little used up to-day. I didn't feel very well yesterday, and so ate no supper but a cracker and a cup of tea. I'd do anything to rid myself of these turns, but it seems as if they would never leave me.

#### SEEKING GOVERNMENT SERVICE

While still in the Law School, and even before he went to the school, Mr. Wolcott became quite impressed with the idea of obtaining an appointment in the service of the National Government, probably with the view of earning enough money to make him independent while pursuing his studies. His father had an extensive acquaintance among public men, including Secretary Belknap, who was a connection by marriage, and Senator Pomeroy, the latter of Kansas, and as early as April, 1870, Ed began trying to persuade his father to get these friends to find a place for him in the Government employ. In his first letter, he says:

If you can obtain a position for me, it will be everything to me. It is so discouraging to stay here and earn nothing, with a portion of my time now spent in doing work which teaches me nothing and which might just as well be passed in profitable industry. I have few acquaintances now. If I could get the right position it would give me an acquaintanceship which some day, when I get into practice, I could make profitable.

The father was not inclined to encourage office-seeking, and he made prompt reply, saying:

You are much mistaken if you imagine that Secretary Belknap, for me or any other friend, will try to get a place for a young man in any other Department like his own, already overrun with applicants. It is a little degrading to join this horde of office-seekers. It would be more manly and self-reliant to let government patronage alone. Besides, you cannot get a place without displacing some one, and one, it may be, who is both worthy and dependent, which I should be very sorry to do.

Ed would not agree with his father on the subject of the inadvisability of the effort, and, still urging his case in writing to his mother on the 28th of April, 1870, he said:

I don't look at it as Father does; I know there is a horde of office-seekers, but I think it is safe to say that not one in five hundred could have the influence to aid them that Father could give me through Gibbs, Pomeroy, Buckingham, etc. He certainly would sacrifice nothing by making an effort. He seems to think it would involve a sort of lowering of his self-respect. I cannot see how.

Tenacious as was the insistence of the young man, he did not get the place at that time, nor later; but we find him renewing his effort in December, 1871, when he suggests the desirability of getting the position of an assistant attorneyship, because it would aid him in his law practice. When it became apparent that nothing would be done in that direction, he seems to have become despondent and to have reverted to his old idea of entering upon a mercantile pursuit, and presumably he wrote his father to that effect. The letter elicited a really pathetic reply, and such portion of it as is pertinent is herewith reproduced. The father's letter was written from Cleveland, January 11, 1871. He says:

You suggest the going into some other pursuit—taking a clerkship in some wholesale house, etc. Oh, Edward! Are you never to stick to anything? Never to accomplish anything? Never to be self-reliant? Never self-resolved? In throwing a part of my patrimony into your education for the law, am I only sapping your manliness, and bringing on you the curse of all impotency? Why do you not tell me, son, that, having started on this course, if I now withdraw my support, you will

master your chosen calling, if you have to work a half decade for it and "wear your ten fingers to thin stumps"? and then, if spared, you will achieve your fortune in it, "heart within, and God overhead"?

I hope to be able to meet all your expenses, as purposed, for one year at the Law School, making two years in all. I know that it is unwise to borrow trouble from the future; and I do not do it. I calmly and contentedly leave it all in God's hands and give myself to present duties. You, my son, may do the same. Were it now certain that you could be aided in your studies but four months longer, reflect how much you may accomplish in that time, with God's blessing on an unrelaxing diligence.

If the past has fulfilled neither your hopes nor mine, do not let any present opportunity be marred by any desperate or desponding mood; but remember that the New Year is the time for good resolutions. Form them, and fortify them with a higher strength than your own.

Mother Wolcott also had some advice to give about this time apropos of her son's state of mind. He seems to have fallen into a despondent mood shortly before his graduation, out of which both his father and mother were constantly using their best endeavors to rally him. Writing on May 29, 1871, only a month before his final term closed and evidently in reply to a letter from him, Mrs. Wolcott thus addressed him:

Why, my son, has this been the unhappiest year you have ever passed? I supposed you were very happy, and were looking forward hopefully, as we all are for you, though we who are older realize, as you cannot, what a struggle life is, and how few ever realize the early hopes of themselves or their friends. The only life that is not a failure is that which is consecrated to the service of Christ.

#### GRADUATION

We have gotten somewhat ahead of the main thread of our story, which necessarily deals with Mr. Wolcott's progress with his law studies.

Early in the fall of 1870 he entered the Harvard Law School, and soon afterward he located in a boarding-

house at Cambridge. For the time he had abandoned all effort to obtain outside employment, because the requirements of the course were such as to employ his entire time. Writing on the 8th of October, he said that he would be pleased if he could do other work, but could not.

I find [he says] that the past year has been but child's play to the work before me this year. Heretofore there have been two lectures a day. This year we have three two days in the week, and four the other three days. Two lectures a day are required; the others are optional. I have taken them all so far and mean to the year through if I possibly can. The lectures are in the morning from nine o'clock to one, and I find the remainder of the day and the evening hardly long enough to read up on them.

Then he adds a hopeful note. "But the little experience I have had so far makes me," he says, "more hopeful for the future than I have ever been before."

November 8th, Edward wrote his father requesting him to send him money to purchase law books, which, he said, would not only be of present use, but of great advantage to him in the future, after he should begin the practice of the law. In the same letter we find the following interesting allusion to Yale: "Did I tell you that two of my Yale classmates are here at the Law School, and that I have the advantage of them now and use when I am with them only the longest words in the legal vocabulary and talk often and learnedly of 'conditional limitations,' 'writs of certiorari,' and the like."

January, 1871, found the young law student engaged in a moot court case involving a question of bankruptcy. The briefs in the case he duly forwarded to his father, and, writing on the 25th of January, he says: "The case came off yesterday, and I was told that I did remarkably well, but perhaps it was the partiality of my friends that prompted them to say so. At all events, for once, I felt satisfied with myself." The case was taken under advisement, and in the main the decision was favorable to the Wolcott side of the controversy.

In the letter giving account of the moot case there is further reference to the necessity for the purchase of books, not only for use in the school, but for the adornment of a future law library. It appears that the young man's grandfather then had been appealed to and had made him a loan with which to buy these works, so necessary to him then and afterward.

Replying on the 30th of April, 1871, to a question from his father as to when he would be able to begin the practice of his profession, Mr. Wolcott said:

I think I shall be by the end of summer. Perhaps, before. Governor Washburne thinks it is very unwise for any one to start into practice short of three years' hard study, but the majority of lawyers never did it. I enclose a note I received from George Hobb in answer to one I wrote him to see if he knew of any opportunity in an office on salary or with some older lawyer. I hope you won't delay writing to him, for a great deal will be gained if I can start in my profession with a certainty for the first two or three years of an income. Success, I am reasonably confident, would come in time, but if I started alone it would be after years of poverty and toil.

June 17th he tells his father that after the close of the term he wanted to study up the statutes, pleadings, and the more abstruse parts of real property law and get admitted to the Massachusetts bar. "The Massachusetts bar," he says, "stands higher than any in the United States. An admission to it is recognized everywhere, and if I pass my examination to it I shall feel confident to hang out my shingle anywhere. By staying here I can have the use of the library during vacation." In the same letter, Mr. Wolcott writes:

As you probably heard by the circular sent you sometime since, the rule has been changed and every member of the Law School after October 1, 1870, who wishes a degree must be examined for it. The old men get it without. I entered for the examination and am now in the midst of it. We are examined in thirteen different studies, several of which we have not heard lectures on at all this year and I have been study-



ing very hard lately. Crammed all night Thursday and so far have got along well.

The final and happy culmination was achieved a few weeks later, and on June 30, 1871, we find Mr. Wolcott writing to his father:

I am happy to inform you that I succeeded in getting my degree with a good stand in each department and with an examination harder than any I will have to pass to get admitted to the bar. About forty were examined; twenty-four got through. If I have written elatingly(?) about my getting this degree, please bear in mind that it is the first I ever passed, and that I obtained it by examination and not, as most did, by remaining here the requisite time.

Mr. Wolcott did not spend the summer in Boston as he had hoped to do, but left for home immediately after graduating.

## FIRST YEARS IN COLORADO

COLORADO claimed Mr. Wolcott very soon after he had concluded his law course. He was partial to Boston, and would have located in that city for the practice of his profession if conditions had been favorable. But, discovering that there were more than eight hundred lawyers there, he concluded that, without means, as he was, there would be little opportunity to gain a foothold. Accordingly, we find him returning to his home in Cleveland after the close of his term in the latter part of June, 1871, with his much prized diploma in his pocket. We may imagine him enjoying himself for a brief period with his family, and then starting out to win his fortune in the far West—in what to him was practically an unknown land.

There is no evidence that the young man was irresistibly drawn to Colorado for Colorado's sake. Conditions rather than his own inclination decided his choice. Even after he was compelled to surrender his ambition of remaining in Boston, he would have tarried at a less remote place if there had been sufficient inducement. In view of his wonderful success in the Centennial State, then a territory, and because he afterward became such a favorite there, it would be pleasant to record that it had long been predetermined by his own preference that he should proceed to that territory as soon as he could do so; and if this were a novel and not history that turn could be given the narrative. The fact remains, however, that Mr. Wolcott went to Colorado because he was in search of a place to locate for the practice of his profession, and because the presence of his brother Henry in that territory led him to turn his attention thitherward.

## HENRY WOLCOTT AS PIONEER

From their infancy up, Henry Wolcott and Ed Wolcott had been the closest of chums. There was a difference of only two years in their ages, and while in many respects they were temperamentally unlike, their tastes were similar.

The bond of union was so strong that they sought every opportunity to be together, and it was most natural that with Henry in the West and with nothing to hold him in the East, Ed should seek to join him. It does not appear, however, that Henry sought to unduly influence his brother to establish himself in Colorado, but rather that, after pointing out the advantages of settling in the territory, he left him to choose his own course. They were in constant correspondence, and there can be little doubt that in casting about in his mind for a location, Ed's thoughts turned frequently toward the far West, but as a necessity rather than as a matter of choice. Such is indicated to have been the case by a letter written by him to his father in December, 1870, six months before he graduated.

He then was possessed of the idea that if he could obtain an assistant United States district attorneyship, the position would be of vast advantage to him in the future in establishing himself, and, realizing the difficulty of getting such an appointment in the East, he suggested to his father the advisability of trying to obtain one in some of the Western States; and as his father was personally acquainted with Honorable Samuel C. Pomeroy, then a Senator from Kansas, he urged him to importune that gentleman to aid him. "It would not be quite as congenial to me as the East," he wrote, "but the prospects for the future would be much better." Whether Father Wolcott wrote to Mr. Pomeroy does not appear, but when eight months later Ed started West, he made a call on the Kansas Senator. He stopped for a day or two at both Leavenworth and Lawrence, Kansas, and doubtless if he had been given encouragement to expect an official appointment would have remained in Kansas. Naturally, however, there was little or nothing that Mr. Pomeroy could do to assist him, for, even then, sparsely populated though the State was, there were more office-

seekers than offices in Kansas. In consequence of this failure we find Mr. Wolcott turning his back on the "Sunflower" State while he proceeded upon his Western course.

Henry Wolcott had preceded his brother to Colorado, and, when Ed arrived, had been located there for about two years. He had gone direct to Central City in the neighborhood of which place the first important discovery of gold in Colorado had been made only ten years before. Central was the county seat of Gilpin County, and until the discovery of the rich deposits at Cripple Creek, that town remained the centre of the greatest gold-producing district in the State. Indeed, in that early day, Gilpin was the only county in the State which was producing quartz gold in quantity. On this account it was the Mecca of all the treasure-seekers of the Rocky Mountain region. Denver was the capital of the then territory, as it now is of the State, and was the most important trading centre of that section of the Rocky Mountain region; but it was entirely dependent upon the surrounding region for its existence, and Gilpin County was the most important of all its feeders. Central naturally attracted the gold hunters, and in addition many professional men sought location there. In consequence of its superior importance the town became the home of many lawyers and writers of ability, and its banks and other business houses soon came to be known for their stability.

In those days one heard seldom of Gilpin County, for Gilpin County was "The Kingdom of Gilpin." Named in honor of Governor Gilpin, the first chief executive of the territory, that county was destined to give to the State in the persons of Henry M. Teller and Jerome B. Chaffee the State's first two United States Senators, and in the person of James B. Belford, whom "Sunset" Cox dubbed the "Red-headed Rooster of the Rockies," the State's first Representative in Congress. In addition, the county also was to supply in Professor Nathaniel P. Hill another of the State's representatives in the upper House of Congress, and in Henry R. Wolcott it came near giving to the State one of its early governors.

Subsequent discoveries of gold and silver and the agricultural development of the State have had the effect of

placing other cities in the lead over Central, but it should be said that, while those places have gone ahead, Central has held her own, and her loss has been only that of relative position. In those days Central was practically the only place in the State "to go to," if one desired to be at the centre of activity. Naturally, then, Henry Wolcott chose Central as the first scene of his operations. Thither he went early in the summer of 1869.

Colorado then was in its infancy. When Henry arrived there was not a foot of railroad in the State, except in the extreme northeastern corner, the nearest railroad station being at Cheyenne, Wyoming, more than a hundred miles north of Denver. A year later we find him writing with much ecstasy over the arrival of the "iron horse" at Denver. "This," he said, "leaves but forty miles of staging and seems to reduce the distance to the States nearly a quarter." The territory was admitted into the Union in 1876, seven years after Henry's arrival, and because of the date it bears the distinction of being called the "Centennial State."

The Western third of the territory was occupied by Indians, and its great fastnesses were practically unknown to men of the white race. The entire population was fewer than fifty thousand, and Denver, the capital city, had a population of only about five thousand. Some placer mining had been done on the present site of Leadville, and silver had been discovered in Clear Creek County, adjoining Gilpin on the west. The mining area was, however, extremely limited, and the total production of the precious metals, which has since reached the sum of \$30,000,000 was then only \$2,500,000 annually. Practically, there was no agriculture, although some sheep and cattle were raised on the plains. But the potentialities of a great State were there, and Henry Wolcott was not slow in appreciating this fact. Hence, notwithstanding that for a time after his arrival he was without employment, he frequently wrote enthusiastically over the prospects.

As early as September 9, 1869, in the course of a long letter to his mother, he says: "I have as yet been unable to find any position, but think I shall stick to this country. I have travelled around trying to find something, and I have



made up my mind that in years this is going to become the richest section I have seen. Although they have been working their mines now for nearly ten years they have but made a beginning." Two weeks later he writes in the same strain: "I like this country very much indeed. There is the strongest kind of fascination about it, and if a young man once gets started he cannot help doing well if there is anything in him and he does himself justice."

His desire then was to obtain a position as a clerk in a bank, where high salaries were paid, but in this ambition he was not successful, and soon afterward he turned his attention to mining. He already had made friends, and writing briefly of the people of the section, said: "There are not, of course, many fine people here, but what there are are among God's chosen few, or I lose my guess." And again, December 21st, this time to Ed:

Colorado is the place for me. Have just fitted up a nice room and am getting along first rate. Have already a good reputation for milling among the miners. Have been studying assaying, etc., for the past two weeks. I reached Colorado with thirty-five cents in pocket and not even an acquaintance. Am something ahead, but am going to put it all into a mine I have leased.

Another enticing letter, and a longer one, was sent to the brother, who then was poring over his books in Boston, on the 14th of January, 1870. It was full of hope and of enthusiasm over the prospects. "If I ever make a fortune I expect it will be made in Colorado," he said, in this as he had said in previous letters; "unless," he added, "I marry one, and I expect to make it in mining."

He then presents the following captivating picture of the situation: "I should like to see you, Ed, and out here, too. There are some splendid fellows here; plenty of good tobacco, good parties of the stag variety; good stories, good board, light air, lots of reading matter, lots of wood and oil; good shave (hot-water arrangement); good bed blankets, (no sheets); and I have a devilish smart 'dorg.'" Surely no younger brother could long resist such allurements.

Judging from Henry's next letter to his brother, which

was written in the following June, he had made rather rapid progress. Again reciting that when he arrived in Colorado he had only thirty-five cents in his pocket, he said that at the end of a month he was a hundred dollars in debt; at the end of four about even, while at the time the letter was written he was *about fifteen hundred dollars in debt*. However, his credit was still good and he was not worrying. He had been mining. "I had started eight men working on the Missouri lode," he says, "expecting to make a fortune in a few months, but did not get a pound of pay. When the men would work no longer on faith I quit working, or, rather, they did." He then tells of his experience in running a mill, which also was disastrous. In that business he found the competition to be very great and "prices for crushing so low a man would have to steal to make money, and," he adds, "I am afraid I would be caught if I tried that."

Having presented this doleful picture, Henry announced his acceptance of a position in the Boston and Colorado Smelting Works, of which Professor, afterward United States Senator, Hill, was the general manager, and of which Mr. Wolcott was ere long to become the assistant and acting manager with responsibility and influence almost, if not quite, equal to those of his chief. He assumed the position in the Hill works on the 19th of June, 1870. Later he was sent by the Company to South Park to examine the mining possibilities of that section, and on the strength of the report which he made was commissioned to build and operate branch smelting works at Fairplay. He alternated between the two places until the plants were removed to the vicinity of Denver, where, under the name of the Argo Smelter, the works remained for years one of the most important ore-treating establishments of the world.

Writing to his father of the business on the day that he took hold, Mr. Wolcott said:

The smelting works where I shall be employed are the largest works of any kind in the territory and a concern employing over half a million of capital all the time. They buy ores and tailings, and reduce by smelting to a copper matt containing

all the gold, silver, and copper. This matt is shipped to Swansea, England, for separation. I shall keep the books, attend to the office, and do some of the outside business.

The total product of the establishment for 1870, the year Mr. Wolcott entered it, was \$650,000; ten years later, under his and Professor Hill's management, the figure had increased to \$2,500,000.

The Hill works were located at Blackhawk, only a mile or two down the gulch from Central, these two towns together with Nevadaville practically constituting one city. Combined, the three places had a population of 4500, only 500 below Denver's number.

#### ON THE WAY

That Henry's idea was to inform his brother regarding conditions and prospects rather than to influence him to settle in Colorado is made evident by the fact that in one of his letters he advised him to make sure of employment before going to any place. He wanted him with him in Colorado, but he also wanted him to ascertain before going there that there would be something for him to do and a place ready for him when he should arrive. To this end negotiations were opened with Attorney Hugh Butler, who was doing a thriving business in Blackhawk, with a view to arranging a partnership for Ed. While this negotiation failed of results in the direction intended, it was one of the circumstances which influenced the young lawyer to locate in Colorado.

Mr. Wolcott did not go direct from Cleveland to Colorado. He made several stops on the way, the first at Jacksonville, Illinois, where an uncle, Elizur Wolcott, resided. Making Jacksonville the centre of his operations, he entered upon a general investigation of the region roundabout with a view to ascertaining its desirability as a place of business for a young attorney. Uncle Elizur had resided in Jacksonville for many years, and he was anxious to have Ed establish himself there, or somewhere in that vicinity, and accordingly the young man made an effort to connect himself with an established attorney in Jacksonville. Failing in

this he in turn visited Clarksville, Hannibal, St. Charles, Quincy, and other promising towns on both sides of the upper Mississippi River. He made a trip to St. Louis and another to Springfield, but with unsatisfactory results. That he created a good impression at Jacksonville is evident from the fact that very soon after his arrival Uncle Elizur wrote to Father Wolcott concerning the nephew: "I would have no doubt of Edward's success ultimately anywhere, but the rub is to get a start; that takes so long anywhere. More than any one I have seen for many years, Edward seems to me to have the ability to make a distinguished man. There is that about him which reminds me of Bismarck." He then proceeded to outline the advantages of the young man's remaining in Illinois.

The outlook was discouraging to Ed. "I feel very much disheartened," he said, in writing to his father. "If I could only feel that I could fit up an office, buy what few books I needed, and could struggle along for the first few months, I could in the end make money in any one of these Western towns. There are lots of lawyers, but the majority are ignorant fellows and have not the confidence of the community." He continues:

My ticket and sleeping-car and meals to Chicago and to St. Louis via Jacksonville—three nights and two days travelling cost about \$40. My meals cost me as little as I could make them. I bought the underclothing you know I needed, and if I go to Quincy and the other towns, I cannot possibly look through in a day. I must find out about the other lawyers, the business, and the prospects of the place.

If I do that, as it seems to me best, I shall have money enough when I get to St. Louis to take me to Springfield and then shall, if I cannot get in with some older lawyer, do, I don't know what. I can earn a living anywhere,—I am not afraid of that, but I cannot earn it without leaving my profession, and I do hope I shall not have to do that.

After turning his face again toward the West, Mr. Wolcott made his first stop at Keokuk, Iowa, where relatives resided; but before starting he wrote his father saying that it seemed best to both himself and his uncle that he should



proceed to Kansas, "and not finding anything there, to Colorado." His intention was to go first to see Senator Pomeroy, and if he did not succeed in interesting that gentleman in his behalf, to proceed westward. Further, it had been suggested to him that if both ventures should prove unsuccessful he should then return to Jacksonville and take up the practice of law on his own account, which he seemed inclined to do, or go to Memphis, Tennessee, and enter upon a business career.

Not only did Senator Pomeroy fail to offer any substantial inducements to Mr. Wolcott to remain in Kansas, but he made an unfavorable impression on the young man. The Kansas dignitary told the youthful fortune-hunter that "he would do anything he could for him," but did nothing. Evidently, Mr. Wolcott soon discovered that he could expect little more than agreeable assurances from the Kansas statesman, and what he heard from Senator Pomeroy's neighbors did not prepossess him in the Senator's favor. "They tell bad stories of Pomeroy in Kansas," he wrote to his father after his arrival in Colorado, and, adding his own impression of him, he said, "My opinion is that he is a thorough demagogue, though in the better sense of the word, if it has a better sense; not a bad man." The only real gratifying results of his stop in the Sunflower State were the pleasant references made by people who had become acquainted with the elder Wolcott's anti-slavery views. Speaking of this experience, he says: "I met several gentlemen, old settlers in Lawrence. They all knew you, and all spoke of you, the general tone being expressed in the remark of one of them who said, 'Young man, your father has got a heap of stock in this town.'"

#### A SOJOURN AT BLACKHAWK

Proceeding direct from Lawrence to Blackhawk, where Henry was then securely established in the Hill works, Mr. Wolcott arrived at his destination about September 20, 1871, "thoroughly tired out and unwell," as he wrote his father a few days later. He found the prospects for an engagement with Mr. Butler unsatisfactory, because that gentle-



man had entered into negotiations with another attorney. In view, however, of the possibilities, he decided to remain for the time; but in case of failure, he was inclined to return to the Mississippi Valley, where he had received an offer in a mercantile way from Memphis.

By the 15th of October it was quite definitely determined that there would be no opening for him with Mr. Butler, and it was that gentleman who made the first suggestion that Mr. Wolcott should locate in Georgetown, where, soon afterward, he first entered upon the practice of the law. He did not, however, proceed immediately to Georgetown, but remained in Blackhawk until the Christmas holidays, putting in most of his time as principal of the Blackhawk school, where he taught for about two months.

That Mr. Wolcott had become somewhat despondent by the time he had decided upon this change was made very evident from a letter written to his father, from which the following is an extract:

If I could get the money I would stay here; otherwise of course I had better go to Memphis. Since I have been here, nearly a month, I have involved Henry in debt for my board at \$15 per week (the cheapest place in the town) and for a pair of pants which I was obliged to purchase, and some other items. I could not help this. If I stay here I shall need some money to start, and to buy some few indispensable books and a little furniture. I should sleep in my office. Is not Grandfather willing to help me this much? I could certainly repay him, and it would be of so much assistance to me in starting.

I have tried in every way to get some writing or anything to do, but without success. I could do nothing but go into some mine or mill. I have felt so discouraged that I was anxious to do that, but Henry would not listen to my giving up. I have spent my days at Mr. Butler's office and my evenings at Mrs. Hill's. Henry has been very kind to me here, but he is unable to assist me pecuniarily, and the money he has paid for me here must be repaid. He has had to run into debt for it.

I had hoped that I should never have to ask my father for another cent, after what he had done for me, but I know not where else to turn. I have tried to do the best thing, but I have not succeeded. I find by talking with other lawyers that

I have an education far above the average, and if I can get started I feel certain I can succeed. Should I go to Memphis, I shall need funds to get there and to pay Henry. Should I stay here I should need funds to repay Henry and to start. It gives me pain and mortification to write this letter, but I must write it.

In the same letter he tells of disagreeable news from Mr. Butler, adding that that gentleman had expressed disappointment over the fact that he could not take him in with him. He then refers to the suggestion by Mr. Butler that he should locate in Georgetown.

He is [said Mr. Wolcott] anxious that I should settle in Georgetown, a place of some 3000 inhabitants, twenty miles from Central and growing. He has promised his influence and whatever business he can send me. He says that after the first six or eight months I could support myself, and soon be making money. And he is especially anxious that I should stay because the arrangement he has partially made may still fall through, in which event he could talk with me, and wants me in this vicinity. If I could get along for a year I would like no better place than Central in which to locate.

Taking up the subject again in a letter of the 29th of October he announced his firm conviction that he should settle in Georgetown and added: "The place is growing up wonderfully of late. The mines there are doing splendidly and are all more or less involved in litigation. Butler and the other leading lawyer here are very anxious that I should settle there, and assure me of success as soon as I become acquainted." Furthermore Professor Hill had promised to give him a commission on all ore from Georgetown which he could send to the Hill smelter.

#### TEACHING SCHOOL

By this time he had consummated the arrangement to teach for a short time. This, he realized, would be a very brief employment and would bring him in only a small sum, but enough to pay his expenses for the time and to enable him to repay some of the money he had been com-

pelled to borrow from his brother Henry. "So," he says, "I feel better and I think I shall scrape through somehow."

Announcing in his next communication to his father that "the school-teacher is abroad," he adds:

Everybody here seems very much pleased with the way in which I manage the school, and the school committee want me to take it for a year. I have declined so far; but could get it if I would any time within the month. I am unwilling to teach for any length of time if I can possibly get started in the law. Colorado is still a territory and has a population of less than fifty thousand, but either this or next year it is sure to become a State, and the men who start with it and grow up with it must surely reap influence. So time is precious, and if I am to start in Colorado, the sooner I begin the better.

He was offered \$200 a month to continue at the head of the school. He decided instead to "emigrate to Georgetown," which meant the crossing of the sharp mountain range between the north fork and the south fork of Clear Creek, a journey of about eighteen or twenty miles.

While Mr. Wolcott's service as a teacher was confined to a period of about eight weeks, there are still a number of people living in Colorado who attended the Blackhawk school while he was in charge of it, all of whom recall the experience as a pleasant one. He was agreeable and even jovial with the pupils, but withal firm and insistent upon careful attention to their studies. Clear in his own knowledge of things, and possessed, even then, of a commanding personality, he easily obtained the attention of others, and the school made splendid progress while under the charge of the young lawyer. "I was a wee bit of a thing," said a Colorado lady to the author, "when I attended Mr. Wolcott's school, but I remember distinctly how he looked and how much I was attracted to him. He was very firm with the older students, but exceptionally gentle with and kind to the little ones. He helped us along wonderfully, and I always have felt much indebted to him. He was my first teacher." Mr. H. M. Orahord, who was treasurer of the Blackhawk school board at the time, recalls that Mr. Wolcott was a successful teacher. He says that

he was especially strong as an instructor in grammar and rhetoric, but that he was not partial to mathematics.

#### IN GEORGETOWN

Mr. Wolcott arrived in Georgetown during the Christmas week of 1871, and there he remained until he removed to Denver in 1879. During his two months as a teacher he had earned about \$300, and having saved a portion of this sum he at last was prepared, although poorly from a financial standpoint, to enter upon his life as a lawyer. The deficit was in part made good by Mr. T. H. Potter, a Central banker, of whom Mr. Wolcott speaks as "a friend sent by Providence."

He had chosen a location and arranged for a partnership. Nothing was left to be done but to have a sign painted. His first partner was a young Southerner named Pope, Frank A. Pope, who was known to the people of Colorado as "Judge" Pope. That gentleman had been established in Georgetown for some time, and Mr. Wolcott tells us had had a practice during the previous year amounting to \$2500, which it was believed could be increased during the following twelve months. The principal inducement to go in with him was the fact that he had an office and was possessed of a law library, circumstances which were of no mean importance in view of Mr. Wolcott's depleted finances and his lack of law-books. The partnership did not continue for a great while. Never greatly impressed by Mr. Pope's ability, Mr. Wolcott soon became convinced that he was disinclined to work and, while regarding him as a "good fellow, with fair legal ability," he soon terminated the association as undesirable. Thereafter while he remained in Georgetown, he continued without a partner. When he first arrived, Mr. Wolcott was unable to obtain admission to the bar because of the law controlling such admission. This circumstance kept him out of court until 1873, during which time his practice was limited to his office.

It may be well here to permit the young attorney to review his recent experiences, as he found it convenient to do in a letter to his brother Sam, written on the 29th of



December, a few days after his arrival in Georgetown. In this letter, Mr. Wolcott not only gives his brother an account of his travels from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rocky Mountains, speaks of an evanescent courtship, and relates his experiences as a teacher, but tells of his location in Georgetown, and indicates briefly his reasons for settling there. The letter follows:

GEORGETOWN, COLORADO TERRITORY,  
29th December, 1871.

DEAR BROTHER SAM:

We made a sort of an arrangement you'll remember when we met last in New York, by which I was to write you occasionally, tell you how and what I was doing, my hopes and fears, in a brotherly way, etc., and in return you were to do the same by me. I should have fulfilled my part long ago, but I was constantly hoping to be able to tell you that I had made some permanent arrangement for the practice of my profession.

Instead of that, I knocked around for some time, visiting some weeks at Jacksonville, where I was disappointed in the expectation I had formed of going into business with an older lawyer. Then making a three weeks' stay at Keokuk, I had a mighty pleasant visit and fell in love with a staving pretty girl; but I have about given that up, as I found out that she has comparatively nothing in her own right. And her father is too confoundedly healthy. Then, in answer to Henry's letter and advice I started for Colorado.

My embarrassment all along was the lack of funds. Grandfather gave me a hundred at first and afterwards another hundred and told me that was all I could ever expect from him. So I was compelled to leave my profession or go in with some old lawyer. Well, I reached Colorado nearly busted. I was unable to form any business arrangement and had nearly made up my mind to go to mining, when fortunately, the Blackhawk school became vacant, and I secured the position at \$150 a month. When the term was nearly expired I had really flattering offers to keep it, Professor Hill and others offering to make the salary up to \$200 a month, and I fully expected to accept it, when a kind and overruling Providence (with a big "P") sent me a friend, out here, who offered to back me in Georgetown, if I would hang out my shingle on "my own hook." Then I determined on taking advantage of his kindness and came to Georgetown with him, to survey the ground, when, last



week just at the termination of my school year, I had an offer from Frank A. Pope, a young lawyer here, doing the best business (perhaps \$2500) a year, to form a partnership with him. That offer I accepted and came over last Tuesday (when he went East) and to-day, in front of the office, swinging proudly to the breeze, there hangs a sign :

POPE & WOLCOTT  
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS  
AT LAW

We have n't taken in a blamed cent yet ; but I " live in hopes." Georgetown is a comparatively new place, population 1500, eighteen miles west from Central and Blackhawk and forty-five west from Denver. Heretofore it has been rather dull, but within the last six months large, true silver mines of enormous value have been discovered and everything is very lively.

I think my chance a good one and mean to stick to it. Write soon, Sam. Please don't wait as I have done.

As ever your brother,

ED.

When Mr. Wolcott arrived in Georgetown, that place was about five or six years old, but only recently had it come into any prominence. Located practically at the foot of the towering mountain known as Gray's Peak, one of the tallest of the many high mountains in Colorado, it rests at the head of a comparatively level valley, with mountains rising above it in three different directions, all of which are covered with pine and were believed to be "ribbed with silver." The location is an attractive one, and is made all the more so by the fact that the south fork of Clear Creek, fresh from the embrace of the perpetual snows of the mountains, finds its way through the heart of the little city. The altitude of the town is high, and ordinarily the winters are cold ; but the summer climate is almost perfect, and the surrounding scenery is compensation to the resident for many disadvantages.

It will have been observed that in one of his letters Mr. Wolcott placed the population of the town when he went there at 1500, and in another at 3000. It is probable that

in the one instance he had in mind the entire district and in the other the town only. But this need not necessarily have been so. The census of 1870 gave the population as 802, but there was a rapid increase immediately after that enumeration, and it may well be that by the end of 1871 there were 1500, or even 3000, people in the town, for there had been such a rapid improvement in the industrial conditions of the place that necessarily many newcomers were attracted to it.

Practically the first silver ore ever found in Colorado was discovered in the immediate vicinity of where Georgetown was afterward located, and Clear Creek County remained the principal silver producer of the State until 1880, when Lake County took the lead with the enormous output of the Leadville mines. The original Clear Creek discovery was made on McClellan Mountain in 1864, by men who were prospecting for gold. The discovery aroused much interest, because all realized the importance of being able to mine both of the precious metals in the territory. Hitherto the mining output of the territory had consisted of gold alone, but with silver added, the people became at once imbued with the idea that the region was to prove exceptionally productive. But, while this feeling ran high for a time after the first silver discovery, there was a long period of waiting before there could be any fruition of the hopes which had been aroused by the finding of a rich deposit of the white metal within the borders of the territory. All the ore-treating works were constructed for the reduction of gold, and none of them were adapted to the treatment of silver.

Several years elapsed before a process was found for reducing the new ores, and it was not until 1870 that the production of silver came to be of material proportions. The output for that year was about \$480,000, and it was doubled in 1871, the year that Mr. Wolcott settled in the county. As justifying his expectations the production increased in 1872 to \$1,500,000 and continued to grow until 1874, when it reached about \$2,200,000, which for many years continued to be about the average production of the county.

Prospectors thronged the mountainsides, and new mines

were opened every few days. It was believed that the country was possessed of untold wealth, and people flocked in from all directions. A large number of business houses were established; fairly good hotels were built; two or three banks were located in the town, and for a time there were published two daily newspapers. Denver was the nearest railroad station, but there was a well-managed stage line, and large numbers of people arrived every day. The fortune-hunter was much in evidence and the settlement wore a bustling aspect, even beyond what was justified by the mining development. Many of the new arrivals were people of education and refinement, but by far the larger number were adventurers. In short, Georgetown was at that time a typical mining camp, offering many inducements, which, however, were coupled with some hardships and numerous unprepossessing conditions. It should be added that as time went on conditions generally improved until the town became, as it still is, one of the most staid and orderly in the State.

In his first letter from Georgetown to his father, Mr. Wolcott speaks of the town as "a lively little place. I board at the hotel," he continues, "there being no private boarding-houses. I feel rather blue here, among strangers and away from Henry; but I suppose I shall soon be used to it."

#### BUILDING UP A PRACTICE

His Georgetown office was located on Rose Street and consisted of one small room. In this, he had a home-made table, which, according to a gentleman who knew him, "he used in the daytime for a desk, and at night, for a bed, spreading upon it blankets which during the day were stowed away in a convenient corner."

Necessarily, progress was slow in the beginning, and the receipts meagre. Still, considering that he went into Georgetown without friends and without money, his success was quite marvellous. Only once during the seven years of his Georgetown residence did he permit himself to give attention to any other business than the law. This exception oc-

curred in 1873, when, for three months, he associated himself with Alex McCree and Thomas Campbell in the editorial conduct of the *Georgetown Miner*, which was one of the daily papers then published in the new mining city, and which has continued to this day as a weekly.

From the date of his settlement in Georgetown, Mr. Wolcott's letters to the folks at home became somewhat less frequent. His epistles are filled with exhortations to members of the family to write, as they are with apologies for his own infrequent letters. Even then, he was by no means as remiss in this respect as are most young men, but so strong was his attachment for his home that he always was remorseful over any neglect on his part. Indeed, he was an exceptional correspondent, and the world would have been the gainer if all his letters had been preserved.

On the 10th of March, 1872, we find him writing an apology for the irregularity and infrequency of his letters, and he explains his neglect by saying that he had been changing his office and had been very busy on a case which had been pending ever since his arrival in Georgetown and which was then being settled.

Speaking of the suit, he says:

Like all other large cases here, it is in regard to a mine which has three claimants and a great many points have arisen regarding it. We have been making arrangements to sell to the other party for about a hundred thousand dollars. It is about the largest case they have ever had here. Every lawyer almost in the territory has been retained on one side or the other, and if we sell, I shall feel as if "Othello's occupation's gone."

Mr. Wolcott was engaged in the conduct of the Dives-Pelican case, which was one of the notable mining suits of the time. There is no means of determining whether that is the case to which he referred in the letter quoted above. There would be many reasons for supposing it to be but for the figure named by him as the consideration in the then prospective settlement, which seems ridiculously small in view of the fierce and prolonged legal conflict. At any rate, Mr. Wolcott became identified with the historical case. He appears to have been for a time counsel in the suit and



afterward referee, in which latter capacity he took much of the testimony bearing on the points at issue.

Mr. R. S. Morrison, who was a contemporary of Mr. Wolcott in Georgetown and afterward in Denver and who had an acquaintance with that gentleman co-existent practically with Mr. Wolcott's residence in Colorado, probably is better qualified to speak of the early portion of Mr. Wolcott's Colorado life than any other man. He has prepared for this work a sketch of that portion of Mr. Wolcott's career covering his Georgetown experience. In this contribution Mr. Morrison supplies an interesting account of Mr. Wolcott's participation in the Dives-Pelican controversy, of which he speaks as "the most famous mining contest which ever occurred in Colorado." Of that litigation, he says:

Both mines were in big pay and the owners had no morbid disposition to compromise. The suits on the docket were extravagantly and uselessly multiplied, and, if we ever can truthfully say that money is unwisely expended upon lawyers, we could certainly say so in this instance. Every lawyer in the county was employed in some capacity, besides the imported talent.

There was not only litigation but there was bitter feeling, dividing the county into feuds; partisanship ran high and money flowed freely. Each party had its saloon on the side and its fighting men who stood guard or charged and fought for the ore in sight, enough of it to make the one that could hold possession rich in a month's time. There was battle, murder, and sudden death. There was judicial corruption, alleged if not proved.

At one of the trials one of the attorneys for the Pelican deliberately insulted Colonel Thornton of the Dives. The insult was patent to every one in the courtroom, and, as coolly as when he stood in the Confederate line behind a breastwork of corpses at the battle of Franklin, Thornton said, "You are a liar." He made it sure that as many heard the lie given as heard the insult which provoked it.

The Court pronounced a heavy fine upon the Colonel, which McCurdy, his client, himself a soldier on the Union side, promptly and proudly paid.

Among the counsel in the case were men learned in the law,



and among them also were others who could scarcely explain how they got a license to practice. Some were conspicuous for ability and others equally conspicuous for want of it. The case had a strange ending. One side exhausted its resources and was sold out for the debts it could not pay. The Pelican, which began the fighting, was bought in at sheriff's sale by the Dives which it had hoped to crush by the combination of law and violence. The winning party, John H. McCurdy, the most brilliant operator that ever came to the State, died just as the warfare ended in his favor.

In this litigation there was love and romance as well as war. Youth and beauty figured in it as well as fighting men. There were Union generals and Confederate colonels, and soldiers from both sides. There also were experts who swore to impossible conditions which nature refuses to produce, but with zeal, induced by heavy compensation, declared to be geological facts.

We bring in surroundings of this sort because they were making men of their participants and moulding their lives as mere conventional law suits in times of peace and order cannot make and mould, and Wolcott was in the midst of them. He had obtained the fortunate position of referee, and for months there gathered in his office the herd of witnesses to testify, and lawyers to examine.

There was Harry Thornton from California, the leading mining lawyer of his day, a splendid type of the Southern gentleman. There was Clarence King, a geologist, of wonderful acumen in his scientific specialty. Bright as these men were they found their equal in the young attorney writing out the evidence, interspersed with gems of wit and keen but good-natured sarcasm, not writable into the record, but effective to win admiration and friends. Henry M. Teller was the leading counsel for the Pelican, and little was it then imagined that himself and the referee would afterward split a Republican National Convention into two wings following the divided counsels of the Teller and the Wolcott factions.

Evidently the mining litigation produced an improvement in Mr. Wolcott's fortunes, for it scarcely had begun when he wrote home, saying:

"Business is good, and if my manner of living was even decently economical, I would even now be able to lay up something. As I told you in my last, I fear that for the

first few months after my partner returns we will be pretty poor."

After the settlement of the big mining controversy business was comparatively quiet, and our lawyer is found making a visit to Denver early in August in the hope of obtaining the nomination for District Attorney on behalf of the territory, in which, while he did not succeed, we are told by him that he "made a fair run, and would have had no difficulty whatever if my papers had been right for admission to the bar." This information is obtained from a letter written by Mr. Wolcott to his father on August 12th, and other accounts bear out the information that for a time he stood a fair show of obtaining this nomination. That he should have made so excellent an impression within the less than twelve months' time that he had been in Colorado certainly speaks well for both his legal ability and his capacity for making friends.

Following the effort for the District Attorneyship he dissolved his partnership with Mr. Pope. Business had fallen off, and his partner had returned to divide with him the slender receipts of the office. He did not enjoy making this division, and apparently had reached the conclusion that the partner was not earning his share of the receipts. Consequently, he decided to dissolve the partnership. Giving his reasons to his father, he says: "Business has been very quiet for the last two months. As soon as I can raise the money to buy some law-books, I shall dissolve my connection with my partner. He is a chivalrous, lazy Southerner, gentlemanly, and polite; but, after all, his name 'Pope' [Mr. Wolcott's mother's maiden name] is about the only good thing about him."

This determination to enter upon the practice alone did not assume definite form until well along in the fall, when, finding that his partner had taken out of the business over \$800 more than he [Wolcott] had drawn, he decided definitely upon the step, and soon afterward acted in accordance with his decision.

The dissolution of partnership came on the first of November, 1872, and we find Mr. Wolcott on the next day writing his first letter under his own individual letter-head,



EDWARD O. WOLCOTT, AT ABOUT THE AGE OF  
TWENTY-FIVE.

TO THE  
HONORABLE  
MEMBERS OF THE  
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

which was a neat inscription, making the following announcement to the world:

E. O. WOLCOTT,  
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW.

GEORGETOWN, COLO.

#### CONDITIONS IN COLORADO

The young man had enough of leisure in those days to afford time for writing accounts of the country. One of these descriptions in a letter to his father dated October 24th is worth copying. He says:

You use in your letter the term "frontier post." It is peculiarly appropriate. A person is apt to think of the mountain towns of Colorado as being, to be sure, in the Far West, but also, as being on the way to something beyond. This is entirely inaccurate. Get a recent map and you will see that the point where the Union Pacific Railroad crosses the Range is far north of us. No practicable route has ever been projected for hundreds of miles south of us. The Rocky Mountains stand like a Chinese Wall west, forbidding progress in that direction. There is no town west of Georgetown for a hundred miles north or south, till you reach Salt Lake City.

Georgetown is now growing rapidly. We have fourteen lawyers to a population of 2000, but very likely any year some El Dorado will spring up somewhere hereabouts entirely eclipsing it. The saddest thing to me, in Colorado, is the deserted settlements. I can now recall, within a radius of forty miles, at least eight towns, all of which have since 1859 exceeded Georgetown in population at the present time, and some of them reaching as high as 5000 people, the population of which now varies from one to ten inhabitants.

Colorado is enormously rich in minerals. One reason why we are now depressed is because in the latter years of the war and just after its close, everybody was rich in greenbacks and restless and speculative. The consequence was that properties here that would pay a good dividend on fifty or one hundred thousand dollars, were put upon the market and sold at prices ranging from three to five million dollars and were of course failures; and people East considered Colorado mines a humbug. New



York City alone has invested over a hundred million dollars in mining property in the territory. But the country is destined to have a glorious future.

A few days later we discover the young man moralizing over the fascination and uncertainty of mining as a business, and as he was writing on a Saturday night, he gave an incidental insight into the condition of religious matters at this "frontier post" at that time. Business was depressed, not because the mines were not producing well, but because the reducing works were not able to handle the ores. "I am," he writes, after midnight following a Saturday, "feeling particularly blue over the outlook, and it occurred to me as a happy thought to write and tell somebody about it." Speaking of the large number of miners that had been in town on that day, he said they were seldom seen at any other time and that they generally brought an influx of business. Proceeding, he says:

You can have no idea what a fascinating thing mining is. If a man has a good paying lode he is wholly independent. In every other business, as that of a merchant, agent or professional man you must toady to some one. But a miner has his wealth and his sustenance down in the rock and is " beholden to nobody "; and when a man does make money out of his mine (which happens in about one instance in forty) he always makes it fast. The money in mining, however, is in selling, for you get it all at once.

Coming then to the consideration of the churches, he speaks of having met the Congregational pastor, a Mr. Tuthill. "I shall go to hear him preach to-morrow, D. V.," he writes, and then adds: "Religion in this country is at a pretty low ebb. I believe Mr. Tuthill has four or five members. The Presbyterians are building a fine stone church. They are away ahead in this territory. They are great proselyters and have excellent go-ahead managers."

As late as May 22, 1876, in a letter to his father Mr. Wolcott makes a record of one of Colorado's late spring outbursts of weather, which every one who has lived in that mountainous region for any length of time

will recognize as true to nature. "After revelling for the past fortnight in almost Italian weather, we awoke this morning," he says, "to find the snow more than eighteen inches on a level, and so drifted that for the first time in four years no coach is able to leave or arrive. In fact," he adds facetiously, "navigation is closed, and were it not that I am always anxious to hear from home I should wish it to stay closed for a twelve-months."

As going to show that he had by no means lost his interest in the churches and that he was not above cracking a joke at their expense, he writes on the same date, mixing somewhat his Bible quotation:

There is no business yet to speak of, and I have rushed into a new extravagance. I have rented one of the most desirable pews in the Presbyterian Church (the Congregational Church has closed up by reason of the measles having settled in the last pastor's head). I hesitated awhile about renting this pew, but remembered what the inspired Psalmist said: "He that giveth to the Lord lendeth to the poor, and after many days it shall return unto him, to some tenfold, to some an hundred-fold."

I went to church twice yesterday and sat for half an hour while the minister preached from a text somewhere in Amos, about a dream some fellow had in which he saw God standing with a plumb-line, such as was used especially in building the Hoosac tunnel. But the preaching is as good as we pay for. And then the minister has three pretty daughters; but I have n't met them yet.

#### AS EDITOR

Mention has been made of the fact that for a time Mr. Wolcott wielded the editorial pen on the daily *Georgetown Miner*. He engaged only incidentally in newspaper work, and never abandoned his law practice for it. Most of his newspaper writing was done at night, and after the legal cares of the day had been put aside. In addition to writing for the *Miner*, he contributed a number of letters to the Cleveland papers, soon after he went to Georgetown, and on one occasion he entertained a desire to form a connection as a regular correspondent for one of them. His association with the *Miner* lasted from April 14 to July 28, 1873.

His work seems to have consisted of a mixture of editorial writing and reporting, but it is evident that he gave comparatively little attention to either branch. As a specimen of his editorial productions, the following from the *Miner* of July 10th of the year mentioned must suffice:

Poets have sung of the afflictions of poverty, orators have desecanted on its trials, and artists have depicted its terrors, since thoughts were first recorded and pigments known, but seldom has there been a period when the complaints of hard times have been so general and universal as the present. For our own part we see but little difference in the recurring years, as we are in such a continual state of dead brokedness, that we have come to consider it as our normal condition, and accept it as the inevitable. At first it was rather annoying to be eternally dunned by persistent creditors, but one finally becomes used to everything—even the patient eel loses his skin without a murmur—and now after our long experience we can smile blandly at those we owe, and keep our equanimity during the most unpleasant interviews. Some of the creditors are not as philosophical, and foolishly lose their tempers; but then they will learn better, poor fellows, in time, and we hopefully look forward to a peaceful future.

Ever since the war, more or less complaint of the scarcity of money, and the dullness of business, has prevailed. This is due in a great degree, no doubt, to the extravagant habits contracted during the flush years of greenbacks, fat contracts, and reckless speculation, when money was thought fit only to be squandered in riotous living and shoddy displays, so that when new greenbacks ceased to be issued, and opportunities for drawing on the government purse were withdrawn, people could not content themselves with moderate incomes. A sum which before the war was thought ample for all necessities, is now looked upon as a mere pittance. What was formerly classed among the luxuries, is now considered as indispensable. All this of course makes it difficult to fall back upon legitimate business, and ordinary remuneration, and causes us to consider the times unusually hard.

We must learn to live less expensively, and content ourselves with fewer extravagancies, before we can hope to become really prosperous as a people. In our own midst the money which is being made is less generally scattered than heretofore. As much ore is being sold, apparently, as at any previous time, but it is

produced by fewer mines. Last year the float ore from Leavenworth was affording remunerative employment to many, and more mines were being successfully developed by private parties than now, so that money was more equally distributed. To-day the main recipients from our ore-buyers can be easily numbered on our fingers, and the community as a whole are comparatively poor.

That this state of affairs will gradually rectify itself is very probable. We are learning, from necessity, to become more economical in our habits, and more careful in our ventures, all of which will, in the end, result in good.

In an article printed on the 3d of July, 1873, Mr. Wolcott related an incident of the then recent visit of President Grant to the new mining regions. The President had made a brief stop at the town of Idaho Springs, which, like Georgetown, was an important mining centre in Clear Creek County, and while there, according to our reporter's testimony, he was approached by two mysterious strangers who were prospectors, each of whom handed to him a sealed envelope containing a properly acknowledged deed to a half interest in a mine. In both cases the donors disappeared without then making themselves known, but the name of one of the men afterward came out and proved to be that of an old soldier who had fought under Grant in the Peninsular campaign.

In this case the mine was subsequently developed, and Mr. Wolcott tells us that at the depth of fifty feet the owner came upon "a body of ore abundant enough and rich enough to turn the brain of the oldest prospector." Further along in the story, he says that the body of the ore increased in size and the pay streak in richness with increasing depth, until one assay was procured which indicated a value of \$19,280 to the ton.

Unfortunately the name both of the miner and his mine were withheld by the writer of the story, so that the historical revelation of this modern Golconda must remain incomplete. It does not appear that General Grant placed either deed on record, but Mr. Wolcott expressed confidence that he had been informed regarding the value of the property of which he was half owner. Mr. Wolcott adds:



“What his future course will be we do not know; we respectfully suggest, however, that the President insist that our delegate to Congress, Honorable J. B. Chaffee, who is an experienced miner, shall come to Colorado at once and look after the property.”

Thus disposing of his story, the young lawyer-editor indulges in a little sentimentality as follows:

So fortune smiles upon the deserving. The hero of a hundred battle-fields, who now wears the laurels he so nobly won, may yet, after his retirement from his high office, seek in Colorado, among our majestic peaks, a place of retirement and a home; and our mountains may pour into his coffers, from their abundance, a fortune which will be a fit recompense to him, and a tribute from Colorado.

The editorial work scarcely had been begun before it was found to be somewhat onerous, for as early as May 7th we find Mr. Wolcott saying to his parents: “This editorial business is troubling me considerably. I know I could do well at it if I really had the time, but I am busy all day, and when night comes the printers are calling for copy, and I have to write it out without time to think or correct.” If his writing for the *Miner* was a bit amateurish this confession was a sufficient explanation.

This seems to have been his last venture as an editorial writer, but he was afterward identified more or less intimately with the management of the *Denver Tribune*. He seldom, however, wrote for that paper, and his interest was largely of a political character.

From this time forward for a year or two, Mr. Wolcott's life seems to have been without especial incident, until November, 1874, when he made a visit to the family home in Cleveland. We may imagine him going along from day to day, attending to his duties as they came to him, getting probably more of business than his share among the fourteen lawyers of the camp. Once in a while he seems to have stopped long enough to write a letter to the homefolks, and in those days he spoke frequently of the prosperous



outlook of his section of the territory. He never, however, ceased to turn his gaze toward the Eastern States as a place of residence. On March 4, 1874, we find him writing to his parents:

Georgetown is very quiet, but it is becoming more prosperous every season. It never will be a large place, but with the exception of portions of Nevada this vicinity undoubtedly contains the best and richest silver mines in the country. A man who attends to business ought to make a comfortable fortune in ten or fifteen years. I hope to do this and then move back into New England, the only civilized section in the United States. I would rather live in Boston, I think, than anywhere else in the world. I wish Father would get a call to some Eastern church, even if it is a small one and in some quiet village.

On the 19th of February, 1875, three months after his return from his visit to Cleveland, he writes: "I figured up my business yesterday. Since my return I have taken in about \$1100. I have paid some old debts, but it is like dropping it into a well; it does n't seem to make an impression. The Lord knows I don't mean to squander money, but the amount that seems to go to pay my expenses is a very extravagant sum."

## DISTRICT ATTORNEY

**I**N 1876, the Centennial year and the year in which Colorado was admitted as a State into the Union, Mr. Wolcott was elected to the two offices of State's Attorney for the district in which he lived, the First District of the State, and Town Attorney for Georgetown, which offices he continued to hold until elected to the State Senate in 1878, when he resigned from both of them. The judicial district was comprised of Clear Creek, Gilpin, Jefferson, Boulder, Summit, and Grand counties, and included such towns as Georgetown, Idaho Springs, Central City, Blackhawk, Golden, Boulder, Longmont, Breckenridge, and Hot Sulphur Springs.

He had obtained his formal admission to the bar in 1873, and when these two offices came to him had been in active practice for three years, but without going much into the courts. One writer of the time attributes his nomination and election to the good influences of his brother Henry and the latter's associate in business, Professor Hill. Doubtless they were of material assistance to him, for, notwithstanding they resided in another county, they had become large purchasers of Clear Creek ores and were necessarily possessed of extensive influence among the miners in that county. But, while others may have given assistance, there can be little doubt that Ed Wolcott's own personality was the greatest factor in his election. Always a man of exceptional magnetism, he made friends easily, and it may be imagined that a strong personal following went into the district convention in his support.

Mr. Wolcott was placed in nomination by Mr. Nathan S.

Hurd, then a resident of Georgetown, but for many years afterward of Denver. Speaking in 1910 of the incident, Mr. Hurd said that, in addition to himself, Mr. Wolcott's especial Georgetown friends and supporters in that contest had been William A. Clark, who afterward became Secretary of State for Colorado; William Campbell; James White; Horace Atkins; General William A. Hamill; William Barton; G. W. Hall; Daniel Glaye; Edward Eddy; William Spruance; Judge McCoy; and Ed Parmelee, all of whom except Mr. Hurd have "crossed the Great Divide."

The nomination once obtained, the election, which occurred in October, 1876, and which was the first after the admission of the State into the Union, resulted in Wolcott's success by a handsome majority. The most populous of the six counties comprising the district were securely Republican in politics, and in those times a nomination on a Republican ticket was almost equivalent to an election. Hon. Platt Rogers, still a prominent attorney in Denver, was Wolcott's opponent, and he was beaten by a majority of 805.

Corresponding majorities were not necessarily the rule in the State as an entirety at that time. It will be recalled that the Colorado ballot for the year under consideration proved to be of momentous national consequence.

When the territory was admitted to the Union, its delegate in Congress was Hon. Thomas M. Patterson, a staunch Democrat. The Democratic party had assisted in bringing in the new State in the expectation that it would continue in the Democratic column. Colorado, however, cast her first Presidential vote for Rutherford B. Hayes, and thus decided the great contest of 1876 in his favor. If the Democratic expectation had been realized and Colorado had gone Democratic, Samuel J. Tilden would have been President for four years regardless of the votes of the contested States. The entire Republican State ticket also was successful. Most of the counties, especially in the northern part of the State, went Republican, a Republican Legislature was elected, and Mr. Wolcott was landed on this tidal wave.

The election to the office of Town Attorney followed the other election about six months afterward. It occurred April 17, 1877, and Mr. Wolcott served as attorney for the

town corporation at the same time that Jacob Fillius, who afterward studied law in his office, was Mayor. The duties of the Town Attorneyship were not in any respect onerous; nor did they conflict with his service as District Attorney. While acting for the town he compiled the ordinances of the municipality.

#### AN ERA OF GROWTH

Important as was the District Attorneyship on its own account, its real significance in the case of Mr. Wolcott is to be found in the bearing it had upon his subsequent career. It did much to make the man. Theretofore Mr. Wolcott had been known as "a good fellow." He had many friends and was popular; but, like most young men, was not possessed of a very great sense of responsibility or of his own importance as a factor in the world. The duties of his office were exacting, and he soon came to know that he had not entered upon any boy's play. He rose to the occasion. Indeed, it is evident that from the beginning of his term he was impressed with the seriousness of the work he had undertaken, and there is abundant record of the efficiency of his administration. Writing thirty years afterward, a prominent resident of Georgetown said:

He was the most energetic and the most successful District Attorney we ever had. Human life was held rather lightly in Georgetown at that time, and, as a result, there were many violent deaths. He undertook to bring some of the murderers to punishment, and did so, having the record of being a terror to evil-doers in this respect. During the two years after his assumption of that office, he sent four to the penitentiary for life, besides bringing to punishment a number of minor criminals.

Speaking of Mr. Wolcott's career as District Attorney, Hr. Hurd says that it was brilliant from the start.

Energetic, untiring, and persistent, he never let up [writes Mr. Hurd]. In Georgetown, where I knew more about his work than in any other part of the District, he cleared out a gang of ore thieves and ore salters, and sent them all to the penitentiary. He was a terror to evil-doers, and a joy to all honest

men. When he left his office, the whole district was satisfied with his record. Democrats as well as Republicans regretted to have him quit the work.

In view of this record, it is interesting to mention the fact, recalled by one of Mr. Wolcott's old-time Georgetown friends, that when Wolcott received the nomination for the office the principal opposition to him was on the ground that he would not prosecute offenders because of his good nature and of his attitude toward all classes. There then were three or four men in jail awaiting trial for murder, and the chief argument made by his opponents was that he would not convict these men, although it was known they were guilty. He surprised both friends and enemies by convicting every one of the prisoners. What he did in Clear Creek County he did in degree in other counties of the district.

The work of a prosecuting attorney was, however, distasteful to him, because he disliked to deal with criminal matters. Indeed, within a day or two after his election and long before he assumed office, we find him telling his father in a letter how uninviting the outlook was to him.

I have always shunned criminal business [he says], and I have a great deal of work to do in studying the procedure, as well as the law. I shall not be able to qualify, probably, before the December term of court here, and I look forward to it with some dread. There are two cases of murder, continued over from last term, besides any quantity of new business, and this all in one term. Those pending cases haunt me already. Unless this office changes me greatly, I shall never be fitted for that kind of work, and in my district there will probably be three or four such cases. But "fiat justitia!"

So seriously had he taken the matter of criminal prosecutions that by the time he had been in office a month he was contemplating resigning on account of them, as will be seen by reference to a letter to his parents of date December 13, 1876, in which he said:

There is another term of the court here next month, and



it will be a very busy one for me. I shall have three murder cases to try, one, quite recent, having been committed under circumstances of peculiar brutality. I shall undoubtedly be able to hang the murderer, and then I think I shall have done enough, and may be allowed to resign my office in favor of some one who is more fond of that sort of business. In spite of what anybody may say, a familiarity with crime and criminals breeds an indifference to them and deadens the sensibilities.

He did not resign at that time nor at all on account of the obnoxious character of the work, and by April 8, 1877, he was beginning to accept the situation with more complacency. "I am," he says, writing to a sister on that date, "kept very busy most of the time and rather like it. I have already been the means (under Providence) of sending several poor fellows to the penitentiary for various terms, from ten years down, and have some more serious crimes to prosecute the coming three months." He added: "This isn't very entertaining reading I fear, but don't exactly know what else to write about; so I talk shop."

But a few days later, when the spectre of another capital case presented itself, he reverted to his previous state of mind. A murder was committed in Georgetown in April, 1877, and after expressing his regret at having to try the case he adds: "Anything of a less degree than murder I can prosecute with something akin to pleasure if I believe the party to be guilty. Otherwise," he adds, "I never prosecute."

February 3, 1878, he wrote from Blackhawk to his father and mother, saying:

I have n't written home for some little time, but I have been busy in court at Georgetown every day for more than three weeks. I came over here last night, and go to Boulder tomorrow. Court opens there on Tuesday morning. My office is not a lucrative one, but the practice and training are a good deal, and my civil business is increasing constantly. We had two murder cases at Georgetown, and both the prisoners have been sentenced to imprisonment for life. There is another murder case at Boulder to try and still another here, in March. I am sick of them.

In September of the same year he writes his father taking a more cheerful view of his duties. In this letter he shows appreciation of the effect of his work upon his own character. He says:

I had the most extraordinary good fortune at this term of court, and succeeded in convicting every man I prosecuted. The murderer was sentenced to the penitentiary for life, and three other criminals, one for five years and two for four years each,—a larger batch of them than have been convicted in Clear Creek County for the last ten years altogether. It has made already a wonderful change in my position here, and I hope it won't spoil me. I lack confidence and ambition and feel that I shall never do so well again. I go to Central to-morrow, where court opens on Tuesday and where I have a month's hard work before me, one murderer to try and perhaps two.

Christmas, 1877, witnessed a lynching in Georgetown. A man named Schmale had been arrested on the charge of committing a murder, and after his incarceration he was taken out of prison and hanged. Mr. Wolcott's account of the incident is brief, but it affords a graphic view of the condition of society at the time. He writes:

I sent you a paper the other day containing the account of the hanging of Schmale, arrested for murder. I would be most willing to prosecute the lynchers, but unfortunately no grand jury here would indict them. I understand that the preacher at the Presbyterian Church here applauded the action of the mob in a sermon on the succeeding Sabbath. I hope to get a rap at him in some way.

The last murder prosecution with which he was connected was conducted in Leadville in 1884. This was six years after his term as prosecuting attorney had expired and he was employed as special counsel in the case. Writing to his father on December 22d that year, he said:

"I go to Leadville to-night to help prosecute a murder case. The prisoner has means and is 70 years old, and I have little hope of convicting. I don't care for this sort of thing, but I could not decline in this instance. My business is good."

Another reason why Mr. Wolcott disliked the criminal business is found in the fact that it interfered with his private practice. While the work of prosecution was more spectacular it did not bring in so much money as a similar amount of civil business would have brought. It served to advertise him for the other line of work, and then robbed him of the time for attending to it.

The salary paid the District Attorney was only \$800 a year, but the fees brought the remuneration up to \$2500 or \$3000. For successful indictments the fees in those days were \$10; for each trial for a misdemeanor \$15; for an ordinary felony \$25; for capital cases \$50. "My predecessors," he wrote to his parents, "have made a regular business of each term indicting liquor saloons and disreputable houses for the purpose of levying a sort of blackmail. This I will not do, and it will cut down my income from the office considerably."

#### DEVELOPING THE ORATOR

The most important influence of this office upon Mr. Wolcott's own fortunes was on his standing as a jury lawyer and a public speaker. Previous to taking the position, he was so timid that he could not bring himself to address a court. Confident of his real ability in that direction, his friends found a means of forcing him to a trial of his powers with wonderful results, as is told elsewhere.

Of the six counties constituting the First Judicial District, three have claimed the honor of being the scene of Mr. Wolcott's first oratorical triumph at the bar. One authority has given the credit to Gilpin County, Mr. Wolcott's first stopping place in Colorado, while another has laid the scene in Clear Creek County. But both were in error. Boulder County and the city of Boulder may properly claim all the credit. Hon. Clinton Reed, now of Denver, but formerly of Central City, who was Mr. Wolcott's predecessor as District Attorney furnishes the following account:

Mr. Wolcott and myself were very well acquainted and became quite intimate and were associated, more or less, in law and politics, while Mr. Wolcott lived in Georgetown and I in

Central City. Mr. Wolcott's first effort in arguing a case before a jury, or in making a public speech of any kind, was soon after his election. I had been District Attorney for that district and was familiar with the cases then pending, which would be brought on for trial at the ensuing term, which commenced the first Monday in November. Mr. Wolcott knew nothing about the cases, and wished me to go with him to Boulder a day ahead of the time of the opening of court, and go over the criminal docket with him.

We accordingly went to Boulder on a Saturday and spent the remainder of the day in looking over the records of the criminal cases on the docket, and, in fact, spent most of Sunday the same way.

Court was duly convened and the first trials, as usual, were the trials of criminal cases. The first case was one in which a man had been indicted at a previous term for grand larceny—the stealing, as I now recollect it, of a cow, steer, or some other domestic animal. A jury was empanelled and Mr. Wolcott was to try the case. Being there at his request, I sat with him when the trial began, and he said to me: “Now, if I make any blunders about this thing, I want you to correct me.”

The trial proceeded and he examined the witnesses in a very clear and forceful manner. There was such directness and so much force behind his questions that even a reluctant witness could not have withheld any knowledge which he might have had concerning the matters at hand. He did the work in a manner which would have indicated that he had had much experience in examining witnesses before a jury, although this was the first jury case he ever had tried.

He had practiced before the court before that time and was esteemed as a promising lawyer, but, while not many of his associates or acquaintances knew it, Mr. Wolcott was naturally a very modest or diffident person. In fact, at one time previous to the time I speak about, he told me that he felt he had had a good many opportunities to go in and make a speech; that he had in mind just what ought to be said, but had never been able to get up and say it. In fact, he said that he had stood on the outside when political meetings were going on and wished that he had nerve enough to go in and take a hand in the discussion which was going on and say what he wanted to say; but he had always been restrained by the fear that he would make a failure of it.

The examination of the witnesses was concluded and the time

came for him to address the jury, which he did; and while I might be mistaken as to the time he consumed in his speech, I do not believe it was more than five or ten minutes. He was the most rapid talker I have ever heard, and in that brief time he explained the case fully and in a very able manner to the jury. In fact, it was as effective a speech to a jury as I have ever heard.

When he sat down, he turned to me and whispered, "How was it; did I cover all the points?"

"Yes," I said; "completely."

"How long did I talk?" he then asked.

"Well," I said, "I think you talked about half an hour; you have convicted your man." At which he seemed much pleased.

"Do you know, Clint," he said, "I could not see a single one of those jurymen all the time I was speaking?"

That speech was the beginning of Mr. Wolcott's wonderful career as an orator, and, if that beginning was an honor to the county in which it occurred, I insist that Boulder County is entitled to the credit of his first oratorical triumph. It cleared away and banished forever all doubt that he might have had as to his being an orator, and from that time on he never hesitated a particle when called upon to address a jury or make a speech at any political function.

Harper M. Orahood, of Denver, who succeeded Mr. Wolcott as District Attorney, as Mr. Reed had preceded him, and who was Wolcott's deputy while he held the office, also has kindly supplied a brief reminiscence of his chief's disinclination in the early days of his career to face the court. Mr. Orahood says that the feeling was so pronounced that at one time Mr. Wolcott seriously contemplated quitting the practice of the law. He adds:

During Mr. Wolcott's incumbency of the office of District Attorney I did a great deal of his detail work, especially in the preparation of indictments and pleadings in criminal cases and also did a great deal of his court work. He was very liberal indeed in the matter of fees in the cases. He received a salary of \$800 a year from the State, and I received a greater part of the fees which were charged and paid by the counties. His election to the office of District Attorney had the desired effect and the work seemed to overcome his fear of appearing in court



and before a jury. The office of District Attorney and the prosecution of criminal cases made it absolutely necessary for him to take the initiative and to assume the burden, usually from start to finish. In the meantime he had opened his office and was practicing law in Georgetown, Clear Creek County. He was immediately retained in important mining litigation and took a leading place at the bar as a mining attorney.

Mr. Hurd also testifies to Mr. Wolcott's timidity when on his feet. He says:

I remember that after Mr. Wolcott had received the nomination, it was talked over and seriously regretted that *he could not talk*, and in after years I would sit and wonder when he filled the largest halls and held his audiences spellbound with his splendid individuality and his matchless eloquence, how it could be that the stammering, blundering boy could ever have obtained such eminence.

Mr. Fillius, who already has been quoted, has supplied the writer with his recollection of one incident illustrating not only Mr. Wolcott's eloquence, but his direct and straightforward methods as well. The case referred to by Mr. Fillius was a criminal prosecution of two prisoners of which Mr. Wolcott was in charge and in which Mr. George G. White and Mr. R. S. Morrison represented the defence. The defendants were James Jones and Charles May.

Mr. White [says Mr. Fillius] had quite a reputation as a criminal lawyer and in his address to the jury referred to the fact that the prosecution had introduced and examined two young boys as witnesses, perhaps twelve and fourteen years of age, saying that Mr. Wolcott had not only talked with them prior to their testimony, which was quite proper, but that he had also coached them as to what to say, which was manifestly improper. In his closing address to the jury, Mr. Wolcott used substantially these words:

"I am charged by the leading counsel for the defence with having not only talked to these boys, but with having coached them in respect to their testimony in this case. That I talked to them I admit, but that I coached them as to a single word as to what their testimony should be, I utterly deny. I taught them, in the single interview I had with them, the obligation

of an oath; that a human life was at stake; that I wanted them to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, and to do this in their own simple way. Gentlemen of the jury, you have seen these boys upon the stand, and have heard their testimony, and I leave it to you to say whether they testified truthfully or not. I know that what I taught those boys that day, if remembered by them, will make them better citizens when they arrive at man's estate." It is unnecessary to say [adds Mr. Fillius] that the jury promptly brought in a verdict of murder in the first degree.

Speaking of the same case, Mr. Morrison also testifies to Mr. Wolcott's able management of it, and he adds an interesting sequel. He says that, next to Mr. Wolcott, Mr. White was the most powerful advocate at the bar of Clear Creek County, and, proceeding with his narrative, says:

Both defendants were convicted, and an overwhelming torrent of eloquence held spellbound the audience and the jury. In particular in the case of May, the defence was broken down and a verdict secured of a degree of homicide greater than the facts on cold examination would justify. In all ages the prosecution has striven for the greatest results obtainable and sometimes the gift of persuasion has induced juries to severity greater than the crime demanded. In this instance after a part of the sentence had been served, Mr. Wolcott acceded to the petition for clemency and May was pardoned.

Both Mr. Fillius and Mr. Morrison pay high tribute to Mr. Wolcott's newly developed oratorical ability. We quote Mr. Morrison elsewhere. Mr. Fillius says:

"I well remember the magnetic influence that he had in those days before a jury. He was practically irresistible. His method of conducting a prosecution was eminently fair. He was most resourceful, his mentality acute and his instant grasp of a legal proposition was little short of genius."

## THE STATE SENATE

**M**R. WOLCOTT'S friends were not long in determining that he should have a more congenial field for the exercise of his newly discovered gifts.

Before his term as District Attorney had expired in 1878, he was elected as a member of the Senate in the second General Assembly of the Colorado Legislature, and at the same election his brother Henry was chosen for the same body from Gilpin County. Professor Hill had become a candidate for the United States Senate, and the Wolcotts entered the legislative contest for the avowed purpose of aiding his ambition.

As we have seen, Mr. Hill was at the head of the Boston and Colorado Smelting Works, then located at Blackhawk, when, in 1869, Henry Wolcott, and in 1871, Ed Wolcott, emigrated to Colorado. He and his family were people of culture, and as both Mr. and Mrs. Hill had been acquainted with Dr. Wolcott in the Eastern home, it was most natural that his two sons should have been attracted to the Hill residence, then the centre of refined society in northern Colorado. Long before Ed's arrival, Henry had found what was to him a second home at Professor Hill's residence, and, before that date also had been given a responsible position in connection with the management of the Hill works. When the younger brother reached Colorado he was hospitably received by the friend of his brother and offered the same congenial association and agreeable surroundings. Both of the brothers were at all times most outspoken in their appreciation of the courtesy and kindness shown them.

But, while Mr. Hill was a hospitable and educated man,

he was inexperienced in politics, and, as will be shown in the end, did not prove successful as a political leader. He never had given attention to politics, and while he showed an aptitude in the study of some phases of political economy, he soon became involved to such an extent in the practical side of political life as to bewilder and in the end defeat himself. Consequently, while successful in his first race for the Senate in 1879, he failed of re-election after one term, and never succeeded in regaining his influence in the management of Colorado's political affairs.

The selection of Mr. Hill as Senator in 1879 was due almost entirely to the active support of the Wolcott brothers and of their friend General William A. Hamill, of Clear Creek County.

General Hamill was one of the strongest men who ever figured in Colorado politics. An Englishman by birth, he had spent most of his life in the United States and for several years had been in charge of the Terrible Mine at Georgetown, which was owned by an English syndicate. He was the possessor of some wealth. He had the peculiar faculty of controlling men without saying much to them. No man who ever has participated in Colorado politics has been more successful in deciphering a situation and in so directing events as to influence results. He read men as easily as he read books. He knew from very slight indications what this local leader or that would do, and he was so familiar with conditions in the State that he was able often to command a situation where others would have failed. He was in the prime of a vigorous manhood when he went to Georgetown, and he and Ed Wolcott soon were close friends. Mr. Hamill was acquainted with Professor Hill, and naturally would have been his friend regardless of the Wolcott influence; but there is little doubt that he was induced by the younger Wolcott to enter with his whole heart into the contest in Hill's behalf. Thus was Mr. Hill supplied with a political manager of rare ability.

The opening for Mr. Hill's candidacy was made by Senator Chaffee, whom he succeeded. As has been narrated, Mr. Chaffee was chosen one of the first two Senators from the State. His election and that of his colleague, Senator

Teller, occurred in November, 1876, but the terms for which they were chosen were brief. One of these terms must expire March 4, 1877, and the other March 4, 1879. They drew lots, and the shorter term fell to Mr. Teller. Mr. Teller was re-elected in 1877 and thus was started on his long legislative career.

That, but for his own act, Mr. Chaffee would have been the choice of the people and of the Legislature in 1879, there can be little doubt. He was a pioneer. He not only had been engaged in mining and banking since the earliest days of the settlement of the territory, but he had been much in politics, and was greatly admired by a large following. But before the end of his short term, without consulting his friends in Colorado, he announced a determination not to be a candidate for re-election. The step was much regretted by his Colorado supporters, some of whom, notwithstanding his announcement, insisted upon keeping his name to the front as a candidate. This course he did not specifically discourage, but in the face of the activity of the Hill forces, there never was a chance for him after his first announcement.

Mr. Chaffee's determination was based upon his ill health, the beginning of the kidney trouble which caused his death in 1884. His business interests, which were large and complicated, also had much to do with his decision.

The announcement of his intention was made just at the time that the politicians were beginning to prepare for the campaign of 1878. Mr. Chaffee's letter had such important bearing upon early Colorado politics and was so potent a factor in bringing Mr. Wolcott to the front that it is deemed worth while to reproduce it here, and it is given entire:

NEW YORK, May 30, 1878.

Hon. W. H. PIERCE, Chairman Republican State Committee:

SIR: I desire to make known to the Republicans of the State, through you, that I cannot be a candidate for re-election to the United States Senate. My health will not permit me to take any active part in the ensuing canvass of the State, and I have concluded that the time long sought for by me for retiring from politics has arrived. I now gladly avail myself of the



opportunity of making public this decision. I am sensibly impressed with the uniform kindness and the generosity of my friends and party in times past. I have always been generously sustained by the people of the territory and the State, for which I shall always be grateful beyond the power of words to express. It is better to leave my record to the public, but I hope I may be pardoned in saying that my aim has always been for the public good. I beg of my friends to believe that I have not come to this conclusion hastily. It has long been my wish to retire from political life, and I would have done so upon the admission of the State into the Union, except that the political situation at that time seemed to demand the utmost exertion of all true patriots. Hoping the Republican party may continue successful in the State and country, I am, very truly

Your obedient servant,

JEROME B. CHAFFEE.

The publication of Mr. Chaffee's letter had a startling effect upon the Republicans of the State. The preponderance of the Republican party had not been established sufficiently to cause its adherents to feel sure of their ground. All appreciated that Mr. Chaffee's retirement meant division of counsel and a scramble for his place, and there were grave apprehensions that it would be difficult to find a worthy successor to him. Many names were mentioned, but none seemed to meet the requirements until Professor Hill's candidacy was announced. He was accepted immediately by many as a thoroughly available man, and Mr. Chaffee himself wrote him a letter of warm endorsement. The latter's friends were, however, unwilling to give him up, and they were so persistent in their advocacy of his re-election as to somewhat complicate the situation.

Mr. R. G. Dill, in his valuable little book, *Political Campaigns of Colorado*, has supplied an account of the inception of Mr. Hill's candidacy which throws light on that gentleman's campaign. After stating the intimate relationship between Mr. Wolcott and General Hamill, Mr. Dill says that following a conference between the two, Mr. Wolcott went to Blackhawk to consult his brother regarding the possibility of Hill's candidacy.

The result of his mission [says Mr. Dill] was that shortly

afterward Professor Hill visited General Hamill at Georgetown. During this conference the situation was thoroughly discussed, and after a careful and critical canvass of Mr. Hill's chances throughout the State, Professor Hill agreed that, if Hamill would take the chairmanship of the State Committee, he would become a candidate for the United States Senate.

That Mr. Wolcott made the race simply to accommodate Professor Hill and to please his brother Henry is apparent from a letter written to his parents just before beginning the contest. The letter covers several interesting points and is given practically entire:

GEORGETOWN, COL., Aug. 12, 1878.

MY DEAR PARENTS:

Father's letter was forwarded to me at Denver, where I have been for the past week, in attendance upon the Republican State Convention.

My sincere wish would be to keep out of politics altogether; I am no politician. I have no aspirations, and at heart I have more sympathy with the Hayes than with the Grant faction of the party. But there is a possibility of my being wanted in the State Senate for a certain purpose, and in that case, I shall, if I receive the nomination, run for office this fall. It is at the sacrifice of my business, which is now growing immensely and of many of my prospects, which never looked so fair. But I am under obligations to both Prof. Hill and Henry that such a sacrifice would not begin to repay.

It seems as if circumstances were against me. In the past years my habits and frequent absences almost destroyed my practice. Now, when, if I could devote myself at home constantly to my profession, it looks as though I could make something of a name and a fortune, I shall have to begin again.

In regard to moving to Denver, am quite undecided. My wisest policy would be to stay at Georgetown for the next three or four years, but it is hard to tell what I will do.

This letter is full of myself, but Father asked me the questions. We won the suit of the Government against the Smelting Company for \$100,000 for cutting timber on government land.

I would esteem it a great favor if Father would send me

any good points, speeches, or otherwise, he picks up, as I may make a few speeches this month or next.

With love to all,

Ever your affectionate son,

Ed.

With Mr. Hill's candidacy decided upon, it was to be expected that the three men who had been most influential in bringing about this decision should be selected to take charge of the campaign. No man was stronger with the people in Gilpin County than was Henry Wolcott, and Ed had thoroughly popularized himself in Clear Creek. What more natural then than that these two brothers should be asked to enter the Legislature in Mr. Hill's behalf? This was the plan of General Hamill, who already had taken upon himself the management of the Hill contest, and in accordance with this plan the two brothers were nominated for the Senate, the one from Gilpin and the other from Clear Creek. Hamill became Chairman of the State Committee and commander-in-chief of the Hill forces.

The campaign was a spirited one. In Gilpin County Henry Wolcott had as his antagonist Dennis Sullivan, a Democrat of great popularity and a man of much strength of character. In Clear Creek there were two candidates opposed to Ed Wolcott. Henry was triumphantly elected over Mr. Sullivan, and Ed received more votes than both of his opponents. Ed canvassed his county under the direction of General Hamill, and Mr. Morrison, who was on the ground and entirely familiar with the circumstances, tells us that "there was not an element in political work which was not brought to bear in favor of Mr. Wolcott. The natural result followed and the night of the election was one of wild enthusiasm."

We find in the newspapers of the day only slight references to the campaign. The *Rocky Mountain News* of Denver, the leading Democratic paper of the State, failing, of course, to appreciate the future prominence of the Republican candidate in Clear Creek County, mentioned his name only once during the contest, and this mention was

contained in a communication from a miner, who, writing on the 30th of September, said:

E. O. Wolcott, the Republican candidate for the Senate, has been around interviewing many of us. But it won't do. The Old War-horse, Frank Bourne, has the inside track, and is bound to win. Bill Hamill has been marshalling the forces under his subordinates, and will strain every nerve, but it won't do—the people are tired of Republican misrule and will have a change. So look out for a rousing majority for Loveland [the Democratic candidate for governor] and a legislative ticket.

The "Old War-horse," however, failed to score.

General Hamill had done much as Chairman of the State Committee to insure the success of the Republican ticket, which was headed by Frederick W. Pitkin for Governor and Horace A. W. Tabor for Lieutenant-Governor. But while he had succeeded in landing the entire ticket he had given especial attention to the Legislature in the interest of his friend, Mr. Hill, with the result that out of an entire membership of sixty-two there were forty-six Republicans in the assembly.

#### HILL'S ELECTION

With Mr. Chaffee practically out of the race, the campaign had been made largely in Hill's interest, and there were no other pronounced candidates. Still, there was a large number of men in the State who had attained to positions of prominence, whose names were mentioned, and when the time approached for holding the caucus, several candidates developed, including Hon. George M. Chilcott, of Pueblo County, who afterward served a brief appointive term in the Senate; Hon. Samuel H. Elbert, who had been a territorial governor; Hon. Thomas M. Bowen, then a circuit judge, who later served six years in the Senate; Hon. W. S. Jackson, a banker of Colorado Springs, whose wife was Helen Hunt Jackson, known to literary fame as "H. H.," and who afterward became the receiver of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad Company, and Hon. John L. Routt, the last territorial and the first State governor.

All of these had their adherents, and it was found at the last moment that Mr. Chaffee's friends were also pressing his claims. Mr. Chaffee himself, however, refused to do anything in his own behalf, with the inevitable consequence that he failed of election, as did all of the other opponents of Mr. Hill. There were fifty-three votes cast in the caucus which was held on the night of January 9, 1879, and Mr. Hill was nominated on the fifth ballot, receiving thirty-two votes.

Senator Teller had been among those who advocated the re-election of Mr. Chaffee, so that when Mr. Hill entered the Senate the relations between the two Colorado Senators were somewhat strained. Instead of improving, they grew worse, and in time the Republican party of the State was divided into factions by these two leaders. For a period of years the feeling was intense, and personal resentment on the part of the chiefs was very marked.

In the early stages of the fight between Teller and Hill the two Wolcotts were enthusiastic adherents of the latter, and throughout Colorado they were known as the principal supporters of the junior Senator. In time, however, Edward Wolcott's championship of Mr. Hill grew less ardent, and he had quite abandoned the Hill standard before his own election to the Senate just ten years after Mr. Hill's election. By that time he had at least partly made terms with the opposing faction, and, when his election came on, he received the support of many of Mr. Teller's followers. One of the results of this dissension was the defeat in 1882 of Henry Wolcott for the nomination for Governor and the consequent election of the first Democratic Governor of the State.

#### STANDING IN THE STATE SENATE

We are, however, getting far ahead of our story. The activity of the Wolcotts at this period was not confined to the election of a United States Senator. They easily became the leaders of the Republican party in the upper house of the Legislature, and so pre-eminent was the combined ability of the two men that they dominated the entire assembly.



Henry Wolcott became President *pro tempore* of the Senate during the second term of his service, and Ed so outshone all other members as a public speaker that comparatively little attention was given to others who addressed the Senate. By the time he entered the Senate, he had come into complete possession of his powers, and then, as always afterward, absolutely fearless and outspoken on all subjects, he was heard on one side or the other of almost every question. He was the leader in every caucus and the spokesman for every measure that he advocated. Altogether he led an extremely busy life. Long before their terms had come to an end, the two brothers had removed from Georgetown and Blackhawk respectively to Denver, and from that time forward both made the capital city their place of residence.

Mr. Wolcott has left very little of his own impressions regarding his career in the Legislature. We find but one letter from him on this subject, and in this letter he frankly confesses his tendency to make enemies unnecessarily. The letter is to his father, and he makes complaint of being constantly called upon by his personal and political friends to champion causes which were theirs and not his. Impulsive by nature and impetuous in speech, he never undertook the espousal or the opposition of any cause that he did not throw his whole heart into the work. Mentioning this fact, he tells his parents that his disposition had been the cause of getting him into more or less trouble. Often, he says, he made enemies for himself, while those who really were interested retained the friendship of their opponents. Evidently he deprecated this disposition, but knowing himself as he did, he probably understood perfectly well that there was little or no hope for a change.

This letter was written March 5, 1881, a few weeks after the close of the second session of the Senate. It not only is an exceptionally candid statement, but it shows a very just appreciation by Mr. Wolcott of his own characteristics. Making his father's interest in him and in his connection with Colorado politics the excuse for the letter, he says:

The State Senate was divided into two bitter factions, Re-

publican factions, on the start, arising mainly through Henry's candidacy, and fomented by jealousies among politicians outside the body. We had a clear majority among the Republicans, and the Democrats, six in number, followed us. I was the only speaker on our side, and that, more than anything else, gave me the leadership. I am impulsive and hasty. I unconsciously, often, throw so much ardor into my advocacy or opposition to a measure, that I almost always engender a personal feeling against me on the part of those opposing me, which I am quick to resent and to reciprocate. All those within our own ranks insisted upon my making their fight for them. If they wanted a bill passed, I must champion it; if a bill was to be beaten on their account, I must defeat it. The result has been, and I knew it would be so, that all the odium and all the hostility have been fastened on me; those who did nothing but vote incurred no enmity,—everything was laid at my door. And often I would find myself at "outs" personally with some member over some measure, when the person on whose behalf I had undertaken the fight had long since made up his differences and was on the best of terms with all the world. By reason of these things, and also by reason of my overbearing disposition and my habit of saying bitter things which the recipient does not easily forget, I have, I think, more active enemies than any man of my years in the State. I have a few staunch friends. But one's enemies are twice as constant and assiduous as one's friends.

He closed by saying that he was sick of politics and did not expect to become interested again. But we shall see about that.

Owing to the fact that no complete record is made of the proceedings of the Colorado Legislature, very few of Mr. Wolcott's speeches in the State Senate have been preserved. Occasionally a newspaper reporter would take down a few sentences, and in the absence of "copy" of a more thrilling character would print them. In this way we get a fugitive extract from a fierce denunciation by the Senator from Clear Creek of the bill before the Legislature in 1879 for the codification of the State laws. He opposed the bill and in place of it advocated a measure of his own for the regulation of legal procedure, which was Senate Bill No. 1. The newspaper account of this effort by Mr. Wolcott from which we

copy tells us that "after a few general observations at the opening of his speech, he commenced to show up the defects of the code, which he did in clear, legal manner, and then showed the advantages as they appeared to him in Senate Bill No. 1." But we are told that "only a full report could do justice to the various arguments brought forward, which were listened to by the lawyers in the Senate and lobby." The peroration is given as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am but young in the profession whose paths when rightly followed lead only to honor. I know no settled ruts out of which I cannot travel, but I do confess that I worship at a shrine and within a temple which has been gradually reared from eight hundred years of effort, and embellished and adorned by the genuine, the best thought of the English-speaking people. By your votes two years ago you undermined the foundation of this edifice, and if you now defeat this bill you complete the overthrow.

The law, wisely or unwisely, has put into your hands the power of determining the times and manner in which the halls of justice shall be open, and the sort of justice that shall be administered therein, and you are taking from us that glorious system which so long proved to be the strongest bulwark and best protection to the liberties of the people and in its place would give us—*this*. You might as well say to the physicians of the State: "There is too much sickness, and the ill are too long recovering; therefore, you shall lay aside your books, your systems, and the matured result of generations of intelligent labor, and shall hereafter prescribe this pill for this disease and this nostrum for this malady, and shall administer this pill and this nostrum only at the times and in the manner prescribed by this Legislature." Or you might with equal propriety say to the ministers of the Gospel in Colorado: "There is too much wickedness in the State, too many crimes, too much evil abroad; therefore, you shall no longer teach Christ crucified, and teach your people to follow in the path of the Master, but you shall preach a new doctrine and teach a new faith brought from the Pacific slope by way of Montana."

The last remark was a reference to the fact that the proposed code had been modelled after the code in use in Montana and California.

During his first term, Mr. Wolcott was Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education, and he held positions of prominence on a number of other Senate committees.

While none of Mr. Wolcott's speeches pertaining to legislation were reported entire a better fate was awarded his remarks, when, acting as spokesman for his colleagues, he presented a silver service to Senator M. A. Rogers of Arapahoe County. Mr. Rogers had generally antagonized Mr. Wolcott in the Senate, as he had many other senators; but he was a man of such sturdy integrity and of such unselfish purpose that he was generally loved and respected. The present was intended to express this feeling, which, as the most eloquent as well as the staunchest of Mr. Rogers's opponents, Mr. Wolcott of Clear Creek was asked to put into words, which he did, saying:

Mr. Chairman, in the last hours of the session, and just before the last roll-call in this body, I rise for the first time during the forty days of the session, with the full assurance that what I am about to say will receive the sanction and the approbation of every other member of this assembly. We have been here, sir, for our allotted time; and we have had our quarrels and our bickerings and our fights—our triumphs and our defeats, and with it all there have come heart-burnings and troubles and sores; but now, as we approach the end of the session, as we are just about to have the last roll-call that this body will ever have this side of the river, I trust these feelings are passing away—that there are no burdens left in the heart of any member of this body.

Our happiness, Mr. Chairman, lies mostly in retrospection. Long after these days have passed away, when time has worn down the edges, the fond memory treasures nothing but the pleasant visions of the past; and remembering these things, and remembering further that this body as a body, that the individuals who compose it, can never again, under any circumstances meet again in an official capacity, remembering the things that have transpired that have not been of an unpleasant nature—recollecting only the pleasant things and remembering that if the roll could be called year after year it would each time grow briefer and shorter, and remembering that we know not who would be the first to drop in the list, nor who would follow him, I believe that there is no member of this House, of this



General Assembly, who cannot take the other by the hand and bid him God-speed.

Mr. Chairman, during the days that some of us have been dallying and some of us improvident of legislation, you, sir, have been ever busy; in the committee-room and at your place here in the Senate, ever at work. While we have been slumbering or idle, you have been looking after the interests of your constituents and the State. Whatever there is in the measures that we have passed that is good, whatever there is efficient in the measures that have passed, the people of Colorado are more indebted to you for the ascertainment of those facts than to any other person. You have voted "no" three times to everybody else voting "no" once; but in that vote there has never been one thing that has grown out of personal malice or personal feeling. We have all realized that these votes were the expression of your rugged independence and of your rugged determination that the Constitution of Colorado should not suffer at your hands. Those in this body who have met you for the first time at this session have, by reason of your action, but learned to respect you the more. To those of us who had the pleasure of sitting with you two years ago, your conduct in this session has brought increased esteem, and your friends in this body, Mr. Chairman, including every single member of the twenty-six of us, led by your friend and colleague who sat by your side two years ago, and sits by your side there this session—your friends have resolved that they would procure some slight testimonial for you, that in the years that are before you—and we hope they may be many and may be happy—that in the years which are before you, you would occasionally recall the fact that among your friends in this body there were twenty-five gentlemen who desired that in these tokens you might have some evidence of the respect and the friendship and the esteem which they all bear for you.

One of the measures to which Mr. Wolcott gave attention during his first term in the Senate was Senate Bill No. 13, the object of which was the prevention of the use of the natural scenery of the State for the convenience of advertisers. He spoke in support of the bill, January 10, 1879. He stated that in his own county about every available stone was plastered and painted; told of some amusing and some disgusting advertisements, which, he said, could be seen on



rocks which the Almighty had intended should be only things of beauty, and expressed the thought that the further spread of the curse should be stopped. "We invite tourists to Colorado to see our grand and beautiful scenery and not to buy vermifuge," he said. The bill became a law.

During his first session in the State Senate he introduced a bill granting equal suffrage to women. The bill did not find a place on the statute books, but it was the forerunner of the law which was enacted fifteen years later.

As going to show the esteem in which the Wolcotts were held by their contemporaries, the expressions of a few who survive who were members of the Legislature, or were observers of its proceedings, may be quoted to advantage. One of the most prominent of the contemporaneous State senators was Hon. Joseph C. Helm, who represented the Tenth Senatorial District, and who afterward held the high office of Chief Justice of the State. Mr. Helm says:

I remember that Mr. Wolcott showed, during the session I served with him, an unusual brightness and skill in grasping the merits of a bill or measure, and was very effective in the presentation of his views. His arguments were characterized by the same wit, eloquence and persuasiveness that became more pronounced and distinguished him in later life. When he espoused a measure or cause, he did it enthusiastically and impulsively. He soon became popular among the members and inspired many a warm friendship, some of which continued through life. He was a hard fighter and did not spare his enemies, or those whom he considered enemies; but on the other hand he would go to almost any length in helping a friend.

Among the members of the lower House in the Second Legislative Assembly was Hon. William D. Todd, who was one of the Representatives from Arapahoe County, with residence in Denver. He was much interested in the establishment of the State Historical and Natural History Society, which since has become an important institution, and introduced in the House a bill to that end. He succeeded in passing the bill through the House, and when it reached the Senate prevailed upon Ed Wolcott to take charge of

it there. Speaking of Mr. Wolcott's assistance in this work in a letter dated May 11, 1909, Mr. Todd says:

Senator Wolcott made probably a five-minute impromptu talk in the Senate, and it was considered by all who were fortunate enough to hear it as an effort hardly, if at all, excelled by any of his later brilliant speeches. His references to our State and its then unwritten history were as eloquent as was possible. I heard him many times, and while I cannot now attempt to tell what he said, the little talk on the Historical Society still comes back as it then affected me, even though the words are gone.

Mr. Morrison gives us the following picture of the Wolcott brothers in the Legislature:

During the two legislative sessions which the four-year term covered, the two brothers were active in the contests which occupied the time of the Legislature, with dominating force, but each in his own individual way.

Mr. Wolcott exercised over the Senate the same magic control that he had shown the power to command over juries, and that deliberative body became, as it were, a jury to render verdicts in his favor. His style of address was found equally as effective in appeal to the reasoning faculties of his fellow-members standing with him as equals in council on the public welfare. It was in this body that his original and hypnotic personality became more thoroughly developed, and where he built up that following which afterward brought him to the Federal Senate.

The talents of Edward O. Wolcott were what may be classed as brilliant coming into bearing in open session, especially in debate. Those of his brother were exercised in committee and may be described as wise and tactful. The combination made the two brothers the most potent unit in the biennial sessions of 1879 and 1881. No combination ever worked more harmoniously, the talents of the junior being nursed by the pride of the elder, whose ambition in life it became to champion and forward the more strenuous career of the younger. No element of jealousy existed between them. One was the complement to the other, and the elder was ever ready to replace what the younger wasted or destroyed. Time after time when the violent energies of the younger resulted in excess or folly, the devotion and abiding affection of Henry brought him back to steadiness

and to the exercise in sobriety of talents which led to extravagance when unrestrained by the moderation and wisdom of the elder.

O. H. Rothacker, who was editor of the *Denver Tribune* at the time the Wolcotts were in the State Senate and who was intimately acquainted with both of them, as also he was with Senator E. P. Jacobson, the Clear Creek Senator's principal opponent in the Senate, fortunately has left an estimate of the two men—Jacobson and the younger Wolcott. It was written for the *Denver News* four years after the close of the two men from the Legislature. Beginning with the statement that his recollection had been revived by meeting a friend of Jacobson's on a train in the East, he proceeded to say that the second session in which the Wolcotts served was the most exciting session ever held in the State, as it was up to that time, and he then added:

Jacobson was the leader of the minority and Ed Wolcott of the majority. Henry Wolcott was president *pro tem.* of the body. . . .

Jacobson began the session with a fierce determination to contest Wolcott's supremacy. He was an antagonist not to be sneered at. Not a ready debater, for he had not learned the English language until he was twenty years of age, he was still a determined and persistent one. He had fine social accomplishments, and he used them with effect to keep his forlorn hope together. Probably in his way he was the most dangerous opponent whom Wolcott ever had in the State. Possessed of unquestioned intellect, of high spirit and singular perseverance, he was sleepless in his efforts to gain an advantage. But it was like fighting a stone-wall with naked fists. The Wolcott majority was always there and still more exasperating was the leader of that majority. Never was there seen a finer intellectual struggle. On one side easy strength; on the other an almost painful effort of hopeless opposition. Ed Wolcott's remarkable ability and fertility were as striking as his opponent's persistency. His rapier thrusts were marvellous in their keenness and dexterity. His ready tongue met and overthrew every obstacle of logic. Without any previous preparation he was always equipped. Yet day after day Jacobson returned to the assault

until the very last hours of the session, when I was the medium through which a compromise was arranged.

A few weeks later Jacobson died. I think it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the mental strain of the contest combined with the foul atmosphere of the inconvenient hole into which the then Secretary of State had crowded the Senators killed him. He felt the sting of his defeat very deeply, but if he had lived he would have been a striking figure in Colorado politics. He was a singularly able man.

In the *Colorado Springs Gazette* of February 18, 1881, we have a very just estimate of the rising statesman, made by the discriminating editor of that paper, B. W. Steele. Noting the fact that Mr. Wolcott frequently had been pitted against Senator Jacobson, of Arapahoe County, Mr. Steele tells us that while Mr. Jacobson was "shrewd and plucky as a leader rather than a success," Senator E. O. Wolcott was a leader of a very different type.

He had personal magnetism and dash [continues Mr. Steele], but lacked the staying qualities. He frequently showed an abandon in his acts so far as his political future was concerned. The opposition he aroused was frequently unnecessary, judged from a politician's standpoint. We cannot say that he was always sincere, but he was generally so, and impressed his associates as being so. He always had a strong personal following because men believed in him and trusted him.

His triumphs were many and repeated, dating from the organization of the Senate to the passage of the House apportionment bill which he was the first to champion as the only measure which could become a law. His triumphs over Jacobson, with whom he will be compared, were complete. The two men measured their strength on Jacobson's amendment to the Railroad Bill and the votes showed that Jacobson had but one Senator. The dashing, earnest, convincing logic was more potent than a tricky amendment to gain political strength.

On the floor Senator Wolcott was always ready and quick. His motions had a frankness and transparency about them that lulled suspicion and gave him unexpected support. He sometimes gave the motives for his votes with an astonishing frankness, as in the case of his motion to add Park to Summit County for a Senatorial District so as to make it a sure Republican district.



He cannot be said to have done himself justice in some of his legislative work. He did not have the ease and industry of Jacobson and Rogers. He might have opposed some measures that he supported had he been more critical and less faithful to his friends. Judging by the usual tests Senator E. O. Wolcott must be considered the most successful leader in the Senate, for he won the most victories.

To a woman writer in the *Denver News* of February 13, 1881, we are indebted for the following pen-picture of the Wolcott brothers:

The two most prominent persons in the Senate are the president thereof, Hon. H. R. Wolcott, and his brother, Hon. E. O. Wolcott. The latter is the younger and appears to be the more popular with the masses, hence ought, perhaps, to be described first.

"The gentleman from the Sixth," as he is officially designated, has a very attractive presence. He is of medium height, finely proportioned, and has a manly and graceful bearing. He has blond hair and very handsome brown eyes. Indeed he is a man whose good points even the most superficial discover. He is a physically comfortable man, and suggests a certain *bon-homie* full of magnetic attraction to the majority of his fellow-creatures. This perfectly well-adjusted physical organization is an immense advantage to his mental operations. He has no dyspeptic blood creeping into his brain and clogging its fine machinery, and introducing crotchets and sophistries as the result of reason turned aside by adverse physical conditions. Moreover, his magnificent physical life imparts courage and self-possession making him adequate to those sudden emergencies and exigencies when a man needs perfect command of his mental forces, unchecked by any treachery of nerve or lack of physical stamina.

Mr. Wolcott is what may be called a well-balanced man. He is cautious enough not to be reckless—yet is by no means timid. His method with an opponent is not to attempt to browbeat him with invective nor always to deal out to him sarcasm—though he is capable even of this—but one of his methods is good-humoredly to magnetize opposition into acquiescence. His smile, his tone of voice, a well-timed word or two, and his opponent is ashamed of his objections and abandons them. Mr. Wolcott has a good command of language and is considered a very



effective speaker. He is undoubtedly destined to hold a very high position, and wield a wide influence. He appears to be about thirty years of age and has the air of one born for success—the sort of success that comes to well-balanced, good-tempered, and well-informed people, who have sufficient energy and ambition to go in boldly and win the world's acknowledged prizes. He is the sort of man who will always have friends for the reason that he is full of generous good-will, kindly tolerance, magnetic force, and laudable ambitions. All these advantages, however, that Mr. Wolcott possesses, have their peril—inasmuch as torment and defeat rouse the more heroic attributes of a man's soul, and teach him facts that there is no gainsaying. It was a wise man who said, "As long as all that is said is said against me, I feel as one that lies unprotected before his enemies!" It is a new rendering of the old saying: "Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you."

Hon. H. R. Wolcott, the President of the Senate, is an entirely different man. He is not the sort of person about whom the mob would be enthusiastic. Nature intended him not so much for the success of place and power as for the higher success of character. Instead of the graceful, winning, magnetic presence of "the gentleman from the Sixth," his face and form somehow suggest one of the old statues of the gods. So firmly chiselled, so royally self-controlled, so full of the high attributes that never yet were put into the show-windows of "Vanity Fair," one sees at a glance that he is not one of the men who are "for sale." Not money, nor flattery, nor position, nor any other bribe could purchase this man's self-respect. Moreover, his self-respect is not a garrulous vanity, not an unreasoning pride, nor yet an unfounded prejudice in regard to himself. It is that which forces him to measure himself by a definite standard and hold himself up to the immutable laws of "cause and effect, those chancellors of God," whom there is no gainsaying.

He is the sort of man who makes one realize the full meaning of the old declaration: "Where McDonald sits *is* the head of the table." He could carry a hod and perform menial labor with such dignity as to exalt the work. He gives the impression always of being superior to what he does, yet of doing it with uncompromising fidelity, not for the work's sake, but for the man's sake. He can do nothing flippantly nor anything frivolously. He wears in his face, and carries in his voice that which declares him to belong to the few foremost souls of earth who are in earnest; who would scorn to trifle with the

humblest duty or the weakest soul, who can be patient of neglect yet never tolerant of dishonor.

It is Ralph Waldo Emerson who says: "The eyes show the antiquity of the soul." Mr. Wolcott has those clear blue-gray eyes that telegraph at once a message of deep insight such as frivolous people do not understand. These eyes have no distrust, no weak experimental curiosity; no impertinent scrutiny of imbecile speculation. They carry with them lights that flash far into a soul, and, reading its secrets, recognize its meaning and mission, and so do away with the vulgar necessities of explanation. They carry in them a promise of good faith to the deserving, yet also a warning that they have no pearls to cast before the unclean. They are penetrating but not unkind—tolerant, but not credulous—self-contained, but not self-assertive—magnanimous, but not extravagant—altogether the eyes of a man whose soul has been regnant and whose life has been subservient to purpose rather than mere emotion.

"The gifts of the people" and "the glitter of success" may not be the distinguishing features of this man's life, but whoever has looked at him with intelligent eyes has thought better for his sake of the possibilities of manhood. Whoever has entered the atmosphere of his character has been stimulated to remember heroism and admire all those attributes of the soul that shame into insignificance mere appetites and pretences.

It must not be supposed, however, that only complimentary expressions were heard regarding the Wolcotts. Ed especially made enemies as well as friends, and criticism was by no means infrequent. He did not shrink from taking any necessary and proper step because of possible censure and thus called forth many expressions regarding himself which were unpleasant to his friends if not to him. Often too, he was blamed for the acts of others, as was the case in connection with a controversy between General Hamill and Judge Belford. The *Denver Tribune* of May 12, 1881, made reference to such a condition, and, defending Mr. Wolcott against an attack by the *Leadville Herald*, said:

There is no man in the Republican party in this State who has been more unjustly dealt with than the Hon. Edward O. Wolcott. Personal organs and clique organs have never failed to assault him whenever they have had a chance. They have

been bitter and unjust without the slightest provocation for either the injustice or the bitterness, and the malice of invention has exhausted itself in the manufacture of charges which were as base as they were baseless. The last one comes from the *Leadville Herald* on the Belford-Hamill matter. Entirely without a particle of evidence, either direct or indirect, the *Herald* charges Mr. Wolcott with using money against Belford. The accusation is utterly false. The charge of jealousy is an utterly absurd one. Mr. Wolcott has no reason to be jealous of Mr. Belford or any one else. In point of ability he ranks any politician in the State. He has, to a greater degree, the elements which make a man strong in the national sense than any one in the Republican party between the Mississippi and the Pacific. The fault of frankness and genuineness have interfered with his political advance; but these are faults which attract men, and they are virtues in the long run. That a man who worked as hard as he did for Republican success in the last campaign should be made the target of a paper among whose proprietors is a United States Senator, is one of the disgraces of factional warfare in the State.



## In the Broader Field





## LAW AND POLITICS

**M**R. WOLCOTT'S election to the State Senate proved an important turning point in his life. Scarcely had he been chosen to represent Clear Creek County in the upper House of the Legislature when conditions became favorable for his removal from Georgetown to Denver, and he no sooner had established himself in the capital city than he entered upon an astonishingly active professional and political career. Indeed, there have been few instances of such a rapid rise in either direction as was made by the young attorney. Within a very short time his business calendar was full, and soon he was recognized as the leading lawyer of the city and of the State. His change in residence led to change in the character of his practice. Hitherto litigation over mining claims had occupied his time in the main, but he now began to turn his attention to railroads, which finally became his chief field of operation. In politics he was active from the time of his arrival. Before the expiration of his term, he was discussed as a candidate for Representative in the lower House of Congress, and within ten years after his location in Denver he was representing the State on the floor of the United States Senate.

Necessarily, his life was a busy one. His practice was such during this period as to require not only the greater part of his own time but also the time of many assistants, some of whom were themselves lawyers of acknowledged ability and established reputation.

This was a formative period of the State's progress. Railroads were building in all directions. There were many sharp conflicts over right of way through the narrow defiles

of the mountains. Suits for damages were frequent. The State was uncertain as to the course to be pursued in the matter of railroad legislation, and many were inclined toward a radical course. Clearly the roads stood in need of the counsel, not alone of a lawyer, but of a man familiar with political conditions who had the courage and independence to champion their cause. Frequently the railroad and other corporations were called upon to face prejudice and persistent opposition as well as intriguing political chicanery. All of them demanded ability, loyalty, fearlessness, in their legal work. These qualities found exceptional combination in Mr. Wolcott. Clients of this order were drawn to him almost without effort on his part, and after a time more business was offered than could be accepted. He was in that rare condition of an attorney able to choose his clients.

It was in June, 1879, that he transferred his office to Denver, where it continued so long as he lived. The immediate occasion of the change was his appointment as attorney for Colonel Lewis C. Ellsworth, receiver for the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad.

What is now the extensive system of the Denver & Rio Grande Company consisted then of only two or three hundred miles of narrow gauge track extending from Denver southward through Colorado Springs and Pueblo to Trinidad and Alamosa, with a few short feeders in other directions. The road had been built even to that extent with difficulty, and business in the State had been so dull previous to the opening up of the carbonate mines at Leadville that very few enterprises were profitable. Always sensitive to general commercial conditions, the railroads in Colorado were the greatest sufferers from the financial depression, and the Rio Grande was forced into a receivership. Colonel Ellsworth, the receiver, was a Georgetown man, and had been receiver for a Georgetown bank, in which capacity Mr. Wolcott had served as his attorney.

Before leaving Georgetown for Denver, Mr. Wolcott debated considerably over the wisdom of the change, and after his departure, he does not seem to have been satisfied entirely with his move. Writing to his father, November 30, 1879, he said:

I returned from Georgetown to-night, where I have been attending a contested election case for the past three days. It is already a wonder to me how I could have lived in that mountain town for more than seven years. And yet it is not altogether certain that I have done well to leave a sure remuneration for a field where I must build up a new practice.

The railroad receivership continued only until April, 1880, but it sufficed to introduce Mr. Wolcott to the financiers, railroad-builders, and managers of the West, and there was a constant improvement of his position until 1886, when he was elected General Counsel for the railroad company, a position he held until his death. The office was fairly lucrative in the beginning and it improved in this respect with increasing years.

It should also be noted that about this time the Hill smelting works were removed to Argo, a suburb of Denver, and with those works came not only Professor Hill, but Mr. Wolcott's brother Henry, as assistant manager. This change not only gave E. O. Wolcott the benefit of the companionship of his brother, but furnished allies in his business and political plans. Before long he was representing most of the important corporations of the State. He also was still much sought after as a mining lawyer. Indeed, Mr. Wolcott had been in Denver only a few years before his name was found on one side or the other of almost every important law-suit in the State or Federal courts of that jurisdiction.

After the discharge of Colonel Ellsworth as receiver of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad Company and upon its reorganization, Hon. Lyman K. Bass became the General Counsel of that company. Mr. Bass had removed from Buffalo, New York, to Colorado Springs on account of his health. He at one time had been a partner in the practice of the law with Grover Cleveland, and he also had been an influential member of Congress from the Buffalo district. A man of incisive intellect and a good lawyer, he appealed to Mr. Wolcott, and the two soon became close friends, as well as business associates. In a letter to his father of July

14, 1883, Mr. Wolcott writes of Mr. Bass in the following high terms: "He is the clearest-headed lawyer I ever knew and one of the best friends I ever had." When Mr. Bass was placed at the head of the legal department of the company Mr. Wolcott was made his first aid with the title of General Attorney. More familiar with general local conditions than was Mr. Bass, Mr. Wolcott held a very responsible position from the beginning. The headquarters of the company were then at Colorado Springs, and Mr. Bass maintained his office there, while Mr. Wolcott represented the company at the more important commercial centre of Denver. As Mr. Bass's health continued to fail Mr. Wolcott's responsibilities correspondingly increased, until, after Mr. Bass's retirement in 1886, Mr. Wolcott was selected as his successor at the head of the law department of the system, which had grown into large proportions. He was also elected a director of the company.

In 1884 the road again passed into the hands of a receiver, who, in this instance, was the Colorado Springs banker, William S. Jackson. Notwithstanding apprehensions that his connection with the road might cease, Mr. Wolcott continued to act under Mr. Jackson as legal representative of the railroad company. His doubts regarding his position, both before and after the beginning of the receivership, are set forth in his letters to his parents regarding the affairs of the railroad. On the 2d of January, 1884, he wrote his father, saying:

"The Denver & Rio Grande has passed through some changes recently and nobody here knew how he might be affected. I was gratified to find myself retained as before and upon the same compensation as was paid the firm when there were two of us. So I shall be able to keep the wolf from the door for another year at least."

And on June 29th of the same year he told his mother of the return of the road to the control of a receiver.

The Denver & Rio Grande Railway, with which I have in some way been connected for five years now, has gone to smash [he said]. It isn't attributable to the present management, nor, of course, am I in any way involved; but it was not



until trouble came to the railway that I realized how closely I had been attached to it. The concern will go into the hands of a receiver, and my connection with it will probably cease. There are other clients, however, and I suppose I shall find other work, plenty of it, for we must keep the pot boiling.

Again on July 13, 1884, he wrote his father: "The railway has gone into the hands of a receiver. I am at present representing him, but doubt whether the relation is one that will continue long, but suppose something else will turn up."

During 1881, he had become the Colorado attorney for the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company, and it was also in this year that he was appointed as the attorney for the Colorado Telephone Company. In 1882 he added to his clientage the First National Bank of Denver, the strongest financial institution in the Rocky Mountain region, and the Colorado Coal & Iron Company, then a most important enterprise, and which subsequently developed into the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. Afterward he was appointed attorney for the Union Depot & Railroad Company, the Denver Street Railway Company, and several other corporations.

Not until he went to Denver had Mr. Wolcott enjoyed the luxury of a clerk. Soon after he established himself there, however, he employed his first clerical assistant, and soon a second man was necessary. Later, as business grew, the force in his office was rapidly enlarged until it included several able lawyers and a corresponding number of clerks. In 1882, he formed a partnership with Mr. John G. Milburn. Although not of long duration, this relationship terminated with the utmost good-will on both sides, after which Mr. Milburn removed to Buffalo and later to New York, where he occupies an eminent position in his profession.

In the trial of one of the many cases in which the late Senator Tabor was involved, Mr. Wolcott found himself opposed by Mr. Joel F. Vaile, who had come to Denver a few years previously from Indiana. The marked ability and skill displayed by Mr. Vaile so impressed Mr. Wolcott that

he resolved, if possible, to prevail upon Mr. Vaile to enter his office; and a little later, in 1884, we find Mr. Vaile one of the mainstays of the Wolcott establishment. Thus began an association which in 1888, ripened into a partnership, and, with ever growing mutual attachment and esteem, endured until Mr. Wolcott passed away in 1905.

In 1888 Mr. Wolcott's campaign for the United States Senate absorbed much of his time; in 1889 he was elected and took up his residence in Washington, leaving the immediate supervision and control of the business in Mr. Vaile's hands. A diligent student; patient, indefatigable; possessing a keen and analytical mind; strong and self-reliant, no man could have been better equipped to assume and direct the conduct of a large and active practice than was Mr. Wolcott's partner. This partnership was unchanged until 1902, when Mr. Charles W. Waterman, who had entered the office some ten years previously and who had in the meantime developed into a very able lawyer, was admitted into partnership, under the firm name of Wolcott, Vaile & Waterman; and so the firm remained until after Senator Wolcott's death.

The dozen years from 1880 to 1892 covered a period of extraordinary activity and development in railroad-building, mining, smelting, irrigation, and other enterprises in Colorado. The discoveries of Leadville, Aspen, and San Juan were followed by the rich yields of silver from Creede beginning in 1891 and the richer gold production of Cripple Creek beginning in 1892.

The business, established and built up, as we have seen, by Mr. Wolcott, and so ably maintained in character and strength with the aid of Mr. Vaile and Mr. Waterman, grew in volume and in importance with years. Perhaps nothing could better illustrate the high standard and efficiency of the office than the fact that in several instances retainers paid to Mr. Wolcott in the early days of his professional career were never withdrawn. Many clients of those days were clients of Wolcott, Vaile & Waterman at Mr. Wolcott's death, notably the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad Company and the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company.

In the course of a letter to the author, Mr. Milburn furnishes an account of the circumstances under which he entered into partnership with Mr. Wolcott and also supplies an estimate of the young attorney as he appeared at that time. The contribution affords an interesting view of the growing man, showing that under the stimulus of prosperity and congenial employment he was coming rapidly into his own. Mr. Milburn's letter is dated at New York, September 5, 1910, and reads:

The first time I met Edward Wolcott was in the summer of 1882 when we were guests in the same house at Colorado Springs. Seldom has a personality made instantaneously so deep an impression upon me. Tall, well-proportioned, fair-haired, and blue-eyed; rapid in speech and quick-witted; active, alert, and restless; flashing from grave to gay in his moods and conversation and back again;—they were vivid days we then spent together and he moved through them like a meteor. An attachment sprang up between us at once, and before we parted we were so drawn to each other that it had occurred to both of us in a dim and half-expressed sort of way that we could work effectively together in the profession to which we both belonged. This suggestion took definite shape in the next two or three months, and in September, 1882, I went to Denver and joined him in his practice. We were associated for nearly a year—one of the most delightful years of my life—when I returned to the East for reasons quite disconnected with relations between us.

At that time Wolcott was the General Attorney of the Denver and Rio Grande Railway system, the Attorney of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad lines in Colorado, and had besides a large practice in mining, commercial and miscellaneous matters. He had no partner, but was ably assisted by a number of young men headed by Lucius M. Cuthbert. He had a large and commodious set of offices furnished in excellent taste, and a very large and complete legal library. I have never seen a more attractive or better equipped law-office. His nature was such that he could not have tolerated mean surroundings. I recall now as a sort of intimate personal touch, revealing one side of the man, that every morning there were a few fresh flowers found in each of the offices, which relieved the monotony of piles of law-books and legal documents. There was a great deal of leading and important business in the office of unusual in-

terest because Colorado was then a young State with its law in the making, and more through the decision of actual cases than by legislation. The year I spent there was for me rich in its experience, education and associations, and I was never engaged in more novel or interesting cases. Many of them were pioneer cases and concerned matters and conditions peculiar to those regions of our country;—such, for instance, as irrigation. With only a few volumes of Colorado reports and a limited body of statute law one felt and enjoyed the advantage of scope in solving the problems of each case. Those were the conditions under which Wolcott's legal life developed and expanded.

To estimate his gifts and qualities as a lawyer is not easy in the case of such a complex, varied and impulsive personality. I speak of him only as I knew him during the period of our association. He was not a quiet, methodical or plodding worker, or a continuous student by nature or habit. He was so over-running with nervous force and energy that every hour took its own line and often a different one. I do not mean by this that he was not capable of long stretches of work on the same subject, because he was, and sometimes almost to an abnormal extent. He did his work according to the ways of the impulsive, flashing, intuitive mind, moving rapidly over a subject and yet seeing into the heart of it and grasping its essential features, and always with luminous and suggestive results. The mechanical work of the profession was irksome to him. His strength was in advocacy, that being a domain in which he could avail himself of the aid of patient, painstaking and diligent assistants. His gifts and powers were natural rather than acquired. He had a distinctly legal mind; a voice of rare charm and power; a manner and personality that arrested and held the attention of men; high spirits, humor, distinction and a passionate seriousness when aroused; and the gift of pure and genuine eloquence. He was an able and effective lawyer, and if he had given his energies and devotion entirely to the law he would have been one of the commanding advocates of his time.

This letter is already too long, but I cannot help adding one illustration of his powers as a lawyer. At the end of my stay in Colorado there came on for trial a case brought by a firm of contractors against a railroad company to recover on certain claims growing out of the construction of a tunnel. We represented the plaintiffs. Some of the claims raised very close questions, and through lapse of time it was difficult to support them by substantial evidence. Though they aggregated about \$47,000



the case was so full of difficulties that we offered to take \$15,000 in settlement. The company declined the offer and we had to go to trial. The taking of the testimony occupied four or five days, and when it was all in I should have been glad to be assured of a verdict for the amount we had offered to take. Wolcott made the closing argument to the jury on behalf of the plaintiffs. He had followed the case closely and was thoroughly prepared. He amazed me by the power, dignity, and overwhelming effect of his speech. It was simply irresistible, and he carried the jury on every point in the case, even the weakest. After a very short consultation they rendered a verdict for the total amount of all the claims with interest, making an aggregate of \$64,000. On a motion for a new trial made at once the Judge struck off the interest and allowed the remainder of the verdict to stand, and it was paid without further delay or litigation. That the victory was so complete was due to Wolcott's remarkable forensic powers; and I never witnessed a finer display of the advocate's art before a jury.

Our intimacy was unbroken and unclouded to the end of his life; and all my intercourse with him in after years was made delightful by his loyal friendship, his many and varied interests, his unique individuality, and his engaging personal qualities.

#### IN STATE POLITICS

During none of this time was our busy attorney idle in politics. Indeed, he was not only the most completely occupied lawyer, but he was by long odds the busiest politician in the State. As he was the real leader in the campaign which terminated in the election of Professor Hill to the Senate, so he continued to head the forces of the Hill faction so long as he remained with it. He bore the brunt of his brother Henry's contest for the Governorship in 1882, and although he failed in his efforts then he did not forfeit his prestige. More successful in 1886 in determining the nomination for Governor, when Hon. William H. Meyer was named, he then failed in the election of his candidate. Undeterred by these disasters, he held his position in the forefront of the battle, and at last, in 1889, forced his own election to the United States Senate.

Then, as since, the United States Senatorship was the



capital prize in the Colorado political lottery. With the State too far from the centre of population to supply a Presidential candidate, the Senatorship soon came to be regarded as the farthest goal of a Colorado man's ambition, and many bent their energies to attain it. Never a public man of any prominence who did not sooner or later develop Senatorial ambitions. It is not strange, then, that in time Mr. Wolcott came to be a Senatorial aspirant, and that the people manifested no astonishment when they found him to be one.

Not only were there many candidates for the Senate in those days, but there were more than the usual number of seats to be filled. Indeed by the time Colorado had been in the Union six years, the State had had a half-dozen representatives in the Senate—one for each year. These were Chaffee and Teller, the first two chosen; Hill, Chaffee's successor; Chilcott, appointed by Governor Pitkin to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Teller's becoming a member of President Arthur's cabinet; Tabor, who was chosen by the Legislature to succeed Chilcott in filling the unexpired term, and Bowen, elected to take up the work after the expiration of the Teller term. Mr. Wolcott was active in politics when four of the six were chosen. Little wonder that his ambition was kindled!

The differences between Senators Teller and Hill and between their respective followers were so sharp during all these years that they gave color to all political questions. From the time that Mr. Hill entered the Senate it became evident that it would be difficult to maintain the harmony which hitherto had marked the Congressional delegation when it consisted of Teller, Chaffee, and Belford. These three men had been neighbors in Gilpin County before going to Congress and they conducted the affairs of the State in Washington as neighbors would have been expected to do. Mr. Hill also was a Gilpin County man, but with his election new conditions presented themselves, resulting in a sharp division between himself and Mr. Teller, with Representative Belford generally inclining toward the Teller side. Apparently the strife had its origin in the selection of the Federal officers of the State, but it really owed its existence

to the desire to control party affairs, and in the beginning was stronger with the following of the two men than with the men themselves. This estrangement continued during the entire six years that Mr. Hill remained in the Senate, and echoes of it were heard for several years afterward. It rent the Republican party of the State in twain, and resulted in the election of at least two Democratic Governors, J. B. Grant in 1882 and Alva Adams in 1886.

At the beginning of this feud Mr. Wolcott naturally stood with the Hill forces. When elected to the Senate, Mr. Hill was an untried man in politics. He had been successful as a tutor in chemistry at an Eastern college, and he had given the State the largest and most complete smelting works within its borders. As an individual citizen he ranked very high. But he knew little about men, and it was evident from the beginning that the political life was not suited to his temperament. Young Wolcott, who had an instinct for politics, was not long in discovering this fact. The first inclination to break away was manifested in 1880, when there was talk of nominating him for Congress. He then discovered, doubtless much to his surprise, that the man for the promotion of whose political interests he had done so much was not inclined to reciprocate.

Possibly Mr. Hill found obstacles in his way. He may have been under obligations to other aspirants, or perhaps complications existed that rendered it difficult for him to support Mr. Wolcott. It may be, too, that he feared that with another man of his own faction occupying so prominent a place it would not be so easy for him to continue in the Senate. Whatever Mr. Hill's reasons, Mr. Wolcott was not the man to accept them. He knew as well as any one could know the service he had rendered, and he felt, and rightly, that no return would be too great a compensation for that service. When, then, he discovered that the man whom he had so generously assisted was not disposed to return the favor, he naturally suspected that his political affections had been misplaced. He continued, however, for some years to be considered a member of and a leader in the Hill contingent and the world knew little

or nothing of his change of heart. Indeed, at the time, there was no public information of Mr. Hill's defection, and it seems generally to have been supposed that he was strongly advocating the nomination of his lieutenant. Mr. Wolcott has, however, left testimony to the contrary, and this must be received as authoritative.

#### FIRST NATIONAL CONTEST

There were two State conventions in 1880, the first being held in May for the selection of delegates to the National Republican Convention, which was to meet in Chicago in the coming June, and the second in August, for the nomination of State officers. In the latter convention Governor Pitkin, who had served most acceptably for the previous two years, was renominated by acclamation, and the principal contest was over the Congressional nomination in which Mr. Wolcott figured as a candidate.

The May convention was a very animated one. It will be recalled that 1880 was the year in which there was a strong effort to have General Grant nominated for a third Presidential term.

Mr. Wolcott was intensely opposed to the Grant nomination, and together with General Hamill bitterly antagonized instructions in favor of the Civil War hero. Both of them sat in the convention as delegates from Clear Creek County, a county whose delegation was solidly for Blaine. Although not at that time a Blaine enthusiast, Mr. Wolcott favored him as the most available candidate with whom to defeat Grant. Hamill, on the other hand, was a strong personal follower of Blaine.

They soon discovered that the State had been so thoroughly canvassed and that so much attention had been given to obtaining pro-Grant delegates, that to stem the tide was quite out of the question. In one of his letters, Mr. Wolcott asserts that between twenty and thirty thousand dollars was spent in the various counties in Grant's interest. This letter was written in advance of the convention, but the writer then plainly foresaw that Grant would carry it, notwithstanding that, as he declared, the sentiment of the

State was three to one against the General. The result of the State Convention was as had been foretold. The convention stood about two to one in Grant's favor. Grant resolutions were adopted, and a solid Grant delegation was chosen to represent the State at Chicago. So intensely in earnest, however, were the opponents of the third-term idea, that a bolt was at one time seriously threatened by them, and seems to have been averted only by the adoption of a resolution commendatory of Blaine. The resolution was, of course, of but little practical use to Mr. Blaine, but it soothed the feelings of his followers—"saved their faces" for them. The State's six delegates were all staunch Grant men, and they were among the famous 306 who stood out to the last in the National Convention. The delegation was headed by former Governor John L. Routt, a personal friend of Grant's, who had hopes of obtaining a cabinet position in case of the success of his favorite.

But neither Colorado's Grant delegation nor the Blaine resolutions influenced the convention in favor of either of these candidates. General Garfield, who was not a candidate, was awarded the prize over these and other aspirants for the Presidency. Thus the members of the Colorado delegation were enabled to carry home with them only the consolation of having assisted in defeating Grant's chief opponent without having promoted the success of their own candidate. In Colorado, Garfield was a popular candidate, and the Republicans of the State soon were engaged in a vigorous fight for him. Mr. Wolcott did his first general campaigning in this contest.

#### CONGRESSIONAL ASPIRATIONS

At that time Colorado had only one member in the National House of Representatives, and the active candidates for that office before the State Convention in 1880 were Hon. James B. Belford, the incumbent of the office, Hon. Westbrook S. Decker, of Denver, and Hon. Charles I. Thompson, of Leadville. Mr. Wolcott never was officially mentioned in the convention as a candidate, and no vote was cast for him. Still he was "in the hands of his



friends," and would have been placed in nomination if there had been any probability of his success. It was soon discovered, however, that in case his name should be brought before the convention, the other candidates would combine to insure his defeat. Indeed, this combination was effected as a result of the informal mention of his name, for when it became probable that he would be sprung as a candidate the friends of Thompson and Decker deserted their respective leaders for Belford. Thus it happened that while Wolcott and his supporters were opposed to Belford more than to either of the other candidates they really forced his nomination. Mr. Wolcott has left a word on this subject, and it appears that they were not acting blindly, but were crowding Belford to the front in the hope that they would thus the more certainly eliminate him from State politics.

The use of Mr. Wolcott's name in connection with the Congressional nomination was due entirely to the circumstance that the Hill faction, if not Hill himself, were anxious to place upon the ticket the name of a man who would represent them, and they found in Mr. Wolcott the most available material for this service. Indeed, the Legislature scarcely had adjourned in the winter of 1879 when there were occasional references to Mr. Wolcott as a factor in the Congressional race, and as early as May, 1880, we find him taking note of the possibility of his candidacy. He then was determined, however, to remain aloof from the contest. "I shall," he says in a letter to his father of May 22d, "keep entirely out of the field under any and all circumstances. I would not take the nomination for Congress if it were offered to me, which it will not be. If a man spends money enough and time enough in courting the popular will, the people want him; if he does n't, they don't."

By the time, however, the convention met, he had been influenced to change his attitude, and if the nomination had been tendered to him he would have accepted. In a letter to his father of September 30th, he says:

My name did n't come before the convention at all. I would accept nothing but the Congressional nomination, and would not go in for that as a candidate, or if a choice could be ar-



rived at without me. This last resolve helped very much to hasten the decision arrived at by the convention, for the three candidates arranged among themselves that, if my name was sprung in the convention, they would throw at once all their strength to the leading candidate of the three, and thus bar me out. If [he adds] it is any satisfaction to me to know it, I am aware that we had them all badly scared. Belford was the bitterest of all, and yet at the last moment we threw all the strength we could to Belford, knowing that the coming two years will complete his political dissolution.

Without explanation Mr. Wolcott then declared that Hill was against him, "or would have been had I been in the field. But," he adds, "Henry was, as usual, my mainstay. He exerts a greater amount of influence than almost anybody in the State, and is the best backer, as well as the best brother, in the world."

In this convention, Hon. Charles H. Toll, who afterward married Miss Katherine Wolcott, a sister of Henry and Ed Wolcott, was nominated for Attorney-General. Mr. Toll was a rising young lawyer of Rio Grande County, and had been a member of the lower House of the State Legislature in 1878 and 1879, occupying in that body much the same position that E. O. Wolcott occupied in the Senate. He was a sturdy supporter of the Hill interests, and a fluent speaker. He soon formed an intimacy with the Wolcott brothers, and his nomination for Attorney-General was traceable largely to their influence. Mr. Wolcott has left a brief word regarding this event. He says in the letter to his father, which already has been quoted: "Toll was nominated by acclamation, and made a most creditable showing in every way. His speech of acceptance was the best of the convention."

The tickets, both State and National, were popular and were elected by good majorities.

#### STUMPING THE STATE

It was in this campaign that Mr. Wolcott made his first appearance as a stump speaker. He toured the State in company

with Mr. Toll, and together they visited almost every county. To those who knew Mr. Wolcott in later years and to whom he seemed not only ever ready to make a speech, but capable of acquitting himself with more credit than others, his letters are a revelation. Governor Routt had been made Chairman of the State Committee, and he no sooner had entered upon this responsible service than he sought out Mr. Wolcott and exacted from him a promise to make a campaign of the State. "I shrink from it as I never did from anything and fear I shall make a complete failure of it; and my fear is augmented by the fact that everybody seems to expect me to do so well. But I suppose I shall have to make the attempt." Such was the young politician's confession to his father. He not only did make the attempt, but his campaign was a whirlwind success from its beginning. Indeed, it scarcely had been begun before he had become the most sought after of all the speakers on the list. It was the first of many tours made by the young orator, and served to introduce him to a constituency with whom he soon was destined to become very familiar. On the 8th of September, we find him informing his parents that he had been preparing the itinerary for his speech-making tour, which he then expected to begin on the 25th of that month. It was his purpose to make only fifteen or twenty speeches, and he promised his father that in them he would "stand always on high ground." "I have," he adds, "done this uniformly in my jury cases."

He seems to have begun his speech-making earlier than he had anticipated, and yet to have postponed the beginning of his regular tour to a somewhat later date: for on September 26th he writes to his father, saying that he had spoken twice preparatory to beginning his advertised trip, once, most appropriately at Georgetown, where he had begun his professional career in Colorado, and once at Silver Plume, also in Clear Creek County. In his report to his father he says that at Silver Plume he had an audience of six hundred or seven hundred and that he spoke in the open air. In this letter he takes occasion to assure his parents regarding the care of his health and that of Mr. Toll, who was to be his travelling companion. He says:

I appreciate both mother's anxiety and yours respecting the necessity of keeping good hours, and taking care of one's health on the stump; but there is n't the least occasion for worry so far as I am concerned. I am living a perfectly regular life these days, and am indulging in no excesses either in the matter of late hours or appetites. And as to Toll, he always takes excellent care of his health.

We do not hear directly from Mr. Wolcott again until October 13th, when there is a brief narration of his course to his father. By that time he had scored a decided success, but had grown tired of the service and was ready to quit. "I have," he says, "been so far particularly successful in my stump speaking, and I am heartily sick of it, and want to cancel most of the rest of my engagements; but Henry and my other friends won't listen to it. I have shown that I can do that sort of thing, have satisfied myself of it, and that seems enough." He then complains of the impossibility of finding variety in theme and expression, and this difficulty, notwithstanding it is the experience of all stump speakers, seems to have been very discouraging to him. In this letter he outlined his feelings, and while he proceeded with his campaign, he does not seem to have changed his pessimistic view of political life and especially of the speech-making end of it, for in a letter of October 18th we find him exclaiming, "What a lot of clap-trap there is in public life!" and bemoaning the fact that "such a life requires one to pose so much before his constituency."

The speech of October 24th was made in Denver, and was reported in the *Denver Tribune* of the next day. Forwarding extra copies of the paper to his father, he says:

There are a hundred or more errors or mistakes in the report, and all of my stories and several portions of the speech were omitted. But you will get a tolerably accurate idea of it, and I only hope it sounded better than it reads, for it by no means suits me in print. The closing of my speech, the reference to the mountains as the Home of Liberty, everybody appreciated.

We may even now almost hear him heaving a sigh of

relief over the fact that the end was so near. "I am," he says in the same letter, "so glad it is over." He then adds: "I have had some thirty invitations for this week and have declined them all. I shall not speak again except perhaps for half an hour with Belford the night before election. The only pride I have had in the whole matter was that I might gratify you and Henry, and might justify the good things my friends have said of me."

This speech as printed in the *Tribune* will be found in another part of this work. If its author had the difficulty he represents in preparing his speeches this specimen does not betray it. He discussed the broad questions of the day in a way that showed the speaker's grasp of national affairs, even though he modestly professed to lack familiarity with them. He also evinced a generous interest in the welfare of the candidates on the State ticket, going to the extent of praising some who had not been so liberal with him. It was just the kind of speech to arouse the enthusiasm of the young Westerners, and it did arouse this feeling in them as the speeches of no other campaigner did. Wherever Mr. Wolcott spoke, the cause was strengthened, and the close of the contest brought him many expressions of gratitude as well as many compliments on the method and matter of his addresses. From that time forward the young Clear Creek attorney's reputation was established in Colorado. Never again was it necessary to beat the bush to get an audience for him.

#### IMPROVED FINANCES

The next campaign did not come on for two years. The interim was devoted by Mr. Wolcott to building up his law practice and to laying the plans for the nomination of his brother as Governor. His legal work for Receiver Ellsworth occupied much of his time during the first year or two in Denver, but some outside business drifted in upon him. Many of his suits were perhaps not of great importance, for in those days Mr. Wolcott was not above taking small cases. The attorneyship for the receiver was a more lucrative employment than he yet had had, but it did not



occupy all of his time, and there were periods when he felt that he could well take care of other business. He had contemplated suspending his stumping tour of the State during the campaign of 1880 to give attention to his law practice, because, as he said, clients were not so numerous that he could afford to neglect their business in the interest of the party welfare.

The publicity which came to him as one of the results of the 1880 campaign added materially to his law practice, and the new year of 1881 had not progressed far when we find him indicating in his letters, and manifesting in his manner of life, a degree of opulence which hitherto he had not known. Up to this time he had been able to do but little toward redeeming a promise he had voluntarily made during his school career to assist in the education of his brothers and sisters. For several years after his settlement in Georgetown he found it difficult at times to make both ends meet. Never, however, after his arrival in Colorado did his father find it necessary to give him financial assistance. Now our lawyer and politician had reached the turn in the road, and while still there were to be periods when he did not have all the money he wanted, there never afterward was a time when he did not have all that he really needed and more than the average man would have known how to spend profitably. His business grew rapidly until it became necessary for him to turn clients away.

As early as March of 1881 Mr. Wolcott was sending money home and supplying younger members of the family with the means to support them at school. Not only did he furnish these means, but he urged the spending of the money freely. Remembering his own school-days, when economy was so necessary and when his father required from him the strictest acknowledgment of all remittances, he refused to accept an accounting from those who received his favors, and he almost made it a part of the contract that there should be no particular care as to how the money went. In one instance he exacted from a sister the condition that she should expend the money he was sending to her on luxuries rather than on necessities, and, in another, in forwarding \$200, he said: "I would like it if you would



devote \$150 of the amount to your general expenses and expend the \$50 in frivolity or dissipation of some sort, or if you are unwilling to do that, in books or something else that you would n't otherwise buy." Again, on October 6th of that year, he addressed the same sister as follows:

I enclose you a draft on New York for \$200, the receipt of which please acknowledge. You are *not* to send your accounts to me this year. I don't want to see any accounts; they are a great nuisance, anyhow, and were always a stumbling block to me. But I do want you always to be sure to let me know when you can use any money. I take a great deal more pleasure in sending it to you than you possibly can in receiving it, and I'll appreciate it if you'll write me frankly for anything you want.

And again, in the same vein and to the same sister, on January 13, 1882:

I have just received your letter. How can I make you understand that what I send you is a pleasure to me—that I enjoy it? I want to send it. I want you to be extravagant if you can on what I send you. I want you to taste some of the pleasures of extravagance; to heed the old adage:

“Catch your pleasures as they fly;  
Fly time will soon be over.”

All I ask is that you let me know when you want money, for I keep no dates on my remittances, and am apt to forget. I cannot tell from your letter now before me whether you are out of money now or not. Are you? My practice is an excellent one these days, and it looks as if it would continue good.

Writing to his father on the 5th of March, of 1881, he reports business as “good,” but says that he finds it very difficult to give it his steady attention. He adds, however, that “somehow my expenses increase faster than my income does,” a remark which his intimates would have appreciated. Coming again on the 13th of May to an expression concerning the tediousness of every-day work, he says in a letter to his father:

When one is reasonably busy and following the humdrum life that knows no difference between one day and another, there is n't much news to write home. The only variety I have is that one day my time is taken up with the examination into a claim for damages, and another respecting some breach of contract, or the examination of a title. It's all very fine. You have with you the consciousness of having done your duty and earned your salt, but there is very little spice in it, after all. There ought to be a next world for such people; they cannot find much enjoyment in this one.

By the 6th of October of the same year Mr. Wolcott was reporting business as so crowding that he had not time to read anything but law-books, and on October 18th he was able to state that he was employing three men as assistants in his office. But he did not like the arrangement because he thought it might induce habits of carelessness on his part. Writing to his father concerning his improved condition, he said:

I see but little of either of the sisters [two of whom were living in Denver], but I literally cannot find the time. I have three men in the office now, but I hope it will be only temporarily, for, after all, you must do your own work, and there doesn't seem to be any more income now than there was when I was able to do all my own work and have plenty of leisure. Too much business is destructive to any continuity or depth of research.

This letter had been written after midnight, a fact which brought out a remonstrance from the father. The elder Wolcott was of quite the same mind as the son regarding the employment of help. In his reply he said:

Your good long favor, 18th instant, came duly to hand. It is a great pleasure to get such a letter from you, but I would never have you abridge your night's rest for the sake of gratifying me. Henry wrote us that your business was increasing so that you might have to employ a third man. The most satisfactory part of your work will be what you do yourself, and anything which you can do, you had better do, than put upon another. Then, of course, you must guard against over-

work. It must require a very great income to justify such a steady outlay for help. The railroad appointment named in your letter, 6th instant (for I think I have the rare, unprecedented pleasure of acknowledging two letters from you since I wrote), is important because the income is fixed and reliable. I hope you will be able to retain all your present business, and gain more, and be able to give all needful personal attention to the whole.

I never shall find a better time to carry into effect the long-deferred importunity of your good grandfather, and exhort you to practise economy. I want you to have a touch—just a touch—of the miser's joy.

With the increased office force came new and better offices and more books, as is to be gathered from the following of May 11, 1882, to Dr. and Mrs. Wolcott:

"My new offices are delightful, or will be when I get them fully arranged. I have been adding very extensively to my law library and have now the reports of twenty States and an admirable collection of English reports. I wish I knew more of the law that is in them."

That the young man was not only well officed but well housed at home is also gathered from the following extract from the same letter:

I have a scheme: Why cannot father return when Henry does and spend a month with us here? We have room for him at our house and can insure him a good table. I cannot promise him any particularly hilarious enjoyment. But, seriously, it would gratify me very much if he would come, and I know father would enjoy the trip, and it would do him good. I have a fair miscellaneous library, and we are so situated that his visit would be pleasant to him.

#### HENRY WOLCOTT'S CAMPAIGN

Mr. Wolcott had begun by this time to prepare for the gubernatorial contest of his brother, and probably was the busiest man in the State. The fight against Henry Wolcott was a part of the distressing political quarrel between the Teller and Hill factions. The antagonism between the two Senators had become acute in Washington early in the season.

Mr. Teller's acceptance of the portfolio of the Interior Department in April of this year had not produced, as some had hoped, a reconciliation of the chiefs, and if it had, it is doubtful if they could have carried their followers with them. The change in the position of the senior Senator seemed, indeed, to intensify the feeling instead of mollifying it. It created more opportunities for contest, and more objectives for vaulting ambition. Mr. Teller's place in the Senate must immediately be filled by appointment by the Governor. The Legislature was not in session and would not be for almost a year. When it did meet there must be an election to complete Teller's term, which was to have terminated in the following March. In addition, a senator must be chosen for the six years beginning March 4, 1883. Three chances at the Senate in less than a year! This was more than in her wildest imaginings Colorado ever had hoped for. And there was so much material! A dozen avowed candidates, and quite as many more good men and true, willing to sacrifice themselves on the senatorial altar of duty! With so many openings, with Teller in no sense a candidate; with Hill already seated in the Senate, and with Chaffee quite out of the running, any acceptable man might hope to wear the toga.

No wonder that when the elder of the Colorado Wolcotts sought the more modest but scarcely less responsible office of Governor, he found himself entangled in the senatorial web.

Mr. Teller's retirement from the Senate had been followed within less than a week by the appointment of George M. Chilcott, of Pueblo, as his successor. Many prominent men in the State were disappointed over the Governor's selection, and most of those who had felt themselves entitled to the appointment now became candidates for election by the Legislature to be chosen in the following November. Henry Wolcott was everywhere recognized as the champion of his business partner, Senator Hill, and as such he went into the convention. This condition caused Mr. Teller and all the anti-Hill forces to take up arms against him, regardless of the facts that most of them were pleased to consider him a personal friend and that almost all of them regarded



him as better equipped than any of the other aspirants to assume the duties of the gubernatorial office.

Mr. Dill thus describes in his work on *Political Campaigns of Colorado* the relations of the parties, his testimony being peculiarly significant from the fact of his being intensely partisan against Mr. Wolcott and personally attached to one of the other candidates:

There was no objection to Mr. Wolcott, personally. He was then considered a sterling Republican who deserved well of his party, and under other circumstances there is little doubt that he would have received the nomination. Less aggressive than his brother, he had created fewer antagonisms, and among the most earnest supporters of Mr. Campbell there were many who sincerely regretted that the contest had assumed such a shape that they could not vote for Wolcott. The contest was purely the outgrowth of the bitterness needlessly engendered through personal ambitions—a condition almost inseparable from active politics—and which had been enhanced by the aggressiveness of the younger Wolcott. Neither Mr. Chaffee nor Mr. Teller was opposed to Wolcott on personal grounds. They objected to his candidacy at that time for the sole reason that he was the representative of Senator Hill, and the senatorial question was involved in the gubernatorial contest. Mr. Chaffee replied to the request of General Hamill for the withdrawal of his opposition to Wolcott, that if Wolcott would wait until after the senatorial question was disposed of he would cheerfully support him for Governor, but he absolutely refused his consent to the nomination of Wolcott, with the certainty that in the event of his election the entire strength of the State administration would be used to secure the re-election of Hill to the Senate. The opposition of Chaffee and Teller to Hill's re-election was at the bottom of the whole controversy and led to the formation of a combination between those gentlemen of which Campbell's nomination was merely a necessary incident. The actual contest was between Chaffee and Teller on one side, and Hill on the other, with the senatorial succession as the prize. Supporting Senator Hill were General Hamill and Ed Wolcott.

The situation at this point is set forth in the following letter of Ed Wolcott to his father:



DENVER, COLO., Aug. 22, 1882.

MY DEAR FATHER:

I haven't time to write more than a line.

I cannot now present the letter concerning Mr. Wolcott, of Washington, to Mr. Teller. We are actively engaged here in a fight which is assuming some bitterness, and I am unwilling to ask any favors at his hands.

Teller is bringing the whole power of his position in the cabinet, and his personal influence, joined with that of Chaffee and Evans, to beat Henry. They announce that Henry must not be nominated because it would be a triumph for Hill, and that they desire to test now whether Hill is "boss" in this State. Their position is untenable, but Hill is not a popular man throughout the State. We are badly frightened, but it looks as if we might pull through, after all. I should look upon Henry's chances to-day as rather against him, but with the advantage on our side of a compact organization and what Mrs. Partington called "spree de corps" we may win.

Tabor has not yet taken sides. Routt cannot be against us, but we cannot hope for much from him. The other side have repudiated Belford. We won't touch Pitkin. Hamill is helping splendidly.

Hastily, with love to all,

ED.

The convention began its sittings in the historic Tabor Opera House at Denver, September 14th, with about two thousand spectators, and it was one of the most exciting political gatherings in the history of the State, being the first open trial of strength between the two sections of the Republican party. In the picturesque language of the day, the Hill forces were called "Argonauts" because the Hill-Wolcott smelter was located at Argo, and their opponents were nicknamed "Windmills" because of their alleged tendency to boastfulness. The lines were much more definitely traced than in 1880, and it was understood on all sides that it was to be "a fight to the finish." For the first time Mr. Wolcott occupied a seat from Arapahoe County, his new home.

Ed Wolcott had General Hamill as his right-hand man, and he also was strongly flanked by numbers of splendid

representatives from all portions of the State. Among these were numerous young men who were just coming into their own in politics and in the professions and the growing industries of the State. They were glad to acknowledge in Mr. Wolcott a leader, and it may as well be said here as elsewhere that no man in politics ever had a more loyal, more zealous or more admiring throng of young men as followers than had Ed Wolcott. He was their choice at all times and their champion on every occasion. Wherever there was a college graduate of recent years; wherever there was a man under middle age who was striving to establish himself in the world, there one was almost sure to find a Wolcott man. And they were of the kind that stayed with and supported and made sacrifices for and on behalf of a leader. There were numbers of them sitting in the Denver Convention as delegates, but there were still more who had gone to the convention as mere spectators.

The principal controversy in the convention was in connection with the Arapahoe delegation. At that time Denver was the county seat and it had by far the largest delegation in the State. The control of this county had been bitterly contested in the primaries, and some of the contests were taken to the County convention.

The principal contests in the County convention had been from the First and the Fifth wards of Denver, gross irregularities being charged in both. From the former the Wolcott delegation was seated and from the latter the anti-Wolcott delegation. As a body the County convention was favorable to Mr. Wolcott and a delegation to the State convention friendly to him was chosen.

The State convention was called upon to consider the situation in Arapahoe, the seats of the regular or Wolcott delegation being contested by anti-Wolcott claimants. The organization was in the hands of the Windmills, and the Chairman appointed a Committee on Credentials which was favorable to that side of the controversy.

The committee reported without recommendation as to the county as a whole except in the case of the delegates from the First Ward, concerning which the committee expressed the opinion that they did not fairly represent the



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H. R. WOLCOTT, SOON AFTER HIS REMOVAL TO DENVER.



county and recommended that the contestants should have pro rata representation.

As soon as the report was submitted Ed Wolcott moved the seating of the delegates bearing the certificates of the County convention. The motion aroused an animated debate in which Mr. Wolcott and Willard Teller, a brother of Senator Teller, were the principal participants. Mr. Teller occupied the seat of one of the delegates from Saguache County, which was represented by an anti-Wolcott delegation. In his speech, Mr. Teller attacked the Arapahoe representation, declaring that it had been chosen by questionable means.

Mr. Wolcott closed the discussion with a speech which we of the present day read under unfavorable circumstances. We cannot project ourselves into the past sufficiently to feel the intense interest in the outcome that his hearers had; we have not their familiarity with the people and the facts and the spirit underlying all; we do not hear the music of his voice; we do not receive the impression of his earnestness and sincerity. On the printed page it seems to be but a simple statement of sordid events and a discussion of the rights of participants in primary elections, with a little flourish at the close in behalf of Republicanism. It was, nevertheless, an effective utterance. Those who heard it felt afterward that they had been witnesses of a triumph of oratory. The speaker demolished the contentions of the other party, and forced his antagonists to concur with him.

When he arose to speak, Mr. Wolcott was urged to take the stage. "No," he responded promptly, "I will stay where I am and where I belong." This assertion was meant to bear on his right to hold his seat as a delegate, and was received with applause. Continuing, he said:

I shall endeavor to confine myself entirely to the facts which were laid before the committee. I understand, first, that this convention has no jurisdiction whatsoever over any question relating to the conduct of the primaries in any county or in any precinct in Colorado. The sole custodian of the papers and of the records of those primaries and the sole judge as to the regularity of their proceedings is the County convention.



These primaries were held, and no man thinks them less defensible than I do. In the Fifth Ward, from which the friends of Mr. Teller were admitted to the county convention, more votes were cast in three hours than during the whole day of the last election. There were Democratic and Republican votes together. That delegation was admitted by the convention. The affidavits of two or three judges were presented to the convention showing that no fraud was committed; that there was an unfortunate quarrel or fight in the vicinity of the tables, but that no ballots were cast upon them. The secretary makes affidavit that he was known as a Teller man and that he knows that no additional tickets were cast upon the table. The "delegate from Saguache," Mr. Teller, did n't refer to this evidence. The convention admitted these delegates and rejected the contesting delegates from the Fifth Ward. They rejected the contesting delegates from the First Ward. Had we admitted them we still would have had from eleven to fourteen majority.

The "delegate from Saguache" has spoken of the fact that the minority is not represented in this delegation. In Gilpin County, in the Kingdom of Gilpin, last week there were some primaries held, and the town of Nevada, by an overwhelming majority, sent delegates to the County convention for Henry Wolcott, and when that convention met they were choked off and a solid anti-Wolcott delegation sent here.

In the county of Summit there was also a time-honored custom of selecting the delegates by different precincts. In that county the convention went so far as to appoint a committee for that purpose and to adopt the report of that committee. But when they found they were outvoted and that the voice of the people would have an opportunity to express itself, they came down upon the unit rule, and they lifted up their voices, and named a delegation, ignoring completely the report of the committee and the protests of four out of seven of the precincts of the county. It seems to me that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

Had we admitted these First Ward delegates in the Arapahoe convention, we would have had a clean majority. Mr. Teller concealed that we would have had a majority, and yet he asks you to name five delegates who never were elected to the State convention. He asks you to seat five delegates who were voted for in the primaries only delegates to a County convention. How can they under any rule or precedent, or, in fairness, be



UNION OF  
CALIFORNIA

E. O. WOLCOTT, SOON AFTER HIS REMOVAL TO DENVER.



admitted as delegates to the State convention? So much for the facts, Mr. Chairman.

I want to inform this convention and all the combinations about this convention that the delegation of forty-three who now hold their seats from Arapahoe County are Republicans. I say on their behalf and on behalf of hundreds of the younger Republicans of this State that we were Republicans when Garfield was elected, because we looked to his administration for that which was good and for the elimination of that which was bad. We were Republicans when our President was assassinated and the Vice-President took his seat, because we hoped and still hope for all that is good.

I care too much for the feelings of those who are opposed to us to make personal reference to the occurrences in this convention; but I assure you that in spite of all combinations and in spite of all efforts to crush us; in spite of men at home and men imported from abroad, we are Republicans because we believe that the principles of the Republican party will live forever.

The speech was received with long and loud applause, and the convention, notwithstanding its anti-Wolcott proclivities, immediately proceeded to adopt his substitute, seating the entire Wolcott delegation from Arapahoe. This was done by the decisive vote of 220 to 91.

Writing in the *Denver News* a few years after the convention, O. H. Rothacker, who had been present, said of the speech:

Although in a hopeless minority, Mr. Wolcott was the most striking figure in the convention. His ten minutes' speech on the adverse report against the admission of the First Ward Wolcott delegates was one of the most vigorous bits of oratory I ever heard. It struck the enemy amidships and they were absolutely dumbfounded when he closed. Stevenson of Gunnison, next to Hamill, the shrewdest Republican politician in Colorado, was the only member of the majority who had the brains to measure the full force of the telling retort, and who was smart enough to accept it at its best effect and pay it the compliment of acquiescence. It is rarely that a Colorado political faction is turned from its purpose. The speech brought about one of the exceptions.

It will be seen by a letter herein quoted that Mr. Wolcott was of the opinion that, if the vote on the Governorship could have come at once, Mr. Henry Wolcott would have been easily successful. He was not alone in that belief. The opera house, however, unfortunately was engaged for an entertainment that evening, and the convention adjourned until the next morning. This allowed time for many of the anti-Wolcott delegates to combine on Ernest L. Campbell of Leadville, and to make bargains in his behalf. One of these bargains was with the delegation of seven men from Fremont County, who were promised that if elected Mr. Campbell would appoint a Fremont County man as warden of the penitentiary. Five candidates had places on the first ballot of the morning, Mr. Wolcott having 106 votes out of 311, and Mr. Campbell 149, the latter thus lacking seven of a majority. This deficiency was provided for in the second ballot by the shifting of the Fremont County delegation from one of the minor candidates to Campbell. A dozen other delegates also hastened to be with the winner, but it was the Fremont County delegation which gave him the nomination.

Before the close of the convention Ed Wolcott was afforded an unexpected opportunity to show his metal. Two years before he had been willing if not anxious to accept the nomination for Congress, and with his own consent was still regarded as a prospective candidate for Congressional honors. Up to this time he had not fixed his gaze on the Senate. Knowing of his aspiration to represent the State in Washington, the Windmills sought to tempt him with the proffer of the honor at this time. Recognizing the difficulty of carrying the State without the aid of the Argonauts, soon after the nomination of Campbell they sent a committee to him to say that the Congressional nomination would be his for the asking. He instantly and indignantly refused.

Mr. Hamill and Mr. Wolcott nominated as Chairman of the State Committee, Mr. Chaffee who had been prominent in the direction of the anti-Wolcott forces, and then left him and his associates to win success if they could. Mr. Campbell was soon discovered to be a weak candidate. He



had little acquaintance through the State; he was a brother-in-law of the Democratic leader, T. M. Patterson, and was charged with having been affiliated with the Democrats. The opposing candidate, James B. Grant, a Democrat, had long been resident in the State, and was at the head of the great smelting industry at Leadville. He was recognized everywhere as a man of splendid probity and superior executive force. The Democrats could not have chosen more wisely, and it was soon evident that nothing less than a miracle could prevent Mr. Campbell's defeat.

It was in the early days of the campaign that the following letter was written :

DENVER, COLO., Oct. 8, 1882.

MY DEAR FATHER :

I haven't written home because, when I haven't been laid up with the quincy, I have been generally demoralized by a crowd of politicians mingled with a few clients, and I knew you were getting the news.

I am anxious to see this ticket beaten, but am undecided how active a part it is prudent for me to take. I have been invited to stump the State, but shall decline. We had a curious State convention. There wasn't anything to my speech, but somehow it raised a whirlwind. If we could have balloted that day, Henry would have been nominated. If the convention could be called to-day he would be nominated by acclamation. We stand stronger in the State than ever before, and much stronger than any other faction. We are liable to throw it all away by not supporting the ticket actively. But there are some things a man cannot do.

With love, and in haste,

Your affectionate son,

ED.

It remains only to be said that in the campaign which followed the Wolcotts took no active part. Their quiet influence was against Campbell, however, and the election resulted in the choice of Mr. Grant by a majority of almost three thousand out of a vote of sixty thousand. The Legislature was Republican and elected Mr. Tabor to serve in the Senate during the thirty-three days remaining of the Teller term, and Thomas M. Bowen for the six years fol-

lowing that term. Belford was again returned to Congress, but by a reduced majority.

A correspondent of a Denver newspaper told during the pre-convention struggle of the frequent experience of Colorado promoters in being told by Eastern capitalists that the latter would go into the enterprises presented to them if Henry Wolcott's endorsement could be procured. There can be no question that his election would have given the State a high standing in business circles, and would have stimulated her commercial development. This in turn would have strengthened the conservative sentiment, and would have retarded the torrent of radicalism which swept over the State a few years later. And although they helped to inflict such an injury upon the commonwealth, the delegates from Fremont County did not obtain the wardenship of the penitentiary after all.

Edward Wolcott never made an attempt to justify his bolting of Campbell, but during the next campaign, in 1884, stated his general position on the subject of party loyalty as follows:

Parties, like individuals, become sometimes careless of the appearances of things, and if for the time no great issues are presented in local matters, it sometimes happens that primary elections are carried in the interest of some unworthy man who seeks for office and preferment to glaze and cover an unsavory record, of some man whom the acquisition of wealth which he never earned by the sweat of his brow, has made ambitious, and who fancies that his dollars will serve instead of brains and sense. If enough primaries are carried in this way the minority of the convention is powerless; and when we are told that the majority must govern and that we must "take our medicine" without wincing and vote for unfit men for the sake of the "Grand Old Party" such a doctrine, gentlemen, may do for some, but it won't do for me.

I love the party to which I belong. I love it for its splendid record in the past. I love it for the principles upon which it has planted its feet as upon the eternal rock. I learned to love it as a boy when fugitive slaves were hidden in the attic of my father's house by day to leave it by night to follow their weary way to freedom out of this slave-holding country to the

free air of Canada. I loved it when as a boy I took my musket and earned an honorable discharge from the armies of my country. I loved it four years ago when all of us, young men, fought gallantly together for the martyred Garfield, and I do not propose to be driven out of it because I refuse my vote to a man who seeks office as in old days criminals sought the sanctuary as a refuge from prison, or because I work and fight and protest against conferring public honor upon a man who is not entitled to private respect. And I say that if it is essential that any party should find its success through bad leaders or with the aid of men who are unworthy of public confidence, then such a party has outlived its usefulness, and should sink forever in the waves of defeat. "Necessity is the argument of tyrants, the creed of slaves." We build for the future or destroy for the future; this year is not the only year in the calendar. Whatever of good or of evil we throw into the scale will grow with the weight of years; and in the long run the party which contains within its ranks members who have the moral courage to reject the unfit men who have foisted themselves into prominence will have done more a hundred-fold to preserve the "principles of eternal justice," which makes the party worth saving, than all the "committees" now or hereafter organized whose business it is in a campaign to shut their eyes and swallow the ticket and cackle about "party fealty."

My judgment and my opinion about the question of individual freedom within party lines has but the weight of one man's opinion, and I have no personal grievances which I seek to redress; but to some of us who belong to the younger ranks of the party, who follow and do not lead, the question of fidelity to conscience is one of importance because it is a question we are called upon to solve each for himself and not for the other. The men who now mould public opinion will some day pass away and the trust will devolve upon us. To every true mind come "thoughts that wake to perish never"; the obligation which rests upon us cannot be delegated to any committee or to any convention; and the man who is willing to have his convictions stifled because a party whip is cracked over him and who is afraid to hold up his head as a free man, who does not do his own thinking and give a reason for the faith that is in him, is unfit to enjoy the right of suffrage.

## LOOKING TO THE SENATE

With the beginning of the campaign in 1884 it was seen that Ed Wolcott was disposed to withdraw from the Hill ranks, and he did not figure to any great extent in this campaign. Mr. Blaine was the Republican candidate for President this year, and he had the hearty support of both of the Wolcotts. Their defection of the previous campaign had not been forgotten, however, and while they did not permit themselves to be read out of the party because of their action on that occasion, they elected to pursue a modest course, and refrained from any great activity. Ed delivered a number of speeches, but he made no effort to influence primaries or conventions, County or State.

In addition to the national aspect of the campaign the State contest of 1884 was a very important one. Senators Teller and Hill continued at swords' points, and the conflict was regarded as critical because the Legislature which should re-elect Mr. Hill or elect his successor, must be chosen at the election in November. Mr. Teller was still in the Cabinet, but as General Arthur had failed to obtain the Presidential nomination it was known that on the coming 4th of March the Colorado statesman would relinquish his portfolio. He had announced over and again his determination to refrain from again entering the public service, and had said that he would not permit the use of his name as a candidate to succeed Mr. Hill in the Senate. But in the end he was prevailed upon to change this decision and was elected as the successor of the man who for the past six years had been his chief antagonist.

In this campaign Ben Eaton of Weld County was the Republican candidate for Governor, and he was elected easily.

Toward the close of the campaign Mr. Wolcott and Mr. Teller addressed a meeting together in Denver.

A memorable event in Colorado politics was the appearance of these two leaders of the opposing factions on the same platform. The joint meeting was brought about after no little negotiation, neither side appearing especially anxious; but when the arrangement had been made both Mr.



Teller and Mr. Wolcott appeared very happy over it, and the meeting was most successful. In his speech on this occasion Mr. Wolcott found opportunity to pay a compliment to Mr. Teller. It was expressed in his best style, and in addition to its pleasing effect upon Teller's friends elicited from Wolcott's father the commendation that it was "a master stroke."

The following from the *Denver Inter-Ocean*, a weekly publication of character, of November 1st, of that year, is a fair example of the expression regarding the meeting:

It was a happy exemplification of the harmony which exists at present, when on last Saturday evening the Republicans of the city and vicinity turned out to do honor to the cause and credit to themselves, in showing what the strength of the party is, and in throwing aside all the petty jealousies that have existed, to do honor to two men who came together to unite in putting before them the true interests of the voters of the country, and especially of Colorado. There were no factional elements in the meeting at the Rink; it was pure Republicanism that came out there from the lips of that son of Colorado who holds so high and honorable a place in the Cabinet of the President of the United States, and that eloquent orator whose glowing words and rounded sentences are the delight of Colorado audiences.

There are few who can array statistics and force an understanding of facts upon a general audience with more clearness and conciseness than Secretary Teller, and Saturday night he was at his best. Moved by a consciousness of the right, he spoke well and forcibly to a gathering of people who represented, in a large degree, the intelligence of the city. Descending to no personalities, and permitting no personal feeling to be seen, he presented the issues of the day in a manner that brought them home to his hearers, and the entire speech of the Secretary was such an array of home truths that no one who heard him could gainsay or deny.

Mr. Wolcott's oratory is so well known that praise seems almost superfluous. His eloquence is always of the most attractive description, and no matter how carried away he may be by the enthusiasm of the moment, he never loses sight of his argument or misses his logical conclusions. His effort, though his speaking never seems an effort, of Saturday, was a master-



piece of eloquence, every point of which was made with telling effect, calling for and receiving the plaudits of his hearers.

But aside from the force and eloquence of the two speakers, there was a lesson to be learned from the fact that all personal feeling had been lost in the consideration of the interests which were involved in the general question of which party should gain, or deserved to gain the victory in the coming election, and the absolute casting aside of the bitterness which is said to exist between the leaders of the party here, and the joining hands on the great questions of the day, shows a spirit of accommodation to first principles, which should teach those who heard the speakers that whatever personal preferences they may have in local politics, they should be: "first, last, and all the time," REPUBLICANS.

The *Denver Opinion*, also a weekly publication, spoke more exclusively of Mr. Wolcott's speech, saying:

No young man in public life ever received a more graceful compliment than that which was paid to the Hon. Edward O. Wolcott last Saturday evening. No young man in politics ever before made the strength of performance meet the grace of compliment so completely. He left all the grooves in his address. There was no robbery of antiques from the political waste-basket of the past. His address was straight and clean and candid. It had a ringing resonance of honesty throughout. It left all the old ways of custom and took the narrow path of truth. It touched what belonged to the national campaign broadly and well. It reached the source of all that belongs to the evils of the present political situation in the State, and carried the cure in what it suggested. It was the splendid genuineness of a man who has the elements of more strength than this side of the Mississippi has seen for a long time in any man.

What Mr. Wolcott said last Saturday evening is worth remembering. It is the essence of the newer thought in our public life. It means that the clean idea in politics has its strength, and that it may not, after all, be such a serious mistake to be honest and decent. The Independents have a reminiscence of something which never existed. They try to materialize a monstrosity which never was. They deal with a poor ideal which will always be beyond the practical, and therefore will always be useless. They mix selfishness, idealism, and vacuity in such

a way that it is little to be wondered at that the popular heat bakes the dough into a loaf of disgust. They can never succeed. The motive in politics which will yet rule is the young, strong thought which recognizes what is good in the old and what is callow in the new, and takes the happy mean. Mr. Wolcott is an admirable representative of this scarcely developed condition. In a measure he is its St. John the Baptist. That which he preaches is only a bow into the anteroom of what is certain to be the main hall of our politics before many years. He has the right idea, and he will yet give to it the right judgment. Eloquent, quick, and earnest, he is the strongest leader of the thought which expressed itself first and best in the election of Mr. Garfield. He has a great career before him. All that is needful is that he should remember its probabilities.

#### THE CAMPAIGN OF 1886

In 1886 Mr. Wolcott became an open candidate for the Senate to succeed Mr. Bowen. In a speech at the State Convention that year, he practically announced his candidacy, and assumed the reins of leadership, which he did not relinquish until after his retirement from the Senate fifteen years later. In this speech he again in general language referred to his bolt of 1882, but only to justify it.

No longer was Mr. Wolcott regarded as a follower of Mr. Hill. Indeed, with his retirement from the Senate, Professor Hill had returned with avidity to his work at the smelter, and thereafter gave comparatively slight attention to politics. Little more was heard of him in a political way until 1896, when, on account of the split in the Republican party over the silver question, he united with Mr. Teller in deserting the party. Thus the two men who so long had been rivals and enemies as Republicans became friends and co-workers in the Silver organization.

Mr. Wolcott went into the State Convention of 1886 with the intention of dominating it in so far as he might in the interest of his own candidacy for the Senate, which must come on in earnest in the campaign of 1888. He, therefore, determined to name the nominee for Governor, and succeeded to that extent. He championed the cause of William H. Meyer, of Costilla County, the then Lieutenant-Governor,

and forced that gentleman's nomination over Governor Eaton, who was a candidate for re-election; over Hosea Townsend, of Custer County, afterward a Representative in Congress, and also over James Moynahan, of Park County, who had been a popular State Senator.

But, while Wolcott was able to name his candidate in the convention, he was not so successful before the people. Meyer, like Campbell, was little known, and, as was the case with the Leadville candidate of four years previous, he was charged with having bolted the Republican ticket in a former campaign. There was no Presidential candidate to strengthen him, and his defeat was easily effected. On the other hand, the Democrats again were fortunate in their candidate. Alva Adams, of Pueblo, a pioneer, young, popular, and a brilliant campaigner, headed their ticket, and he, like Grant, was elected with little difficulty.

The campaign this year was fought by the Colorado Republicans on national lines. In his speeches, Mr. Wolcott appealed strongly to the popular enthusiasm for Blaine, who two years before had been defeated by Cleveland for the Presidency. He held the Cleveland administration up to derision and especially denounced its carpet-bag methods in the matter of Federal appointments in Colorado—methods which he found to be quite in conflict with the Civil Service professions of Mr. Cleveland himself. He defended Mr. Meyer as a worthy candidate, and claimed for the entire Republican ticket vast superiority over the Democratic candidates. Rev. Myron W. Reed, a popular Congregational minister of Denver, who gave much attention to social and labor problems, was the Democratic candidate for Congress, and Mr. Wolcott made him the subject of much sarcasm, warning the voters that it always had been true that "the itch of disputing will become the scab of the Churches." He succeeded in defeating Reed if not in electing Meyer.

These campaigns brought Mr. Wolcott to the threshold of activity as a Senatorial candidate, and we find him now entering the arena in his own behalf "in dead earnest."

## Two Senatorial Elections





## TWO SENATORIAL ELECTIONS

AFTER Mr. Wolcott's ever faithful brother Henry, to Senator Teller is due the credit for the first suggestion from a prominent source that Mr. Wolcott should aspire to the United States Senate. Doubtless, he, as was natural with a man of his abilities and aspirations, had looked with longing eye toward that great forum; but he seems never to have had serious hope of reaching the goal until 1886, when he confided to Mr. Teller his desire for the nomination for member of the House of Representatives.

Up to this time there had been no political relationship between the even then veteran Senator and the young orator, for insofar as he had been in politics Mr. Wolcott had been in alliance with the Hill faction, which owed its existence to opposition to Mr. Teller. But for two years or more Mr. Wolcott had been gradually alienating himself from that affiliation. The campaign of 1882 had left many scars which were not entirely healed when in 1884 Mr. Hill entered upon his campaign for re-election. When he made his first race in 1878 he had the enthusiastic and efficient assistance of both of the Wolcotts, but as the next campaign in Mr. Hill's interest approached it became evident that Ed Wolcott's ardor had cooled, and as time wore on it was found that he was not inclined to assist in any way in promoting the ambition of his former leader. In a campaign address he spoke eulogistically of Mr. Teller, and when in January, 1885, the Legislature met in Denver to elect a Senator, he remained away from the city. Henry Wolcott did not permit the defection of his brother to influence his relations with Senator Hill.

It was not until 1886, two years after Mr. Wolcott had withdrawn from the Hill ranks and had refused his assistance to that gentleman in his antagonism to Senator Teller, that Mr. Wolcott approached Mr. Teller regarding his own aspirations. Before the beginning of the campaign of that year he sought him out and informed him of his ambition to become a member of the House. By this time Senator Teller had had abundant opportunity to study the character of the rising young man. He long since had discerned in him those rare qualities of leadership and that transcendent ability which made it possible in later years for Mr. Wolcott to command the attention, not of the masses only, but of the leaders of economic thought both in America and Europe. The elder statesman was not then averse to a coalition with this young man of so much force and of so many possibilities. His practised eye had not failed to note that when Ed Wolcott was with Mr. Hill, Mr. Hill won and that when Ed Wolcott's influence and guiding hand were withdrawn, Mr. Hill lost.

With Senator Teller once more safely occupying his seat in the Senate, and with Mr. Hill in private life, there was no longer any sharp conflict between them; but it is not at all improbable that the Senator felt more friendly to Mr. Wolcott because of the latter's refusal in 1884 to assist his rival for the Senatorship. Be this as it may, Mr. Wolcott received a cordial greeting when he called upon the Senator. He did not, however, find any encouragement to his ambition to represent the State in the lower House of Congress.

At that time Honorable George G. Symes was the representative of the State in that body, and, while he and Mr. Teller were not particularly allied in politics, they were personal friends. Symes had served only one term, but his service had been creditable, and with many other Republican leaders, Mr. Teller thought him entitled to a second election. He so advised Mr. Wolcott, and then suggested to him that he should be a candidate to succeed Senator Bowen whose term in the Senate would expire in 1889. As Mr. Teller relates the interview, he said:

"Ed, you should not try for the House. Symes is en-

trenched there; you could not defeat him at this time, and, besides, the Senate is the place for you. It offers to you a far broader field of usefulness and it will be more suitable to your temperament and mental qualities."

"Oh, yes," responded Mr. Wolcott, "of course, the Senate would suit me all right, but I do not believe it possible to get there."

"I told him that it could be done if he would go to work from that time and make a systematic campaign," continues Mr. Teller's narrative. "To make a long story short, he accepted my advice, ceased all efforts to obtain a nomination for the House and immediately began to make his plans for the Senate, with the result that when the election came on there was but very slight opposition to him. He was in reality the one candidate who was seriously considered."

Having decided to enter the contest for the Senate, Mr. Wolcott set about preparing for it in his usual thorough manner. His first and most important step was to get control of the State party machinery, and this important step was followed by obtaining the mastery of the Republican organization in the city of Denver and in Arapahoe County. While he did not succeed in the election of Meyer as Governor in 1886, he placed himself in touch with the members of the State Central Committee and, through them and his political friends generally, with the party workers throughout the State. The same course was followed in Denver and Arapahoe County, the principal city and most populous county in the State. By controlling the Republican nominations and aiding in the success of the nominees at the elections, both county and city, just prior to 1886, he not only made sure of the party machine, but he insured the good-will of the officials themselves.

In consequence of these tactics and because of his generally conceded fitness for the place, the way to the Senate was open to Wolcott when the time came to elect Bowen's successor. But before that election could take place there must intervene another State election, so that the fight for the Senate, which culminated in January, 1889, really was made in the fall preceding—before the State

and county conventions, on the hustings and at the polling places.

There were two State conventions in 1888, the first in May to select delegates to the then approaching National Republican Convention, and the second in September to nominate State officers. At the first Henry Wolcott was chosen chairman of the delegation, and the fact of his candidacy led to a verbal encounter between Ed Wolcott and Judge Belford, which, while it soon was forgotten by both, aroused considerable feeling at the time.

The May convention was held in Pueblo, and it was then that Mr. Wolcott referred to that city as "a pleasant little village." The expression was intended as a joke, and was so understood by most of his audience, but his enemies distorted it into a bitter reflection on the rising metropolis and it cut no small figure in the campaign. The meeting was full of incidents. In Mr. Wolcott's principal speech, he made brief reference to his revolt of 1882, saying:

"I am glad that kind friends and time have reared the statute of limitation against the men who have unwittingly forgotten their party allegiance, for there are none without faults. We have all done it, and now I suggest that we are all glad to work together for the interest of the party."

It was later in the day that the conflict with Judge Belford arose. Mr. Wolcott introduced a resolution providing for the appointment by the chair of a committee to suggest the names of delegates to the National Convention. Mr. Belford moved to amend by providing for the selection of the committee by the various county delegations. In a speech supporting his amendment, he made a remark which Mr. Wolcott construed as a charge that he had packed the convention. The intimation brought out a stinging response from Wolcott. A contemporary newspaper account says that when he rose to reply "there was fire in his eye." The same account quotes him as charging Mr. Belford with a lack of fealty to his party, and then saying:

It was with a sense that a dear brother of mine might be honored as a delegate to the Chicago Convention; it was with



a brother's love and loyalty that I came here. And there is not one of the eighty men who came here as a delegate from Arapahoe County who could deny me that right. If the name of Wolcott is a stench in the nostrils of Mr. Belford, we will withdraw him. (Cries of "No, no.") He may charge me with being the tool of corporations; but he must not charge me with packing a convention, for I would not attempt it.

Replying, Belford denied that he had charged Wolcott with packing the convention, but he admitted that he had attempted a little sarcasm at that gentleman's expense.

The Wolcott motion prevailed.

Wolcott was the master spirit at the fall convention. He had been in the race for the Senate for two years, and of the almost six hundred delegates, fully three fourths were his devoted disciples—many of them the same young men, grown a bit older, who had followed him in 1882. They constituted a determined band in his support, and were not only willing to follow where he would lead, but determined to have him point the way even when he did not want to do so. Especially concerned about the Legislature, he did not desire to take any part in the matter of naming candidates for the State offices. But he was not permitted to occupy that position of impartiality. He was forced into the fight, and, out of a number of candidates for governor, ultimately placed his seal of approval upon Job A. Cooper, a Denver banker, who, largely at Mr. Wolcott's instance, was nominated and elected. The nominees for the other offices were also friends of Mr. Wolcott.

Mr. Wolcott's speech before this convention was noteworthy on two accounts: first, because with other members of the then Colorado delegation in Congress he complimented Senator Bowen, his chief rival for senatorial honors; and, second, because he announced his undying allegiance to the Republican party—a declaration which he was to be called upon to make good. In this declaration of loyalty he said:

I plead for the party and not for myself. For as for me I have such an utter contempt for the source and the purposes



and the methods that assail me that I care not a straw. No man can drive me out of the Republican party. I was born in it. I love its principles and I shall die in it.

I want to say to this convention that if any aspirations that I may have or that any friends of mine have for me, stand for one instant in the way of the harmony and the growth and the progress of the Republican party in our beloved State, there is not a man living so ready to sacrifice all upon the altar of his party as am I. The Republicans are united, not only in Colorado, but all over the country; and on election-day the men in the workshops and in the mills and the manufactories of New York and Connecticut and New Jersey will declare that American labor and American wages should be protected, and the men and the sons of the men who fought to preserve this Union will see to it that by reason of their endeavors we are not again subjected to four years more of the humiliation of Democratic rule.

Mr. Wolcott was the chief factor in the contest. He made a stirring and successful campaign. Not only was the State ticket elected, but the Legislature was overwhelmingly Republican, 63 of the 75 members being of that political persuasion. A majority of the Republican caucus were pledged in advance to Mr. Wolcott. In a vote of about 88,000, the Harrison Presidential Electors had a majority of more than 13,000.

#### FIRST ELECTION

The Republican senatorial caucus was held on the night of January 3, 1889, before the Legislature could begin to do business, the early meeting being justified by the argument that until the senatorial question was settled the Legislature would transact no other business. Of a number of opposition candidates previously mentioned for the Senate, only Messrs. Bowen and Tabor permitted themselves to be considered in that connection to the end of the contest, and long before the meeting of the caucus they fully realized that their chances were nil. Mr. Wolcott was nominated on the first ballot, receiving 45 votes to Mr. Bowen's 15 and Mr. Tabor's one. The caucus which met at eight o'clock adjourned before nine.

Senator Mason B. Carpenter presided over the meeting and placed Mr. Wolcott in nomination. He made a highly eulogistic speech, saying among other things:

Our State pride demands of us that we shall place beside Senator Teller if not his superior at least his equal, if such can be found within our borders, and that, too, irrespective of whether his lot be cast with those of our citizens south or north of the Divide. Our candidate should not be circumscribed by geographical position or mountain chains. When elected, the Senator will represent the whole people of the entire State, not the sectional or political division of it. Of all persons whose names have been mentioned for this high office, there is none so well equipped or so permanently qualified to be the colleague of Mr. Teller as the man I now nominate—Hon. Edward O. Wolcott. . . .

His election will be a tribute of respect, too, and a recognition of the young men of the Republican party, whose enthusiasm and zeal added so much to the success of our campaign. On all the great questions of the day he is sound, and I pledge you that he is in sympathy with all the needs of this great and growing people. His public speeches stamp him as a man of great intellect, and we predict for him a grand and glorious future upon the floor of the Senate.

The rejoicing over the nomination continued until late in the night, but not too late for Mr. Wolcott to pen the following note before retiring:

DENVER, COLO., January 3, 1889.

MY DEAR MOTHER:

This is the first line I have written since my nomination by the caucus, and I want my first letter to be to you, my dear mother. I feel very happy and very humble. I shall do my best. I know my limitations and my weaknesses, but I trust I shall never bring discredit to the name I bear. If I do well it will be because God gave me the best father and mother anybody ever had. If father were only alive!

I love you very much and dearly.

Your son,  
ED.

The election did not take place until the 15th of the

month. The balloting then was in the Senate and House separately, and in each Mr. Wolcott received the full Republican vote, in the Senate nineteen and in the House forty-three. The Democratic vote, six in the Senate and six in the House, was cast for Hon. Charles S. Thomas. In the House there was no speech-making, and when, in accordance with the legal requirements, the balloting was begun at twelve o'clock that body directly proceeded to vote for a Senator. In the Senate both Mr. Wolcott and Mr. Thomas were formally nominated. Senator Carpenter, President *pro tempore* of the Senate, who had named Mr. Wolcott in the caucus, again performed this service in his behalf. He then said:

Before the roll is called I desire to place in nomination a candidate for the office of Senator. Upon this General Assembly devolves the responsible but also the pleasant duty of electing a United States Senator to sit in the councils of the Nation for six years, commencing on the 4th of March, 1889. Pursuant to the act of Congress, we have met to perform that duty. Upon this side of the Chamber we have selected our nominee, and we present his name for the votes of this body in accordance with the unalterable decree of King Caucus. Not only does that decree comport with the wishes of the great majority of the Republicans of the State, but to those of us who reside in this locality and who have watched the career of our nominee it has a peculiar significance and charm. I take pleasure in presenting the name of Hon. Edward O. Wolcott, of Arapahoe County, as the nominee for the high office of United States Senator.

Mr. Wolcott was born and reared in Yankee-land. He received his education in that New England community whose youth drink deep at the fountain of learning. Coming early to Colorado he struggled through poverty and adversity until now the eagle eye of friendship views him at the topmost round of the ladder of fame. His personal qualities and splendid abilities have endeared him to a circle of friends whose name is Legion, and I can safely say that the brilliancy of his genius challenges alike the admiration of friend and foe. When the memorable campaign of 1888 opened, Mr. Wolcott was at once recognized as its leader upon the Republican side. Rapid in speech, in expression clear-cut, keen, terse, vivacious, and logi-

cal,—with utterance distinct and with voice resolute and clear,—he carried all his audiences by storm.

It is unnecessary for me to say what everybody knows—that he is bright, brilliant, dashing, upright, fearless, and independent. Among all the candidates whose names have been presented for this distinguished office, there was none so justly entitled to it as our candidate, Edward O. Wolcott. Indeed, since his nomination in caucus the verdict of the entire State, with but here and there an exception, has been the approval of our selection, and we meet to-day simply to enter the judgment of the people which so fittingly endorses our action. I nominate Edward O. Wolcott, of Arapahoe County.

The formal ratification in joint assembly of the action of the two Houses as such took place on the following day. The Senate and the House met together on the 16th in the Hall of the lower body, and by their joint voices formally declared Mr. Wolcott the choice of the State to succeed Hon. Thomas M. Bowen as United States Senator for the six years beginning on the following 4th of March. The assembly hall was crowded with Mr. Wolcott's friends, who, representing the highest society and in every way the best element in the State, lent unusual brilliancy to the occasion. Shortly before twelve o'clock the House suspended its regular business, and a few minutes later four employees of that body walked down a side aisle bearing two handsome floral designs and two huge baskets of flowers, selected and arranged with exquisite taste, which were supplied by Mr. Wolcott's friends and placed on the Speaker's desk. The most elegant of the floral designs was a large star upon which was the Latin motto "Facile Princeps," and the other was a horse-shoe.

At 12:05 o'clock the Senate made its appearance and the members of that body took seats upon the floor of the House. President *pro tempore* Carpenter called the joint convention to order, stating that it was convened in pursuance of a resolution adopted in both Houses providing for the completion of the election.

The journals of the proceedings of the two Houses of the previous day in connection with the choice of a Senator



were then read, and President Carpenter made formal declaration of the election of Mr. Wolcott.

Thereupon a committee was appointed to wait upon the nominee and officially inform him of the result of the election. This committee consisted of Senator Cochran, of Arapahoe County, and Representatives Harris, of Arapahoe, and Bartholomew, of Summit County. Very soon after its appointment the committee returned, escorting Mr. Wolcott, who was received with prolonged and clamorous applause. After quiet had been restored, Mr. Wolcott made a brief address in recognition of the honor conferred upon him, in which he said:

*Mr. President and Members of the General Assembly:* No task imposed on me could be at once so grateful and yet so difficult as that of thanking you for bestowing upon me the highest honor in the gift of this Commonwealth, and if my words fail and I speak with halting tongue, believe me, it is because my heart is full and because your confidence touches me too deeply for words. For, you see, I came to Colorado a year after I came of age. All the years of my manhood have been passed here, and Colorado is almost as much my home as if I had been born within her limits. During all these years, among all the day-dreams which fill a young man's brain, none came so often and so often recurred again and again as one that some day perhaps I might be called upon to share in representing our beloved State in the councils of the Nation. You have to-day by your action made that which I had feared was but a castle in Spain as true and real as is my gratitude. And this, too, makes it difficult for me to adequately express my thanks.

It seems impossible that contests for office should be carried on without a certain amount of rancor and cruel, bitter, personal attack. Your deliberations upon the senatorial election were preceded by more of personal criticism and assault than is usual, and yet now, when it is all over, we may all take pleasure in remembering,

“What all experience serves to show—

No mud can soil us but the mud we throw.”

And the shafts which have been directed against me have in-



flicted the less suffering because of the deep and abiding personal faith and confidence of dear friends which have furnished me with an armor that the arrows of malice can never penetrate.

But if we strive and struggle for victory we are quick to accept the results and to seek to avoid even the appearance of dissension within our ranks. Some of you had another personal choice. Yet all bowed to the will of the majority, and I on my part beg to assure you that I fully and cordially recognize the fact that the votes which elect me to the Senate are the united and unanimous votes of the dominant party as represented in this General Assembly, and that I as fully and as cordially recognize the obligation which follows such a vote.

No man was ever sent to represent a State under happier auspices. You have made me the colleague of the gentleman who stands for all that is highest and best in the history, the growth, and the hopes of Colorado from its pioneer days until now; whose high attributes of statesmanship are recognized not only in the State he represents, but all over the land; whose personal qualities endear him to every good man who knows him, and with whom it is an honor to be called upon to serve.

And at no time was there ever more need of careful legislation. We are but facing the dawn of our prosperity in Colorado. Our mining interests are in their infancy. The public lands are being rapidly turned into thrifty farms. Large and various industries are finding lodgment here, and new channels of commerce are directed toward us, and as no State in the Union has the vast resources of Colorado, so is there no State which needs such wise and careful protection by national legislation. And above all, as the tide of population pours in, it is essential for us to look to its character as well as its volume. We have for years been peopling our land from foreign countries. The time is at hand when no other test of citizenship should be added than that of fealty and devotion to American institutions.

With these words of general and grateful acceptance, I should perhaps make an end, but, Mr. President, you will pardon me, I know, one word of personal mention. There are in this General Assembly gentlemen who left their business and their professions solely because they were my friends, and others who from the day of election until now have been to me as steadfast as brothers, and nobody knows as I do what a brother's constancy means. I cannot leave these persons without assuring them that between the lines of the parchment which shall be

the permanent evidence of your action to-day, I shall read their names in letters that will never fade, and shall recall with tender memory, as long as I shall live, their friendship, their kindness, and their devotion.

Most of the newspaper chroniclers of the time mentioned in terms of praise Mr. Wolcott's reference to his brother, and one of them, referring to the presence of Henry, said that he was "scarcely less conspicuous than the Senator-elect."

He sat midway from the entrance to the floor of the House, and directly in front of the Speaker's platform [proceeds this report]. During the announcement of his brother's election and the new Senator's speech, his face was illumined with the great joy he experienced at the realization of his ambitions and hopes for his kinsman. There was a very pretty touch of nature in the scene of one brother, in the pride of his acceptance of the highest honor in the gift of the Commonwealth, pointedly and gracefully acknowledging fraternal constancy, and the other exhibiting the unalloyed pleasure he so deeply felt.

Commenting upon the occasion, the *Rocky Mountain News* said:

It was observable, when Mr. Wolcott commenced talking, that there was a slight trembling of his voice, and several times, as he alluded feelingly to the devotion of his friends and particularly to that of his brother, the Honorable Henry Wolcott, there was a suspicion of moisture in his eyes corresponding to the pathos of his utterances.

At the conclusion of his speech Mr. Wolcott stepped down from the Speaker's stand and for the next ten or fifteen minutes was kept busy shaking hands with members of the Legislature and other friends who crowded about him. Later an informal reception was given to him at the Windsor Hotel, and the occasion was one of general rejoicing.

Many telegrams and letters of congratulation followed, but probably none carried more satisfaction or touched a more sympathetic chord than the following from President Porter of Yale:

YALE UNIVERSITY,  
NEW HAVEN, CONN.,  
January 18, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR:

I congratulate you most sincerely upon your election as a member of the United States Senate. I do so the more heartily because I think you appreciate most fully what satisfaction it would give your father, who had so keen an appreciation of the excitement and the attraction of debate and deliberation and who in all the contests in which he figured bore himself so nobly. I think he would have rejoiced as few fathers can in the success of his son.

Most truly yours,  
NOAH PORTER.

Hon. E. O. WOLCOTT.

Among his letters were many from the young Republicans of Colorado who had been so staunchly loyal to him throughout his political career. These touched him deeply, and he never failed to show his appreciation in his reply letters. Fortunately Mr. Henry Hanington, Jr., of Denver, has preserved one of these replies. It follows:

DENVER, COLO., Jan. 28, 1889.

HENRY HANINGTON, Jr.,  
Denver, Colo.

DEAR HARRY:

Among all the letters of congratulation which have come to me, not one has been more grateful or has touched me more than the one signed by the members of the Denver High School Baseball Club, and if I acknowledge its receipt to you, it is because I know you more intimately than I do the other members, and they will understand.

Nothing has been so encouraging to me for the past few months, as the feeling that the young men were my friends.

You have none of you yet a vote, and it is a good sign for the future of our country, that even before our young men can take part in shaping its destinies, they are interested in its welfare, and preparing themselves to exercise the right of suffrage intelligently when it shall be conferred upon them.

The perpetuity of Republican institutions must ever rest upon intelligence. You of the High School will soon be called upon

to bear your share in the conduct of the affairs of your country, and I know you will bear yourselves like men.

Please thank the other members of the Club for me, and believe me to be their friend and yours,

EDWD. O. WOLCOTT.

Mr. Wolcott's success was favorably received by the press of Colorado, by many of the Democratic papers as well as most of the Republican journals. The *Rocky Mountain News*, the leading Democratic paper of the State, devoted a column editorial to Mr. Wolcott on the day after his nomination by the Republican caucus, saying in part:

So long as a Democrat could not be chosen, the choice of Mr. Wolcott is eminently satisfactory to the *News*, and will be to the people of the State. His election in fact is the final consummation of the overwhelming victory which was won by the Republican party at the polls in November last, which victory Mr. Wolcott organized and carried to so successful and brilliant a conclusion.

From a non-partisan standpoint, the people of Colorado are to be congratulated upon Mr. Wolcott's choice. He is young, able, and eloquent. He is possessed of genius, culture, and a broad, vigorous, comprehensive mind. He has dash and brilliancy and a rare capacity for leadership. As a lawyer he stands among the first; as an orator he is without a peer in the West, as regards either the elegance of his composition, the grace and vigor of his delivery, or the brilliant rounding of his periods; as a man he has a handsome presence and hearty, winning manner, and is as true as steel to his friends and followers.

In all respects, he is worthy to represent Colorado, with all her varied and promising greatness, in the counsels of the highest legislative body of the Nation, and to which he will bring a fortunate combination of intellect and manhood, which, when broadened by experience and ripened by age, is destined to render him one of the foremost figures of the Nation and of the time. The Republican party honors itself by Mr. Wolcott's election.

## BETWEEN ELECTIONS

NATURALLY, the greater part of Mr. Wolcott's time between 1889, when he was first elected, and 1895, the date of his second election, was given to his duties as a Senator, and we shall see that in this respect he was a very busy man. While forging his way rapidly to the front in Washington, he also found much to do in keeping in repair the political fences at home. He could not afford to lose control of the party machinery, and he gave much attention to local and State affairs. In addition, his Colorado law practice, his expanding business interests, and his social duties came in for a share of attention, and none were neglected.

Politically and otherwise, Colorado was a seething cauldron during Mr. Wolcott's first term in the Senate. Many important events bearing upon his career transpired. Some of them occurred in, and others out of, the State. This period saw the rise of Populism and the election of Davis H. Waite as Governor of the State. It witnessed a death struggle for silver in the world at large with especial consequences to Colorado. The panic of 1893 fell to this epoch in the world's history, and Colorado suffered from it as few other States suffered. It was a period of political corruption in Denver and of much factional strife throughout the State, and a master hand was required properly to steer the Republican ship through the turbulent waters. The fact is worth noting here that it was in this time that Colorado lifted woman to a level with her brother in the exercise of the elective franchise.

These six years embraced the closing period of the fight for the free coinage of silver, and Colorado was the natural and actual centre of this agitation. Leading all the States in the production of the white metal, the people of the State had larger interests at stake as the result of the sus-



pension of silver coinage than those of any other political subdivision of the country. As will appear in the proper place, no member of either House of Congress was more alert or more advanced in his advocacy of free coinage than the Colorado Senator. But, alert and courageous though he was to the extent of bringing much condemnation upon his head from the opponents of the silver propaganda, his view was not sufficiently pronounced to meet the demands of the more radical silver element at home. Silver took almost complete possession of some of them, and the man who was not willing to follow the vagaries of every individual street-corner shouter was instantly and violently assailed as a traitor to the cause and an ingrate to the State. Strong and vigorous as he was in expression, outspoken as he was in the advocacy of any cause he espoused, a study of his career will reveal that E. O. Wolcott still was a conservative. Mob rule had no charms for him; anarchy was an abomination. He believed in law. He was ever orderly. No man supported established conditions more steadfastly and consistently than he. While under provocation he could be independent, party ties were binding upon him to an unusual degree, and, as will be seen in due course, rather than forsake his party, rather than follow what he believed the unreasonable and ineffectual plannings of those who left the party for silver, he remained a Republican, and thus in the end retired himself from the Senate.

This final result was not, however, precipitated until after he had sat in that body for twelve years, nor until after many things had happened, and in justice it should be stated that if the silver question was responsible for the ultimate defeat of Mr. Wolcott, it also was of material assistance in procuring his second election. That election came in 1895, in the midst of the agitation succeeding the repeal of the clause of the Sherman act authorizing the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month, and at a time when the silver advocates still had hope of restorative legislation. Mr. Wolcott's ability as a national advocate was so universally recognized that, so long as there was any possibility of prevailing upon the Republican party to take a more favorable stand than had been assumed, his

retention in the Senate was assured. The events of 1896, following soon after the second election, put an end to all such possibilities. But these occurrences were still in the uncertain future when the election of 1895 took place.

In order that the campaign preceding this election may be understood, a review of conditions in the State from 1890 becomes necessary.

In the nation the period witnessed the repeal of the only law which gave the white metal a genuine standing as a money metal. In the outside world the mints generally were closed to the coinage of silver. Whether due to this or other causes the panic of 1893 was precipitated, and there was a period of currency stringency such as the world has seldom seen. The times were sadly out of joint throughout the country—all over the world, indeed. Colorado was doubly hit. Not only did the ordinary business institutions of the State feel the effect of the panic as did those of other States, but the blow at silver resulted in the almost complete destruction of silver mining, the paramount industry of Colorado. As the combined result of the closing of the mints of India and the general financial depression, twelve Denver banks failed in three days' time in July. Thousands upon thousands of laborers and other employees of industrial institutions were thrown out of work. Between the rising and the setting of the sun, hundreds of men who had counted their wealth in six figures were reduced to pauperism. Business houses were closed in rapid succession. The streets were thronged with the unemployed and the roadside was lined with them. Crime was so common in the vicinity of Denver that it became necessary to establish a camp in the outskirts of the city, where thousands of men out of work were supported from the scanty store of the people of the town.

These conditions in the community naturally were reflected in politics. As is usual on such occasions the cheap doctrinaires were ready to trace the industrial situation to misgovernment, and the occasion was seized by the extremists as the one opportunity of a lifetime to hoist themselves into places of responsibility.

The Populist party was the direct product of conditions

immediately preceding this situation, and with that party came the most fantastical ideas of government that this country has known. With it also came the motliest group of politicians that had been lifted into power in any place since the days of the French Revolution. Not so compactly organized as the anarchists who overthrew the French monarchy, nor, of course, so regardless of human life and human rights, they were almost as determined upon forcing the acceptance of their theories of government. Many of them were elected to State and county offices in various of the Western States, and quite a sprinkling found seats in the national Congress. The percentage at Washington never was large, so that the greatest harm done by them there was the increase of printing bills and the overtaxation of the patience of their innocent colleagues, who were compelled to listen to their speeches in the Halls of Congress.

Colorado was among the States which sent Populist members to Congress; but truth demands the statement that, in all respects, Colorado's Populist Congressmen were worthy men—much more conservative than most of their compeers of other States, and in every way honest and devoted to the State's welfare. Indeed, Colorado was Populistic only on account of silver. The Colorado people always were hard-money advocates; greenbackism never gained any foothold in the State. But with the shutting down of the silver mines people saw departing their employment, their fortunes, their bread-and-butter. They were desperate, and they were willing to turn to Populism because, if for no other reason, it struck at the old parties, neither of which promised any relief nor seemed concerned as to whether any should be given.

With Benjamin Harrison as the Republican standard-bearer and Grover Cleveland leading the Democratic hosts, in 1892, silver was doomed whichever of the old parties won. Populism promised free silver as it promised a hundred other things. Colorado was willing to take any hook that carried silver bait, and it swallowed Populism with James B. Weaver and Davis H. Waite.

Mr. Wolcott had discernment enough to see that Populism could have no national success, and he was too true to his own manhood to sacrifice it for mere temporary personal

success by yielding to a local demand. He was ever bitterly antagonistic to the new party. Indeed, the stronger Populism grew and the more numerous its adherents, the more determined was his opposition, the stauncher his Republicanism.

Taking the country as a whole Waite was the worst product of Populism. He was the Populist candidate for Governor in Colorado in 1892, and being elected, filled the office for two years. It has been stated that his occupancy of the gubernatorial chair cost the State a quarter of a million dollars in money, to say nothing of the loss of prestige resulting from his unreasonable acts and the ridicule called forth by his Falstaffian performances.

Preceding the Waite campaign and the Waite régime came the disgraceful proceedings of 1890, in which the different factions of the Republican party were the principals. This contest centred in Arapahoe County, where for months the "Gang" and the "Gangsmashers" were engaged in a deadly warfare with no bone of contention except the county and city offices. Connected with these wrangles was an effort on the part of certain corporations of the city to promote their own interests. This political contention was carried into the State Legislature, resulting in two organizations in the lower House, a situation which threatened the defeat of Senator Teller in his candidacy for re-election.

Mr. Wolcott kept aloof from these contests in so far as he as a party leader could do, but he devoted himself with might and main to keeping Republicanism in the ascendancy regardless of factional differences. In this he was successful in the contest of 1890, and the entire State ticket with Governor Routt at its head was elected.

October 27th, Mr. Wolcott made his first speech during the campaign of 1890. The address was delivered at Colorado Springs, and the audience was composed largely of ladies. Many of them belonged to the ranks of the most fashionable society, but they soon were to cast their first votes, and it was evident that they meant to be prepared to act intelligently. The address was devoted in the main to national issues, including silver. Coming to local affairs he made reply to newspaper attacks upon himself. Journal-



ism in Colorado never has been very considerate of the feelings of public men, and Mr. Wolcott felt keenly the falsity and venom of attacks made on him at this time from certain quarters. He referred to such unfair criticism as a menace to the welfare of the community, but refrained from specific discussion of the things said about himself. These remarks having been liberally applauded, Mr. Wolcott continued :

Whatever public charges are made should be investigated if they seem serious, but in ninety-nine of a hundred cases you will find that their source discredits them. We all believe in honest public service. None of us have any use for unfaithful stewards. The fact is that a newspaper can throw dirt every day of the year, and in this State where population is increasing, strangers who see a paper that is apparently respectable are misled by its utterances. They do not know the history of the paper or of its owner.

At the Coliseum in Denver Mr. Wolcott made a set speech on the night of November 3, 1890, in which, after discussing national affairs, he said :

Because this municipality is venal and corrupt and because the local corporations in their effort to further their own interests are struggling for the local machinery and seeking to buy their franchises irrespective of the public welfare or the public good, the avenues through which or by which the public may express their wishes are choked with faction and disgraced by local corporate quarrels. Yet somehow in the end the way is cleared, and if this community is denied the opportunity of adequate and united expression at this election it is nevertheless true that the people who care not a sou for one corporation or the other but who desire good government and clean government will dump into the sewer these gutter politicians, who, standing by themselves, present the sorriest spectacle, but who, with corporate money and corporate votes behind them, seem to stand for something. And the people will find some way to purify the atmosphere of the municipal and official infamy which hangs over the community like a dark cloud—a menace to good order and good government.

After speaking at some length on the tariff and the finances of the country at large, he added :



With this national record it is fair to expect that this year there will be no trouble in carrying the State ticket by a full vote. The State Convention nominated excellent men, and for the future welfare of Colorado I am glad to say that there are in the State enough warm, sincere and honest Republicans to elect every man on the ticket. This year, however, as in previous years, we have been compelled to bear the burden of despicable personal attacks upon some of our candidates by a newspaper which has no weight where its owner and his animus are known.

One of the stories which was circulated at this time was that he was not lending his earnest support to Mr. Teller, who was to come before the Legislature for re-election in the following January. Indeed, one of the anti-Wolcott papers, professing to be zealous for Teller, cartooned the junior Senator as bending over his senior with a long dagger held aloft and ready to plunge it into the back of the latter. That the intimation was cruelly unjust is shown by the fact that, after giving every assistance to the election of members of the Legislature friendly to his colleague, Mr. Wolcott took steps to procure from every Republican Senator and Representative a pledge to vote for Teller. He entrusted this service to his close personal friend, Dewey C. Bailey, then a member of the Legislature, who visited all the legislators at their homes in advance of the meeting. The expense of this canvass was borne by Mr. Wolcott. All but one of the names were attached to the promise and that was withheld only because of scruple against the proceeding, the member in the end casting his vote for Mr. Teller.

That in 1891 Mr. Wolcott was hopeful of more favorable silver legislation than had been obtained and that he was willing to strive for the highest accomplishment the following telegram declining an invitation to be present at a Chamber of Commerce dinner in Denver in 1891 testifies:

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7.

I. B. PORTER, President, Denver Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade:

I am in receipt of your kind invitation to be present at the annual banquet of the Denver Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade on Thursday, January 15th. My public duties

require my presence here at this time, and I must forego the pleasure of meeting with you.

It is extremely gratifying that at this time the best interests of our commonwealth are identical with the truest and best interests of our country. The increased coinage of silver secured by the legislation of last summer, in my opinion, greatly relieved the tension which was caused by the troubles of the Argentine Republic, and the measure for the free coinage of our silver product, which is now on its triumphant course, will make such contraction of values and financial stringency as we are now witnessing impossible in the future.

The Colorado delegation is working earnestly and unitedly to secure this result.

Personal attacks on myself by enemies, who own a newspaper, charging me with secret hostility to free coinage, in no wise disturb me.

But in view of the united fight Western Senators are making, any traitorous attack from journals which assume to favor free coinage is an attempt to destroy and disintegrate and not to upbuild and to strengthen.

Your body is non-partisan and seeks only the highest and best development of Colorado. We, on our part, believe that in view of the vast interests involved, party lines grow dim and sectionalism becomes unworthy.

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

#### HARRISON'S SECOND RACE

It was in 1892 that the top began to hum. For some time silver had occupied much of the attention of both Houses of Congress. The so-called Sherman Act of 1890 providing for the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month had proved extremely unpopular in the business centres of the Eastern States because of the fear that the country would be flooded with silver to the exclusion of gold. The Eastern leaders of both old parties were committed to the repeal of the purchasing provision. Already it had become evident that only by the most strenuous exertion could the white metal retain the equivocal position it even then occupied. In the Senate Mr. Wolcott and Mr. Teller had labored day and night to improve conditions; but the sentiment of the commercial world was so strong that very little wisdom was required to foresee the near approach

of a decisive struggle, with the chances much against the silver champions. Populism had taken a strong hold in the neighboring States of Kansas and Nebraska, and already many propagandists in support of its doctrines were holding forth from the house-tops in Colorado.

On February 14, 1892, three months in advance of the Minneapolis Convention, the *Rocky Mountain News* published interviews with both the Colorado Senators, advising in strong terms against the sending of Harrison delegates to the convention. Mr. Blaine had announced his determination not to permit the use of his name as a Presidential candidate, and the announcement was a sore disappointment to Mr. Wolcott. Asked why he was opposed to Harrison's renomination, Mr. Wolcott replied:

Because there is no man in public life to-day who is a more bitter or unrelenting enemy to the free coinage of silver than is President Harrison. Only one who has lived at Washington most of the time since his inauguration can understand the baneful influences that are constantly emanating from the White House to hamper or defeat every effort made by coinage men for the betterment of the status of silver money. I notice in the despatches this morning that Senator Teller makes known what the silver men in Washington have understood all along, but have, until now, declined to state, that a proposition was made to the President that, if he would see that under the Bland law the maximum number of silver dollars (four million) should be coined each month, it would be acceptable to them, since it was evident that a free coinage bill could not at that time be passed. He declined to make any concession of the kind asked for, and Republican silver senators were compelled to vote for the law now on the statue-books in hopes that they might improve the condition of silver, though at the same time they were quite fearful of the outcome.

What truth is there, Senator, [he was asked] in the report that President Harrison has expressed a willingness to approve a bill for the free coinage of the American silver product?

It is untrue; wholly untrue. He has never made such a statement to any one willing to assume responsibility for the story. Such a rumor was flying about for a while, but the story was the invention of some gold bug politicians living in silver States to cover up as much as they could the treason to

silver that was necessarily implied by their support of Harrison for renomination. It is positively without any foundation whatever, and no reputable man can be found who will assert the contrary. Indeed the absurdity of such a law's ever being agreed to by Congress or by the President is so apparent that only an imbecile could give credence to the report. I will venture the assertion that twenty men could not be found in Congress who would vote for such a measure. The free coinage members of all the Western and Southern States would abandon the silver States at once if they were seriously asked to pass such a law.

Have you any opinion as to who the strongest candidate against Harrison will be at the Minneapolis Convention?

No, I have not; the sudden and unexpected withdrawal of Mr. Blaine has left those opposing Harrison's renomination at sea for the present; but there is one thing that can be relied upon: The leading men of the Republican party who have been most pronounced in urging Mr. Blaine to stand as a candidate will unite upon some other man worthy the support of Republicans throughout the land.

The feeling against President Harrison at Washington among a large number of the most influential and leading Republican representatives of the country is hard to comprehend. There is an abiding conviction among them that Harrison cannot be re-elected should he be nominated, and since they also believe that any acceptable Republican can carry the country, they will feel compelled in the performance of their duty to prevent the disaster of defeat if they can.

But, Senator, [said the reporter] suppose when the convention meets it seems inevitable that Harrison will be renominated, should not the Colorado delegation under such circumstances vote to bring it about?

Under no possible contingency [replied Mr. Wolcott] can Colorado Republicans justify themselves in voting for Harrison's renomination.

I make this prediction now: If the Republican party shall nominate a candidate who is opposed to free silver legislation, and the Democratic Convention shall do likewise, silver will fall to fifty or sixty cents an ounce within the next eighteen months. In my opinion it is idle to talk about both the great parties ignoring silver even for the present without disaster to silver following. Unless there is a fair recognition given to silver in the platforms of the two parties this year it will never



recover from the blow. The fight for silver is on now. This campaign may not result in restoring free coinage immediately, but it will result in one of two things: either the question will be kept before the public with every show of free coinage being ultimately accomplished, or it will pass from the domain of politics altogether; in which latter event the depths of poverty to which it will descend no man can foretell. For this reason the Republicans of Colorado should be in no manner responsible for Harrison's renomination. It would be like a householder applying the torch to his own roof tree.

Does that mean, if Mr. Harrison should be renominated you would not vote for him?

No, it does not mean that. I have been elected by the Republicans of Colorado to the Senate of the United States, and the fact, if he should be renominated, that he would be before the country vouched for by a Republican Convention would compel me to support him. Let me say this in addition: My differences with the President are not personal; they arise wholly out of his hostility to silver and my advocacy of it. Such differences are more irreconcilable than those merely personal.

When in the face of such adverse criticisms as these Mr. Harrison received the nomination the Colorado Senator was necessarily somewhat embarrassed, but he determined nevertheless to support the ticket.

Mr. Wolcott also had aroused antagonisms in his own party in the State, and there was a well-defined conspiracy among some of its members to encompass his downfall. He, however, did not fear them. When asked if he did not think the combination would endanger his political future, he replied:

Not in the slightest. I made up my mind when I was elected Senator that at every hazard I would perform my duty to the people of this State and protect their interests. While I must ever give to Senator Teller the first place in the ranks of those Republicans working for the restoration of free coinage, as a learner from him and inspired by his example and counsels, I believe I have done my share toward preventing the silver cause being stamped out in the Senate. I believe that my uncompromising hostility toward the enemies of silver and the President for his dealings with silver, lies at the bottom of whatever personal animosity there is to me in the State. I am willing to



stand or fall upon my record as one of Colorado's representatives, and if there are adverse interests enough to overwhelm me in the Republican party because of my public actions or my private dealings with men, I shall, when my term is out, assume the garb of a private citizen with the utmost cheerfulness, confident that I am not to blame for the result either as a man or a public officer.

Teller and Wolcott were delegates to the National Republican Convention, which in 1892 met in Minneapolis. Mr. Teller was a member of the Committee on Resolutions, and in that capacity brought to bear all the skill and tact at his command in behalf of a positive declaration in support of bimetallism as a principle. Mr. Wolcott went to the convention as the especial champion of James G. Blaine, and to him was awarded the very marked honor of placing that great leader of his party in nomination for the Presidency, which was done regardless of Mr. Blaine's previous declaration against the use of his name. He made a brilliant speech, and his oratory and magnetism were much extolled in the convention and throughout the country. But, as was the case with Mr. Teller in his championship of free coinage, he failed. Again Benjamin Harrison was named as the Republican standard-bearer, and on a platform which contained no word of promise to the silverites. Both Teller and Wolcott were opposed to Harrison. They had antagonized him during his term of office because of his outspoken opposition to silver coinage, and had come to dislike him personally.

#### REIGN OF POPULISM

When the Senators returned to Colorado, following the announcement of the defeat of their silver plank and of the success of the candidate whom they had especially opposed, they were met with no very cordial greeting. When a short time afterward the Democrats placed Grover Cleveland in nomination, Democracy was as much in discredit as Republicanism had been. Cleveland was as unfriendly to silver as was Harrison, and silver was the principal product of Colorado. Then stalked forth Populism. Populism brought with it promises to meet the demand of everybody who was dis-

satisfied with Republicanism or Democracy for any cause. It promised free coinage. Colorado was determined to have free coinage if possible. Hence Populism became a popular doctrine in the Centennial State. The Populist National Convention was held that year in Omaha, and General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, was nominated for the Presidency. The *Rocky Mountain News*, with Hon. Thomas M. Patterson at its head, immediately raised the Weaver standard, and Democrats and Republicans, great and small, joined the ranks by the thousand.

To add to the general distress of the leaders the Republican party in Arapahoe County was in bad odor. Apparently the affairs of the Denver municipality were being run only in the interest of private gain, and so notorious had become "the machine" that the citizens determined to take matters into their own hands. In the spring preceding the State campaign, they nominated a non-partisan ticket and elected it.

When the Republican Convention met for the selection of candidates for the State offices, Hon. Joseph C. Helm, then and for many years previous a member of the Supreme Court Bench of the State, was nominated for Governor. With him other excellent men were placed on the ticket, and for a time it was believed that all might be elected. When, however, the Democrats were brought into coalition with the Populists, Republican chances were destroyed.

At the State Convention Mr. Wolcott was among the speakers. Although unfriendly to Harrison and displeased with the action of the national organization, he declared his allegiance to his party. In his speech on that occasion he took cognizance of the action of the Minneapolis Convention, and referred to the possibility of defeat at the approaching election, a prophecy which was fulfilled. Referring to the declaration of the National Convention he predicted that the time surely would come when the Republican party would establish itself as the party of hard money, of gold and silver, as demanded by the Constitution of the United States.

Regretting the action at Minneapolis, he still advised adherence to the Republican party.

Statesmen who have not been able to carry their points on this great silver question have [he said] thought of new channels in which to make their influence felt, but before we break away it is well for us to consider the question fully and to consider whether we do not endanger the future of the Republican party. There are many issues to the campaign when we look at the whole land. In Colorado there is no question that approaches in importance that of the coinage of silver on a parity with gold on the ratio that prevailed until the infamous demonetization act was passed. The endeavor of every true son of Colorado must be to obtain that end above all else. But we are men, and must face the situation as it exists. This election must place either Harrison or Cleveland in the Presidential chair. No man of sense looks for any other result. Silver is not a party question. The South and the West are standing together on it. In the East there are States heretofore in the Republican or the Democratic column in which there could be no man committed to the free coinage of silver but would meet defeat in those States.

There is nothing under Heaven for us to do but to labor for silver's cause within our parties in the future as in the past. There are in the People's party men good and true long identified with the Republican party, and who again will be found in its ranks. It is for us to reason with these men and draw them back. It is our duty to work and to show on election day that we are, as ever, devoted to the party that has given a glorious and free country to mankind. There is no shadow of doubt in my mind as to the triumph of the silver cause. The heaven is working in the old parties. The South and West are going hand in hand. The silver advocates have been denounced for a long time, but the cause is marching forward and the day is coming when a silver bill will pass both Houses, and no President will dare to refuse to sign it.

He closed as follows: "We have met as oft before to take each other by the hand and look each other in the face, and to pledge our lives, our loves, and our fortunes to our beloved party."

#### WAITEISM

The campaign was one of the most confusing and exciting ever known in the State. The Populists everywhere

were demonstrative, and in many places Republican orators were hooted from the platform and refused an opportunity to be heard. Fisticuffs were frequent. Bloodshed was imminent on more than one occasion. The Populists had taken up as their candidate a white-bearded old gentleman named Waite, who for several years had resided in Aspen, and whose only recommendation to favor was his violent denunciation of the old parties and his vituperative condemnation of Republican and Democratic leaders. He never had been heard of in Colorado outside of his county. He stumped the State and was wildly applauded wherever he went; his very extravagances of speech became his strongest recommendation. People of discrimination and calm judgment expressed surprise that such a man should have been able to attain to such prominence; but, unpromising as then was the prospect, no one was prepared for the farce which he was to present as the State's Chief Executive—a farce which only a kind Providence prevented from becoming a tragedy.

The Republicans were hopeful until the end, but the result showed that they had counted without their host. Weaver carried the State by about 15,000 majority and Waite had almost 5000 plurality over Helm and Maupin, the latter being the straight Democratic candidate. The Legislature consisted of forty-eight Republicans and fifty-two Democrats and Populists combined. The Democrats held the balance of power and in many matters acted with the Republicans. The Populists elected Lafe Pence and John C. Bell to Congress. The Congressmen served the State with credit. But for the next two years Waite held the attention of the public as the most grotesque figure on the stage of public affairs.

The times were entirely to Governor Waite's liking. They could not have been better for his purposes if he had ordered them. He scarcely had begun his administration when the mints of India ceased to coin silver. For many years India had been the mainstay of the silver miners as the vast population of that Oriental dependency seemed capable of absorbing all the white metal that the world could produce. Colorado was doing its utmost to meet the demand, and was turning out twenty or thirty million dollars annually.



When, therefore, on the 26th of June, 1893, the doors of the Indian mints were closed, the effect was immediately felt throughout the Centennial State. In two weeks the price of bar silver fell from eighty-three to sixty-two cents per ounce. Many of the largest mines in the State abruptly shut down, and most of the smelters at Denver, Leadville, and Pueblo banked their furnaces. Then, in quick succession, came the failures of numerous business houses and the closing of the banks in most of the cities and towns throughout the State.

The panic of 1893 was on, and it was one of the most disastrous ever known to the world. Distress was general. Not only the laboring classes, but the well-to-do were directly affected. Even those who had money in bank were unable to withdraw it, as for several weeks the banking institutions which survived the panic refused to honor even their own paper.

All this was political capital for Mr. Waite and his following, and when on the 30th of October succeeding, Congress, which had been convened in extraordinary session by President Cleveland, passed the bill repealing the vital part of the Sherman law, the Waiteites had material which was of especial service to them.

It was during a mass convention in Denver in July, 1893, which was called by the Governor to consider general conditions, that Mr. Waite made his "blood to the bridles" speech, which soon made his name known throughout the country. It was only one of many sensational utterances made by him, but it was of a character to be seized upon by the press, and it was telegraphed everywhere. The Governor was one of several Populist speakers, many of them striving to outdo each other. The especial subject under discussion was the shutting down of the Indian mints in the previous month. That occurrence was of grave import to the people of Colorado, and to the Governor it foreboded many evils not necessarily connected with it. This is the passage: "It is better, infinitely better, that blood should flow to the horses' bridles rather than that our national liberties should be destroyed."

Governor Waite called the Legislature in extra session, specifying thirty-two different subjects for consideration, the



principal one of which was the absurd proposition that the State should prepare to coin its own money. It is needless to say that no such provision was enacted, but even if there had been such enactment its only effect would have been to add to the ridicule which already was being heaped upon the State on account of the Waite régime. The extra session continued for about two months, but adjourned without enacting any of the Waite measures into law. Not only did the Legislature fail to comply with the command of the quixotic governor to establish a currency basis for Colorado independent of the Union at large, but concurrent resolutions were adopted by the two Houses of the Legislature denouncing the plan as unwise and unconstitutional. In the same connection, however, the Legislature urged Congress to act. The resolutions were as follows:

WHEREAS Davis H. Waite, Governor of the State of Colorado, has by proclamation summoned the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Colorado in extraordinary session for the purpose of legislating upon certain subjects specifically mentioned in said proclamation, and among other things to provide that "foreign silver dollars containing not less than 371½ grains of fine silver, and upon the present ratio of 16 of silver to 1 of gold, shall be a legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private, collectable within the State of Colorado,

*Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Colorado (The Senate concurring),*

That we hereby unequivocally condemn any attempt at legislation as above recommended as unwise, inexpedient, and of doubtful constitutionality, and tending to bring into disrepute the great State of Colorado and her people; and we hereby denounce any attempt to accomplish the same in opposition to the wishes and in defiance of the repeated, earnest, and emphatic protests of the people of the State; and

*Be it further resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Colorado,* That we do hereby declare that we demand of the Congress, to which the States have delegated the power of providing a circulating medium for the necessities of the people, that it carry out the great trust confided to it by the people and restore to silver, equally with gold, as the money of the

Constitution, the right of free and unlimited coinage at the mints of the United States.

The resolutions were presented to the Senate by Mr. Wolcott, who in introducing them said:

The General Assembly of the State of Colorado was called to meet in special session by the Governor. The reasons for calling it together had been stated at length by the Governor by proclamation, and among other reasons given was that the Legislature might provide that foreign silver dollars should be a legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private, collectible within the State of Colorado. The Legislature met in pursuance to that call, and among its first acts was a repudiation by both branches of the General Assembly of either the intention or the right of the State to legislate respecting its currency.

These resolutions are most forcibly expressed. I ask that the resolutions may be read as bearing testimony to the fact that the people of Colorado stand or fall with the laws of the rest of their country, and that they accept the situation, painful and unfair as it has been. I may add the pleasing fact that although the silver industry has been stricken down within the State, prosperity is returning within its borders and its citizens have found other channels of industry.

Both Wolcott and Teller used their best efforts to bring the Legislature to a speedy close and to nullify Waite's influence for foolish legislation. This was done through personal messages to members and to the presiding officers of the two Houses.

Hon. E. M. Ammons of Douglas County, himself diametrically opposed to the Waite policies, was Speaker of the House, and he scarcely needed the prodding he received from the Senators to use his influence in favor of curtailing the length of the session. The interest on the part of the Senators was manifested in a joint telegram running as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 19, 1894.

E. M. AMMONS, Speaker of the House of Representatives,  
Denver, Colo.

We have neither the inclination nor the right to interfere in the slightest degree with any legislative action of the General

Assembly of Colorado. We are most anxious, however, that our State should continue to maintain her high reputation for wisdom and fair dealing, and that she should not be subject to criticism from other sections of the country.

Prosperity will return to us if we do nothing to drive it away, and we believe a favorable solution of the silver question will eventually be found. No party question is involved, and we trust the interests of the State will not be hampered by legislative mistakes. Any prolonged or continued session of the Assembly would in our opinion be most unwise and would only result in injury to Colorado.

H. M. TELLER,  
E. O. WOLCOTT.

If the Waite administration had resulted in nothing more seriously disastrous than the calling of the extra session of the Legislature, the people would have had comparatively little to complain of. Probably the most injurious effect was felt in the distrust which was created. Like most new communities, Colorado was deeply in debt. Possessing exceptional resources, the State was developing with rapid strides, and the Colorado people were making large demands upon their Eastern brethren for capital. When the hard times came the Waite party began to threaten repudiation, with the result that Eastern creditors became frightened and, as one man, rushed in to withdraw their loans. The Coloradoans were unable to meet the demand. The result was the foreclosure of many mortgages, the placing of numerous attachments, and the transfer of a large proportion of the property of the State from one person to another for a very small fraction of the real value.

The administration was also harassing in other respects. Of querulous and quarrelsome disposition, ignorant of the law and yet egotistical and self-willed, the Chief-Executive was constantly getting himself into trouble. His appointments to office were disappointing to himself, as they were to the public generally, and on one occasion he called out the State militia and came near precipitating a real battle at the City Hall in Denver to aid him in ousting a police board of his own selection. At another time he ordered the militia to Cripple Creek for the avowed purpose of support-

ing one side to a controversy in connection with a mining strike at that place. Only good fortune prevented disastrous consequences from these rash acts, and it may well be imagined that the State was heartily glad to rid itself of their author when the opportunity was presented in the campaign of 1894.

To Mr. Wolcott the Waite administration was a nightmare. Ever sensitive to the opinions of the better element of society, he felt that the Governor's acts were a severe reflection on the good name and the hitherto high credit of the State. Engaged as he was in making the national fight in behalf of silver, he found that he was greatly handicapped by the course of affairs at home. He was not given to useless explanations, and in this case he would have found explanation difficult if disposed to enter upon one. All, therefore, that he could do was to bear the situation as best he might and say as little as possible about it outside of Colorado. This course he pursued, but he lost no opportunity and spared no effort to bring about a change in the State.

## THE SECOND SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN

THE campaign of 1894 resulted in the annihilation of Waite and in the election of a Legislature which returned Mr. Wolcott to the Senate. But the revolution cost a great effort. It need not be supposed that, unpopular as Mr. Waite had become with certain classes and absurd as had been many of his official acts, he was without friends or supporters. A most vigorous campaign was made in his behalf, and it was only by the most strenuous effort that "the grand old anarchist," as one of his supporters dubbed him, was voted down and his opponent, A. W. McIntire, elected.

Mr. Wolcott's health was such that he was compelled to go to Europe in the spring of 1894. It therefore was impossible for him to give much personal attention to this campaign in its early stages. The reasons for this trip were fully explained in a letter to his personal friend, O. E. Le Fevre, written at Washington on May 9th, as follows:

I had laid all my plans to go to Colorado next month and remain through the meeting of the Republican League to be held at Denver. I find myself unexpectedly compelled to abandon this and all other plans I had formed for the summer.

My condition of health is such that my physicians insist that I shall go abroad for treatment; that I shall first go to Carlsbad and then go to Paris, where it is hoped that the surgeon who treated me last winter may complete a cure which proves to have been imperfectly accomplished at my former visit. I have hesitated for some time about going, but I see no alternative. My colleague, Senator Teller, who is familiar with all the circumstances, also urges me to go.

The pending tariff legislation is in control of the Democratic



majority in the Senate, which will be able to force its views irrespective of the wishes of the minority. I shall, of course, be paired, so that the vote will not be affected by my absence. We have made every effort before the committee to secure some adequate protection for both lead and wool in the pending measure. Lead is somewhat protected, but we have found it utterly impossible to secure any recognition of the great wool interests of our country, which will suffer seriously by the provisions of the proposed tariff bill. Outside of these two questions there is nothing of immediate importance to Colorado, although we are all interested in the general question of the protection of American industries. I feel much more relieved also about going from the fact that the abilities and long experience of my colleague, who will remain at his post, assure the full protection of the interests of our people.

My business affairs as well as the interest which I naturally feel as a citizen in Colorado's welfare, lead me to regret extremely my inability to be in Colorado during the early summer, and I regret to be compelled to abandon my visit there. I shall return, if all is well, in August and shall go at once to Denver. This will give me ample time to participate in our fall campaign. I am anxious not to interfere respecting any of the nominations upon the State ticket, and it is possible that my absence until August may save some misconception which might be placed upon my movements if I should go to Colorado before that time.

My own personal interests I must leave in the hands of my friends. There is one question of far greater moment in my opinion than any other, that is that the State of Colorado be redeemed from the Populist administration which now controls it and which has brought so much discredit and dishonor upon our commonwealth.

To accomplish this result, harmony is required within our own ranks, and it is essential that personal and factional differences should be sacrificed, that the party as a whole may work together for the best interests of Colorado. I know of no sacrifice which I am not personally willing to make to secure that result.

There were two receptions at the Brown Palace Hotel this year, the first non-partisan and to Mr. Wolcott alone when he arrived in Denver on his return from Europe, September 1st, and the second, later, to both Senator Wolcott and Senator Teller, and of a partisan character.

The *Denver Republican* of the next day gave the following account of the first meeting:

The rotunda, grand staircase, and first two balconies of the hotel were filled with people, while the railings of the third, fourth, and fifth balconies were lined with faces. The edifice was decorated in bunting and flowers, and presented a beautiful appearance. Senator Wolcott and the reception committees of the Mining Exchange and Chamber of Commerce occupied a platform at the base of the staircase. Over them hung silken American flags. At the capitals of the onyx pillars flanking the platform were floral pieces, one bearing the words "Silver Ed," and the other a silver dollar mounted in roses. The entire railing of the first balcony was hidden in trailing, potted and cut flowers. Standards of colors grouped in threes were mounted at intervals on all the balconies. The effect was entrancing. Aside from the floral effects, the appearance of the hotel was enhanced by the large number of ladies present. An orchestra was ensconced in a floral bower on the east first balcony. Near them sat the Apollo Choral Association. During the reception these organizations rendered many pieces. Senator Wolcott was much moved by the warmth of the welcome. The entry of the guest of the evening to the hotel was denoted by ringing cheers.

Hon. W. N. Byers, a distinguished pioneer of the State, was then President of the Denver Chamber of Commerce, and in that capacity presided over the meeting. The welcoming addresses were made by Hon. Caldwell Yeaman, a Democrat, and Hon. Earl B. Coe, a Republican. Both spoke in non-partisan terms. Mr. Yeaman said:

Senator Wolcott, on behalf of the Denver Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Trade, as well as in obedience to my own inclinations, I extend to you a cordial welcome home. I bid you find in the affectionate regard of those whom you have faithfully served, in the congratulations of your friends and admirers, a much needed relaxation from the long continued official service, and, in the life-giving atmosphere of our mountains and valleys, complete and final restoration to health.

The organization which it is my pleasant duty to represent is without politics and without religious creed. Among its members are those from all the industries and professions within our State; education and benevolence have a place within its general plan. These interests thus combined, harmoniously

strive to promote efficient, honest, and economical government. The system of government under which we live imposes upon the national legislature duties, and confers upon it powers, the performance and exercise of which directly affect the welfare of the whole people. It is to our Senators and Representatives in Congress that we look for that wise and beneficent legislation which, while securing to the people the greatest possible return for their energy and toil, lays lightly upon them the hand of supreme authority and power. Fortunate are the people of any commonwealth who can universally commend the work of their public servants. These fervent congratulations to you show the depth of the appreciation of the people of this State, and the sincerity of their esteem. You need not be reminded of the continued devotion of the people of Colorado to silver. In you their zeal and devotion found a true exponent. They commend and applaud the advocacy of their Senators and Representatives.

Mr. Yeaman then closed his address by saying that the people were above all petty things of life, "and party ties and party prejudice for this occasion are smothered in the cordial welcome which Colorado extends to you."

Mr. Coe spoke as follows:

The people of Colorado are glad to have you with them again, Senator. We are glad to see you with us to-night safe and on the way to health. Your absence from us has been marked with sickness, and we feared for you; but you are with us again, and, I know, ready to carry on to the very last that difficult duty which has been imposed upon you.

But these congratulations are not all for you. Some of them are for ourselves. It is for us to congratulate ourselves upon having in you so faithful and zealous a servant. It is for Colorado to congratulate itself that in times of peril, when the welfare of the State was assailed, and that in a dangerous manner, we had on the floor of the United States Senate two men who were indeed champions of our rights.

I am sure you will pardon me, Senator, and ladies and gentlemen if I indulge myself in a few party remarks and say a word or two to our friends the Democrats. There is hanging above us a flag, with its bright stars and stripes. Every star in that field marks the progress of republicanism, and not a slur must be cast upon them or the brightness of one of them diminished. It is for you to-day to stand by them. Party differences

must be buried. We must stand together and, what is more, we will stand together.

Mr. Wolcott's speech will be found elsewhere. His address was not political in character, but it was replete with patriotic sentiment and full of interest in the welfare of the people of the State.

The next reception occurred on the night of September 17th, and was given by the East Capitol Hill Woman's Republican Club, and was a notable event. Mr. Wolcott was introduced by State Senator Charles Hartzell. A chronicler of the day tells us:

The tinge of æstheticism which has been introduced by the women as one of the accessories to a higher standard in politics was made very manifest last night in the decorations and in the music, both of which were of a high artistic order. Clematis was the principal decoration and it harmonized with the original adornment of the building. The arrangement of the plant was most artistic; it hung profusely from the first two balconies and at frequent points it was relieved with bunches of bright flowers. The American flag was picturesquely displayed in every part of the rotunda. The throng of people was of the greatest interest. The balconies to the top were filled with men and women. It was a solid square of humanity with the square rotunda at the base crowded. Many could not get inside the doors at all.

In his speech at the second meeting, Mr. Wolcott dealt the Waite administration many heavy blows. One or two specimens will suffice.

For one [he said in the beginning], I am tired of the slanders and abuse which is heaped upon us and telegraphed all over the world, defiling our own nest, abusing, vilifying, and slandering the decent men and women of Colorado, and destroying and ruining every decent industry which our efforts and our time and our people have built up and which made our State a glorious one in the sisterhood of States, until he [Waite] came with his baleful influence to destroy it.

And further along:

These two years of Governor Waite's administration are the greatest disaster this State has ever known. We used to have the grasshoppers and we used to think we were afflicted with



various losses by the hand of the Almighty; but the time is coming when the two-year Populists will be a far worse plague than the seven-year locusts ever were. The time is surely going to come when many of the young women in the hearing of my voice as they hold their children on their knees, will tell them how, years and years ago, there was a grotesque, impossible sort of an old man, a sort of opera-bouffe governor, who tried to destroy all the interests in Colorado and who tore down everything that was decent and invoked all the disorder and misrule he could, and how the good men and good women of Colorado got together and talked it over and by an overwhelming vote sent that opera-bouffe governor back to Aspen, where he belonged. And the only difficulty your children will have in believing the story will be in believing that you ever were big enough idiots and muffs to elect him.

Much invigorated in body and greatly encouraged over the prospect of obtaining an international agreement in the interest of silver coinage, Senator Wolcott entered heartily into the campaign. Waiteism on the one hand and the improved outlook for the white metal on the other, were the uppermost themes of his discourse. He had met many of the bimetallists of England and on the Continent, and he had come to think that all had not been lost with the repeal of the Sherman law. Colorado still was under the pall of the panic of 1893, and he preached a gospel of hope and good cheer—of a bright and prosperous future, which he declared that even Waiteism could not permanently blight. Still, he urged the necessity of throwing off the incubus at the earliest possible moment, and he labored day and night for the election of McIntire and the entire Republican ticket. In his speech before the State Convention at the beginning of the campaign, he said:

The office you have conferred upon me is the most splendid within your gift; the term for which I hold it has nearly expired. What the future may have in store for me it is not given us to know; but whatever personal possibilities there might be for me as to a continuance of its term I say to you solemnly I would sacrifice them all gladly in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, if thereby we could render more certain the rescue of this State from the hands that now throttle it, and I would



retire cheerfully to private life, grateful for your past kindness and confidence, and happy that as a citizen of Colorado there was any sacrifice I could make that would save this State from further degradation and dishonor.

It is not intended to follow our candidate through the meanderings of the campaign, nor to repeat his speeches, which were much the same in general argument at all points. Probably the most notable of his addresses in the contest was the one delivered at its close. This was made in Denver on the night of the third of November, and was listened to by a vast audience. In it, as throughout the State, he devoted much attention to the administration of Governor Waite, which he charged with responsibility for the most of the evils of the time. He asserted that but for the radical position of the Governor there would not have been nearly so many foreclosures of mortgages nor so many attachments as the result of suits. Speaking of the free coinage of silver, Mr. Wolcott declared himself as staunch an advocate of that cause as any man, but he repeated his declaration that it could not come through any individual party—no more through the Populist party than any other party. “Whenever I believe that free coinage can be accomplished through some other party than the Republican party I will leave that party,” said Mr. Wolcott; “but I will never be drawn into the crazy ranks of the Kansas and Colorado Populists.”

The “A. P. A.”—letters which stood for the American Protective Association—was very much in evidence at that time, and was a real issue in Colorado politics. The organization was shortlived, but very active while its existence continued, and its principal tenet was antagonism to Catholicism. It may well be imagined that the trimming politicians found it an awkward subject to deal with. It was difficult to steer between the Scylla of Catholicism and the Charybdis of A. P. A’ism. The A. P. A’s were particularly alert in Colorado in 1894, and it was charged that they had influenced the nomination of most of the Republican candidates. If such had been the case the ticket probably would have met the antagonism of members of the Catholic Church. Hence, while not daring to repudiate the society because such

a course would have offended its members, the candidates were at the same time anxious to assure the Catholic voters that they were not antagonistic to them. No one understood these issues better than Mr. Wolcott, and when, during this last address of the campaign, a question relative to the organization was thrust at him he was prepared to respond to it, and he did respond on broad grounds, and in a way that could not have lost him the vote of any fair-minded man.

He was in the midst of his speech when some one in the audience, taking advantage of a pause, yelled across the hall at him, "What about A. P. A'ism?" "Oh, go off!" responded Mr. Wolcott, informally. The questioner, however, would not be silent, and by repeating his inquiry engaged the serious consideration of the speaker. Facing around, Mr. Wolcott cried back to the man, "Well, what about the A. P. A.? What do you want to know about it?"

"I want to know what you think about it and what your relations to it are."

Realizing that the question was intended to put him on record as against the Catholic Church, Mr. Wolcott directed his response to that point. "I believe," he said, "that every citizen should be allowed to worship God as he sees fit." Then, after a pause, he added, "I do not believe that any man should be allowed to disturb a decent meeting."

That Mr. Wolcott was not overconfident of re-election was evidenced by a letter written to his mother, October 25, 1894, about ten days before the election of the Legislature which did ultimately return him:

I am working very hard [he said]. Last week I made eight speeches, and am out again this week, and shall be kept going until after election. I think I made a mistake in going in for re-election, but it is too late now for regrets. The result is still doubtful. Populism has a deep hold on people in Colorado. Wolhurst is delightful, but I don't see much of it. I leave by the early train and return after dark.

That his pessimistic view was not justified was soon demonstrated by the result at the polls and not long afterward in the Legislature.

Very soon after the election in November Mr. Wolcott turned his face toward Washington for the purpose of attending the second session of the Fifty-third Congress. There were many questions pending in which Colorado was profoundly interested, and he did not permit his own interests to keep him at home. Consequently, he was not in Colorado when the Legislature met and could not give personal attention to his campaign to succeed himself as Senator. His presence was scarcely necessary, for in reality no other Republican was seriously thought of for the office, and the Legislature was safely Republican. The only other member of the party mentioned was Myron H. Stratton, a mining millionaire of Colorado Springs, who had made his money in Cripple Creek.

In December, about two weeks before the assembling of the Colorado Legislature, Mr. Wolcott, then in Washington attending to his Senatorial duties, received a letter signed by every Republican member of the Legislature, men and women assuring him that he would be chosen to succeed himself without opposition and advising him that he need not concern himself about his re-election even to the extent of returning to his State. To this flattering communication Senator Wolcott addressed an appreciative reply. The correspondence was as follows:

DENVER, COLORADO,  
Dec'r 12, 1894.

To the Honorable EDWARD O. WOLCOTT:

SIR: The undersigned Republican members and members-elect of the Tenth General Assembly of the State of Colorado, appreciating your services in the Senate of the United States, and being desirous of your re-election, beg to submit the following:

For six years you have faithfully and well served this State in the highest legislative body in the world; the people of Colorado, irrespective of party, should be in favor of your return to the Senate; you are the unanimous choice of the party for this high office; the Republican party has nationally achieved one of its greatest and most decisive victories; its leaders will soon meet in Washington, when the policies and plans of the party for the future will be carefully considered, discussed, and in a large measure agreed upon; we want you at this meeting,

so that your great influence will be there exerted in behalf of Colorado; we have confidence that the Republican party will satisfactorily solve the silver question; we wish to relieve you of any possible anxiety concerning the result of the Senatorial election in this State, so that your entire time and best efforts can be given to a wise solution of the great questions that so much concern our people. The largest and most representative convention of the party that ever assembled in the State unanimously approved of your conduct in the Senate in the past, and indorsed you for re-election. We assure you that it is a pleasure to each of us to obey the voice of the party as thus expressed, and that it will be our pleasant duty to earnestly aid in your re-election, and to use every honorable means to accomplish this result, both in caucus and in open session, and until the result we hope for is attained.

Charles Hartzell, E. W. Merritt, W. B. Felker, Oscar Reuter, Dr. Charles E. Locke, P. J. Sours, Frances S. Klock, Louis Anfenger, Joseph H. Stuart, W. S. Bales, James H. Clarke, H. R. Brown, George W. Twombly, A. C. Wilkins, J. S. Carnahan, W. I. Whittier, A. M. De Bord, A. L. Humphrey, I. J. Woodworth, Charles G. Collais, M. A. Vigil, John W. Lovell, A. A. Salazar, Nathaniel Kearney, J. R. Gordon, James F. Allee, W. A. Colt, Bruce F. Johnson, Amedee L. Fribourg, A. R. Kennedy, Clara Cressingham, W. H. Macomber, Alexander Stewart, A. I. Warren, W. B. Rundell, C. W. Campbell, J. T. McNeeley, J. M. Morris, W. L. Patchen, J. C. Evans, T. S. Harper, Robert D. Miller, W. N. Randall, G. W. Swink, J. W. Rockefeller, Jacob C. Funderburgh, Celestino Garcia, Charles Newman, Frank G. Blake, Joseph H. Painter, J. G. Morton, J. D. Brown, Clara Clyde Holly, James F. Drake, R. H. Purrington, W. R. Sopris.

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SENATE CHAMBER,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 18, 1894.

HON. CHARLES HARTZELL and Others:

GENTLEMEN: The joint letter signed by you, who constitute fifty-six out of the one hundred members of the next General Assembly, is just received.

While it is true, as you say in your letter, that the Republican State Convention unanimously passed resolutions indorsing my re-election to the Senate, I nevertheless appreciate more deeply than I can express to you the friendship which has prompted you to give me this personal assurance of your confidence and regard. If any incentive were needed to constant



and unwearied devotion to the interests of our State, you have furnished it to me by the assurances which your letter contains. I accept gratefully the suggestion you make that I should remain here at my post of duty for the present. Before the session of your assembly shall have adjourned, however, I shall, unless prevented, have an opportunity at Denver of meeting you and thanking you each in person.

Existing conditions here do not seem favorable for the immediate remonetization of silver, and I fear there is little to be hoped for during the continuance of the term of the present Chief Executive. There is a growing conviction, however, throughout the world that prosperity will not return until silver is again restored to its place as a money metal. It is my firm conviction that this result will be accomplished by legislation and I believe it will be accomplished soon. In assisting to secure this result I shall devote the years which I may spend in public service. There is no question in the whole world so important, and to have assisted, even in some small way, in its accomplishment is all the career I seek.

Again thanking you for your letter, I am yours faithfully,

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

The Republican Legislative caucus was held on the night of the first of January, 1895. The two Houses first met separately, but the House caucus scarcely had been called to order when a member proposed that the Republican Senators should be invited to sit with them and thus, as he said, definitely settle the Senatorial question. Half an hour later the Senators came in and Senator Felker, of Arapahoe, was called to the chair. A number of speeches were made, all of which were complimentary to Mr. Wolcott. These were followed by a motion to indorse that gentleman for the Senate and it was carried by a rising and unanimous vote. No other name was mentioned in the caucus. Senator Felker was authorized to notify Mr. Wolcott, and he immediately forwarded the following telegram:

DENVER, COLO.,  
January 1, 1895.

TO SENATOR E. O. WOLCOTT,  
Washington, D. C.:

The Republican members of the Tenth General Assembly in joint caucus assembled send you New Year's greetings. They



have by a rising vote, just nominated you United States Senator to succeed yourself, and each and every member wishes his name appended to this telegram.

(Signed) W. B. FELKER, *Chairman*.

When two weeks later the two Houses were called upon to vote for Senator, Mr. Wolcott was given the solid Republican vote, but as he did not receive a majority in each House separately, it became necessary for the joint assembly to vote on the subject of his successorship at the next day's meeting. He then received the full party vote of the two Houses and was declared duly elected as his own successor. In this as in Mr. Wolcott's first election, the speech-making was confined to one House, but in this instance the speeches were made in the House and not in the Senate, reversing the previous order.

The speech nominating Mr. Wolcott in the House of Representatives was delivered by Representative Sopris, of Las Animas County, who eulogized the subject of his remarks in strong terms. He said in part:

Mr. Wolcott has grown up with this new empire, which was known to him in his school-days as the great American desert. He now boasts in eloquent language of the siren advantages of Colorado. His name and fame, his life and his deeds, are among the choicest gifts to this richly endowed young commonwealth, and a precious legacy for the example and inspiration of coming generations. But the thing which most engages us to-day is not the richness of his genius nor the eloquence which has no parallel in the Senate of the United States; not even the mighty influence of his work, but the sublime reality for which he lives, with a vision single and true and the witness he gives to it by the greatness and the strength and the purity of his devotion to "Sixteen to One."

Mr. Sopris took occasion in the course of his remarks to call attention to the fact that for the first time in Colorado the women were taking part in the election of a United States Senator. "Colorado recognizes their equal rights in every political opportunity which the State gives to man," he said, "and on this day the tender youth and delicate womanhood are gathered here to meet their new requirements."

Closing, he said :

Six years ago the young men of Colorado gathered *en masse* and declared that they would send Edward O. Wolcott to the United States Senate. They did it. Have they regretted the act? No; a thousand times, no! To-day, Mr. Speaker, let me tell you that the same sentiment prevails not only among the pioneers and the young bloods but also at the hearth-stones and in the homes of the mothers and the wives and the sisters of Colorado.

In the House forty-one votes were cast for Mr. Wolcott and twenty-three for Hon. Lafe Pence, the Fusion representative from the First District. In the Senate Mr. Wolcott received sixteen votes; Hon. Thomas M. Patterson sixteen, and Hon. Charles S. Thomas two.

When on the next day the two Houses met jointly, Mr. Wolcott received fifty-nine votes, Mr. Pence thirty-six, and Mr. Thomas three. Before the vote was taken, there were some speeches eulogistic of all the candidates. The principal address on this occasion in behalf of Mr. Wolcott was made by Senator Charles Hartzell, of Denver, who, after referring to Mr. Wolcott's election in 1889, said :

How has he kept the trust? Let us see. We have seen the reins of government in the hands of an Administration absolutely opposed to the interests of Colorado. We have seen our beautiful mountain towns laid low by the power of an Executive controlling a servile majority. But the silver Senators, though few in numbers, were a host in patriotism, in devotion to right and justice, and by their masterly parliamentary generalship warded off the evil day of the Sherman Repeal for a long time. Like the Spartans at the pass of Thermopylæ, like Horatius at the bridge, stood our little band of Spartan silver Senators. Edward O. Wolcott has served us long and faithfully. We would dishonor ourselves by dishonoring him. We all remember how he fought for the Plumed Knight, the friend of silver, at Minneapolis. We all know how long and well and nobly he has battled for silver and for Colorado. Mr. President, it gives me the greatest pleasure of my life to place in nomination the name of Edward O. Wolcott.

Seconding speeches were made by a large number of Senators and Representatives, including two ladies. The first

of the lady speakers was Mrs. Klock, and the other, Mrs. Holly. Mrs. Holly called attention to the fact that Mr. Wolcott had been a friend to female suffrage. Declaring him to be of international reputation and "a self-respecting and upright gentleman," she exclaimed, "Let us take no backward step! Up, up with the oriflamme of our Bayard, *sans peur et sans reproche*, and bestow once more the well-deserved honor of the nomination to the Senate on Edward O. Wolcott!"

Commenting upon the election on the day after it took place, the *Rocky Mountain News*, still under the management of Thomas M. Patterson, who was destined six years afterward to be Mr. Wolcott's successor in the Senate, said:

"Senator Wolcott is a bright and brainy man. He has never professed to be faultless. He is bold and daring in politics, finance, and all the games of life—a regular Dick Turpin in his own particular lines. Since a Republican had to be returned, no one should complain because the party selected its best representative member."

Senator Wolcott was the author of the bill providing for the establishment of a coinage mint at Denver, and the bill passed the Senate the day of his second election to the Senate. The success of the measure was generally accepted as a sufficient excuse for his absence, pleased as his friends would have been to have him with them. The bill carried an appropriation of \$500,000 for the building. The measure afterward passed the House and became a law, and the mint is now one of the institutions of which the entire State is proud.

Apropos of Mr. Wolcott's two Senatorial contests former Governor Charles S. Thomas of Colorado has supplied the following, valuable alike as a contribution to the political history of the State and as a testimonial to Mr. Wolcott's character and ability:

I was Chairman of the Democratic State Committee in 1888, that being the occasion of his first Senatorial campaign. This brought me in constant touch with his work, his friends, and his enemies. He made an aggressive and overwhelming campaign, dominated and silenced the enemies within his own party

by the sheer force of intellectual power, and established himself as the absolute master of his organization long before the day of election. I perceived early in the campaign that he could be beaten only by the success of the Democratic party, and instructed the Democratic speakers everywhere to take that position. The election was all one way and the Legislature was Republican by an unusual majority. Shortly after the campaign closed the late Governor Tabor came to see me, and asserted his ability to defeat Senator Wolcott provided he could secure the votes of the small Democratic minority. He asked me to do what I could to secure them in his behalf. I assured him that he had been totally misinformed as to the attitude of Senators and Representatives elect, and nothing but his death could prevent Senator Wolcott's election; that the Democratic members would under no circumstances take part in the nomination of a Republican Senator, and reminded him that we had declared the issue before the people to be either Wolcott or a Democrat, and the people having decided for Wolcott we would not interfere, even though by such interference Wolcott should be defeated, unless a sufficient number of Republicans could be induced to unite with the Democrats in the selection of a candidate of their own party to the position. Governor Tabor was much displeased at my frankness, but I think the result of the ensuing caucus must have convinced him that I was right.

Senator Wolcott was returned for a second term in 1895. During the early part of the preceding year the factional differences in his own party threatened to retire him from public life. The renomination of Governor Waite, however, compelled the factions in that party to forget their differences for the time being if they would defeat Governor Waite's candidacy for re-election.

From the time that he entered upon his duties in the Senate, March 4, 1889, until he surrendered the office twelve years later, Mr. Wolcott was one of the most alert members of that body. He participated freely in the shaping of legislation both in committee and on the floor of the Senate. He also spoke on most important questions under consideration, adding materially to his reputation as an orator and man of affairs. In order, however, that the continuity of the narrative of his active life may not be interrupted, the record of his Senatorial career is presented elsewhere. For the

same reason a similar course is followed with reference to his official dealing with the silver question, to which he gave much attention both in the Senate and as a member and as chairman of the International Monetary Commission of 1897. The commission was established in the hope of bringing about an agreement among the leading nations for a broader recognition of silver as a money metal, and in the furtherance of this purpose Mr. Wolcott spent considerable time in Europe.



'Ninety-Six and After



## 'NINETY-SIX AND AFTER

PREVIOUS to the close of his second term in the Senate, Mr. Wolcott was uniformly triumphant in his campaigns. He had been defeated in battles for others, but never in a contest in his own behalf. From that time he was as uniformly unsuccessful. In 1901 he was a candidate to succeed himself, and in 1903 to succeed Senator Teller, but without success on either occasion. He never regained his lost official footing; but his failure was due to generally adverse conditions, and not to any diminution of force in himself, and had his life been spared he undoubtedly would have resumed his seat in the Senate. When he left Denver in 1904 his leadership was re-established and the way was open for his election in 1907. To adopt a phrase not in use in his time, he would have "come back." Indeed, he had "come back."

To the Eastern reader it will seem strange, but it nevertheless is true, that Mr. Wolcott's political reverses were due to silver—to the opinion in Colorado that he was not sufficiently radical in his advocacy of the coinage of that metal. Notwithstanding the Populist Governor Waite had failed of re-election, there still lingered in the minds of the people much of the dissatisfaction which had made possible his selection in the first instance. The people of Colorado were silverites if not Populists, and the silver sentiment was so strong that it accepted none but the most direct and the most pronounced avowal. Favorable results were of course sought, but profession was demanded regardless of the possibility of accomplishment. The cry was for "the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1, regardless of any other nation," and the public man must subscribe to this doctrine even though attainment of the result seemed quite out of the question.

Mr. Wolcott was a practical man. If a proposition did not appeal to him he did not accept it. After the repeal of the Sherman Purchasing Law, he came gradually to the conclusion that no party likely to be in power would contend for free silver coinage in this country alone; and, advocating free coinage because he accepted the doctrine as a principle and not merely for the promotion of his political prospects, he decided to exercise his influence in favor of a policy which looked to the co-operation of the leading commercial powers as the only means that would re-establish the double monetary standard.

Despite the position of the St. Louis convention in favor of the gold standard and against silver except under international agreement, Mr. Wolcott adhered to the Republican party. He did not believe that free silver coinage was possible of achievement through either the Democratic or the Populist party. His State refused to concur with him in that position, and while he espoused the cause of Major McKinley, the State became so generally favorable to Mr. Bryan that in the election in November the Nebraska candidate received eighty-five per cent. of its vote.

The years that followed were trying years for Mr. Wolcott. Intensely Republican in politics and proud of his State, he felt extremely anxious to have it again recorded in the Republican column. It cannot in truth be said that he was inordinately fond of office-holding; but there were features connected with the Senatorship which appealed to him, and there can be no doubt that he would have been gratified to continue the work for which he had proved to be so admirably adapted. He accordingly made every effort to insure his re-election, when in 1901 his second term expired, and again when in 1903 Senator Teller's term came to an end. It is probable that but for his death he would have stood for election again in 1907, but when he left Colorado for the last time, in 1904, he had not so decided beyond recall. While, therefore, it may be said that from the time of his second election in 1895 until the time of his death in 1905 he was engaged in a fruitless struggle to hold or regain his place, the struggle was not in his own interest. His personal fortunes were

the subject of least concern to himself. His effort was for party rather than for self, and for principles which he held dearer than personal success. Believing his position to be correct, and firmly convinced that the welfare of the State would be promoted by the maintenance of that position, he exerted himself to that end, sparing neither time nor fortune. He maintained a position of undisputed leadership until 1902, when an opposing faction proved strong enough to divide the party and thus prevent his then probable triumph. The leadership was, however, only temporarily and only partially lost, and was rapidly regained as soon as he came to fully understand the situation and "get himself together."

#### THE FIGHT OF 1896

Scarcely had Mr. Wolcott taken his seat for the second term when symptoms of the approaching storm became discernible. Up to the time of his last election he had given his earnest adherence to every measure that had been proposed in the interest of silver, but the white metal had not become the subject of such sharp party division as it then was. Indeed, as late as 1892 the Republican party in national assembly had administered in its platform a sharp rebuke to the Democratic party for its "betrayal of silver," and the Colorado Senator was justified in his contention that his party was as much a silver party as was any other party. He had stood side by side with the most pronounced silver advocates in the advocacy of silver, and, while he had begun to investigate the possibilities for an international movement, he had maintained consistently that, if only it would undertake to do so, this country alone could maintain the parity of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Later he came to have doubts on the point; and he reached the conclusion that, whatever the country's capabilities in this respect, the commercial and financial interests of the country would not permit the experiment to be tried. He was then beginning to ask himself whether, in view of these adverse conditions, it was worth while to continue the struggle for independent action, so that even before the St. Louis con-



vention had actually taken its position he had decided upon his course, and, having reached a conclusion, after his usual frank manner, he lost no time in informing his constituents where he stood.

The campaign of 1896 was the first in which he was called upon to engage after his election in 1895, and that was the most memorable of all his campaigns. He had permitted his friends to use his name as a candidate for the position of delegate to the National Convention, which was to be held in St. Louis in June of that year. Senator Teller also was a candidate, but they were not working so harmoniously together in a political way as they did when, in 1892, both were sent to Minneapolis to oppose Harrison's renomination. Previous to the convention of 1896 the senior Senator took the position that there must be a straightforward declaration for silver by the national platform with the implied threat of a bolt if this demand was not conceded. Mr. Wolcott did not go to such length. For months before the State convention, telegrams and letters urging him to stand with Teller poured in upon him in great profusion.

That Mr. Wolcott's mental struggle was severe we may well imagine. He had said on more than one occasion that if the time ever came when he should have to decide between his party and silver he would cast his fortunes with the cause of the white metal. He realized the strength of the silver sentiment in his own State, and he knew that in all human probability his determination to remain with his party, in view of the prospect that it would take a position antagonistic to free coinage, would mean his own political downfall. He sympathized deeply with his people. But he also loved his party. Aside from silver its principles were his principles. Seeing no way of accomplishing anything for the favored metal through any other party, whatsoever its declarations might be, he was deeply puzzled. In this period of perplexity he said very little to any one. His manner was reserved, and it was evident that he was undergoing a strain. Yet it is doubtful whether he ever hesitated. It is quite improbable that at any time he really felt inclined to desert his party. He, however, did deeply regret the necessity of breaking with old friends.

As for his previous utterances, they gave him little concern. They never had been unconditional and it already was apparent that there would be no situation that would make them binding. Even then he was ready to say, as he did say afterward, that, if the advocacy of independent silver coinage meant consorting with the impractical Populists, who had no chance of national success, and whose other demands were, in his view, beyond reason, he would not consider himself bound by previous declarations. "When I discovered that, to be for silver, I must be for so many things that I could not stand for under any circumstances, I simply would n't stay in the game," he said many times afterward in explaining his position in '96. Finding Bryan standing on and accepting the Populist platform, he chose to regard him as a Populist. He did not believe that the Democrats would, or that the Populists could, insure free silver. That was the conclusion to which he had come when he wrote the following letter more than two weeks in advance of the State convention for the selection of delegates:

WASHINGTON, April 28, 1896.

IRVING W. HOWBERT, Chairman

Republican State Committee of Colorado:

MY DEAR SIR: During the past few weeks I have received many letters from Colorado friends on the subject of the coming National Republican Convention, many of them asking me if I desired to go as a delegate. To avoid any possible misconception as to my position, I write this letter to you as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee.

I prefer not to go to St. Louis as a delegate, and have carefully avoided the slightest indication to anybody of any sort of wish to be present at the convention in that capacity. I have, however, an opinion on the subject of our representation at the convention which it seems proper that I should express to you.

When the Republican State Convention meets in Colorado, May 14th, it may decline to be represented at St. Louis or it may select delegates. If the latter, the duty of the delegation, in my opinion, will be to attend the convention, make the best fight possible for bimetallism in the Committee on Resolutions and on the floor of the convention, if there shall be opportunity for discussion before the whole convention, and, after having insisted by every proper method upon the duty of the convention

to declare in favor of the restoration of silver as a measure of value equally with gold, to accept the will of the majority of the convention, and endeavor to secure the nomination of the candidate most friendly to Western interests.

There is no sacrifice I would not make to secure the re-monetization of silver, not because Colorado is a producer of silver, but because, in my opinion, prosperity will never return to us until bimetallism at the former ratio is re-established, and because the appreciating value of gold and the shrinking of values which necessarily follow this appreciation, must bring only disaster and poverty and suffering to all the people of this country who are not lenders of money.

To secure the unlimited coinage of silver I would count party ties as nothing. At this moment, however, the situation which confronts us is this: Both of the two great parties are apparently opposed to free coinage by the United States. The Populist party favors free coinage, but only as a means to secure more currency and as a stepping-stone to unlimited paper money, and it unites with its free-coinage advocacy socialistic and paternalistic doctrines which are dangerous in tendency and which would be, if adopted, destructive of free institutions. I know of no fourth party as yet entitled to our confidence and support, although the wisdom of leaders whose character and abilities we trust may find some common ground upon which bimetallists, untainted with Populism, may stand.

Under these circumstances and conditions, therefore, I desire to be counted as a Republican, proud of the traditions of my party, glorying in its achievements, and still hopeful that the great party, which has heretofore stood for the masses against the classes, may on this great economic question yet range itself on the side of humanity and of civilization.

If either one of the two great parties shall declare in favor of the unlimited coinage of silver at our mints, existing political conditions in Colorado will undergo a sweeping change, and in this letter I speak only of the situation as it is to-day.

There is in my opinion one event which might involve our country in worse disaster than gold monometallism, and only one, and that would be the triumph of Populism. Colorado suffered under the degradation and blight of Populist rule for two years. I believe it the duty of every good citizen to stand up and fight in the open against a repetition of that ruinous experiment.

One thing further: Our representation is small at best. To

have the slightest weight it should, if any delegation is sent, be practically unanimous in sentiment and expression. The occasion is not one where personal ambitions or desire for patronage should influence selection. I have no doubt that the Republicans of Colorado will select delegates to the National Convention who are of a united and friendly spirit, animated by a common and harmonious purpose, and desirous only of securing the greatest consideration for the interests of our Commonwealth.

It has seemed to me fitting and proper that the members of that party, whose commission I hold, should know before the meeting of the State convention my views as to our duty in respect to the National convention at St. Louis.

This is no time for differences among our own people. I have faith and confidence that the way will be made clear for good citizens in Colorado to cast their ballots this fall without sacrificing their honor or their convictions.

Yours truly,

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

The letter was received with expressions of delight by the press of the Eastern cities, but in Colorado the sentiment was of a very different character. At home its author was generally denounced as a traitor to the silver cause. He was cartooned and caricatured by every daily paper in Denver. The *Washington Post*, conservative and non-partisan, found only words of praise for the letter and its author. After quoting liberally from the document, that paper said:

Brave words, wise and patriotic words! Spoken, too, under circumstances that make them dangerous to the speaker's personal aspirations—at a time when his political fortunes may be the price of his courage and his candor. But Senator Wolcott has spoken them, nevertheless, and honest and courageous men of every party will applaud him for them. Here, at least, is one who holds his country's good above all other things, and who does not hesitate to stake his prospects of political promotion on the valiant discharge of honorable duty. All hail!

Two weeks later Senator Teller wired Chairman Howbert, saying that he could not consent to be a delegate to St. Louis "unless silver is declared the paramount issue."



Thus the two Senators confronted each other, Teller demanding a silver platform, and Wolcott, while contending for silver, expressing himself as willing to accept the decision of the majority of the St. Louis Convention, whatsoever its attitude toward silver. Clearly, after eight years of most harmonious relations in the Senate, they had reached the parting of the ways.

They were directly and distinctly opposed one to the other. If one was elected the other would not be. It was the first time they ever had been candidates for any place on different platforms, and the sensation must have been novel to both. Yet both were so thoroughly in earnest that it is doubtful whether either stopped long to think over their mutual opposition. And it is pleasant to recall that, bitter as was the strife and diametrically opposed as they were to each other politically for the next few years, they did not permit themselves to be personally estranged. There never was a time when they did not greet each other cordially nor when each did not speak of the other in terms of respect and affection. There never was occasion for any other attitude, for both were acting on conviction. Both had been sincere silver men, but in a different way. With Teller bimetallism was almost a religion. It was paramount to all other questions, and he had long been cooling toward his party on account of it. He was willing to follow wherever silver seemed to lead and to accompany any who might promise help. The party tie was stronger with Wolcott. He could not forsake Republicanism for any party's promise; he wanted assurance that the promise would and could be redeemed.

The convention for the selection of delegates to St. Louis was held at Pueblo, May 14th, and it was a Teller convention from start to finish. All three of the State's representatives in Congress, Senators Teller and Wolcott and Representative Townsend, were endorsed in general terms in the platform, but there was a special word of approval for the attitude of Mr. Teller. He alone of the delegation was named as a delegate to the convention, and all the other delegates were instructed to "accept him as their leader and abide by his decision." Bimetallism was declared "for the



time being the paramount issue," even Protection being given a second place.

Mr. Wolcott had foreseen this result, and he withdrew his name as a candidate before the naming of delegates was reached in the order of proceeding. His decision was announced in a telegram to J. F. Saunders, Colorado member of the National Republican Committee, from New York under date of May 11th, which read:

I am very grateful to all my good friends in Colorado for their unsolicited desire to send me to the National Convention and for their kindness to me in the past. I understand there is opposition to electing me as a delegate. I am too good a Republican to wish to create any division in my party in Colorado and am too much concerned for the success of bimetallism and the great principles of the Republican party to do so under any circumstances. I therefore decline to permit my name to be considered by the convention in electing delegates.

The selection of a delegation in complete accord with the views of Senator Teller; the declaration of the St. Louis Convention for the gold standard, with a leaning toward international bimetallism; the withdrawal from that convention of the Colorado delegation together with about twenty other Western delegates because of that declaration, and the subsequent endorsement of the candidacy of Mr. Bryan for the Presidency—these are matters of history, and have no place here except for the purpose of showing what Mr. Wolcott had to contend with.

Mr. Wolcott declined to endorse the bolt, and lost little time in announcing his decision to support the St. Louis ticket with Major William McKinley of Ohio at its head.

The campaign which followed was quite one-sided in Colorado, but not as completely so as at first it promised to be. A Silver Republican party was organized to hold the Republicans, and that party fused with the Democrats and the Populists in an electoral ticket. For a few days it looked as if Mr. Wolcott would have to stand practically alone in his advocacy of McKinley's election. It was not popular to avow one's self a straight Republican, and the staunchest of partisans hesitated to do so. Gradually they came out from

under cover, however, and forthwith the junior Senator began to receive letters from all parts of the State expressing admiration for his courageous stand, and assuring him of support in case he would undertake to lead the fight.

Wolcott was recognized everywhere as the mainstay of the McKinley cause in Colorado, and he was made the object of the most general and most persistent attack from all portions of the State. Not only was he censured bitterly by the press, but by public speakers and private citizens. He received hundreds of letters demanding his resignation from the Senate. He was burned in effigy and many threats of personal injury were conveyed to him. Because of his adherence to his party despite its attitude toward silver, he was declared a "gold-bug," while he was dubbed "Cousin Ed" on account of his friendship for England as evinced in his Venezuelan speech. He was denounced in public meetings as a traitor. One assemblage in Creede adopted a resolution declaring that, "compared with E. O. Wolcott Benedict Arnold was a patriot and Judas Iscariot a saint."

At first much disturbed, Mr. Wolcott tarried in the East until after the national convention had been held. When he arrived in Denver, he betook himself to his country residence at Wolhurst, and there remained for several days, seeing only his most intimate political friends. His conversation with them indicated a dejected state of mind. He seemed to have conceived the idea that the entire State had fallen away from him and that there was not left a sufficient number to render it worth while even to attempt to maintain the Republican organization.

His steadfast political supporters and especial personal followers were in a better state of mind. From the first they maintained that a sufficient number to form a respectable organization could be rallied, and they already had begun to take steps to ascertain the standing of the Republican State Central Committee with a view to using that if possible as a nucleus for an organization. Practical politicians that they were, they realized the great importance of having the party machinery behind them, and they argued that if the committee as such could be held in line the result would be greatly in their favor. With this end in view, they visited

the committeemen in various parts of the State, and toward the time of its meeting were enabled to announce to Mr. Wolcott that the committee would not go over to Mr. Bryan and that it would declare in favor of its maintenance on Republican lines. This statement was at first received by him as incredible, and he refused to accept it until actual demonstration of the fact was made.

"You will have to show me," he told them.

"Very well; we will show you," they responded. And they did.

When the committee came together prior to the holding of the conventions for the nomination of State officers, the paramount question was whether the organization should be turned over to Bryan. Many members advocated that course, but the work of the regulars was made evident soon after the body was called to order. The Bryan propagandists were stoutly antagonized, and at last the regulars won, 46 to 34.

The size of the majority was as unexpected to Mr. Wolcott as it was to the opposition. He realized, of course, that it did not represent the sentiment of the State at large, but he appreciated that the result would give him an official standing that he could not have had if the vote had gone the other way. With the committee behind him he could reorganize the party, and he felt sure that in time it would regain its prestige. As his followers tell the story he took on new life; his manner changed; he determined that there should be a State convention, a Republican State ticket, and Presidential electors, and that a campaign should be made. "Now," he said, "we have something to fight for. Engage headquarters and we will go to work to make the best showing we can." Leaving Wolhurst, he moved into Denver, and from that time forward entered heart and soul into the campaign. He worked day and night and never was his wonderful organizing talent displayed more effectively. Of course the odds were tremendously against him. He was hooted and jeered and threatened in many places, but he persevered unto the end.

In the interest of accuracy it should be stated that afterward the regularity of the meeting of the committee was

challenged by the silver wing of the party on account of numerous proxies, and the vote reversed. But the first ballot had given Mr. Wolcott the status he sought, and it proved the beginning point from which he went to work to rebuild the party—a work in which he labored patiently and diligently and, in the end, successfully. It proved a tedious process, but he never tired, and no sacrifice was too great for him.

#### ADDRESS TO VOTERS

He began his campaign by issuing an address to the voters of the State, which, bearing date of August 1st, filled two long columns in the Denver papers, and fairly bristled with the terse words and tense sentences which, when thoroughly aroused by a situation, he could command as few other men could. In this address he took the position that while silver was the vital question there was no chance for that metal in the minority Democratic party or in the hopelessly befuddled Populistic party. Declaring that Mr. Bryan had been nominated on a Democratic platform, “the financial portion of which was everything that could be desired and the rest of it everything that is undesirable and hostile to the interests of our country,” he said: “I decline to stand upon this platform and vote for this candidate even with the alluring free-coinage plank; I cannot do it.” He cogently rehearsed his support of the policy of Protection, avowed his respect for the Supreme Court, which had been criticised by the Democratic platform, and asserted his general interest in the maintenance of law and order, which he said would be subverted under the Bryan doctrine. Declaring then his intention to stand with his party regardless of the silver question, he said: “My loyalty to the party which has honored me is entirely consistent with my loyalty to the highest and best interests of the State I represent in the Senate of the United States, and I know no reason why I should abandon my party or desert its colors.” The document is so much a part of the history of the time that it is given entire:

#### TO THE VOTERS OF THE STATE OF COLORADO:

The recent extraordinary political manifestations, and sweep-



ing changes of party affiliations seem to render it fitting and desirable that I should publicly state my position in relation to the approaching Presidential election. The people of Colorado are entitled to know at such a juncture as this the views of their representatives at Washington.

Among the greatest privileges we enjoy under republican institutions are freedom of conscience and freedom of speech, and if I should hesitate on this, or on any other proper occasion, to declare my belief and my convictions on any public question, I should despise myself even more than I despise those incendiary newspapers and hysterical individuals who assume that threats and vituperation can choke the utterances of any self-respecting citizen in Colorado who has an opinion to express or a principle to declare.

The silver question is most vital. Until silver is restored to its place as a money metal at the former parity, there can be no prosperity either in this country or in the gold-using countries of Europe. Year by year the value of gold increases, and the value of agricultural products, measured in gold, declines. International bimetallism at the former ratio would, of course, be the most desirable method of restoring silver as a money metal, because the disturbance of values which might follow the inauguration of free coinage by the United States alone would be avoided, and the question as to the exportation or hoarding of gold would be eliminated. In my opinion, however, the United States alone could, under wise and conservative guidance—such guidance as should deserve and receive the confidence of all classes of our people—open its mints to the unlimited coinage of silver and successfully maintain that metal at a parity with gold, at the ratio of 16 to 1, independently of the other nations of the world. During the seven years of my public service in the Senate I have always held this view; my vote on all questions affecting the currency has been identical with that of the other Senators usually known as silver Senators; and while my utterances on the silver question may not have been as frequent or as long as those of others whose views I share, nevertheless my record on this subject is clear and consistent, and the views I hold I expect always to maintain.

The financial plank of the national Republican platform is far from satisfactory, and those members of the party who believe as I believe will struggle earnestly and hopefully for the full and complete recognition and adoption by the Republican party of the humane principle of bimetallism; animated by the



belief that the party which on every other great question involving human freedom and the welfare of mankind has stood for all that was uplifting and ennobling, will yet realize that a continuance of the gold standard means only further impoverishment and suffering. The platform contains, however, a most important statement, pledging the party to the furtherance of bimetallism by international agreement. To the good faith of this pledge, the history of the party on other questions requires the fullest credence; the overshadowing importance of the silver question makes it certain to my mind that every effort will be earnestly made by the Republican party to secure to this country the blessings of bimetallism, and it is my sincere conviction that silver will again be restored to its place as a money metal, at the old ratio and that, when this restoration comes, it will be accomplished through the action and efforts of the Republican party.

Except on the money question, no man in Colorado who believes in the protection of American labor and American products and American industries, and who loves his country, can read the platform without hearty approval; and no man doubts that Major McKinley will bring to his high office every quality needed by a President of this great people.

Mr. Bryan has been nominated for the Presidency on three separate platforms, by the Democratic party, the Populist party, and the Silver party. The last-named party—the Silver party—does not deserve serious consideration. Most of its members were present at its recent convention in St. Louis, and the newspapers report the convention hall as being less than half full.

The Democratic party nominated Mr. Bryan upon a platform, the financial portion of which was everything that could be desired, and the rest of it everything that is, in my opinion, undesirable and hostile to the interests of our country.

It declares in terms against any tariff except for revenue, and denounces the tariff bills enacted during the last Republican administration.

It rebukes the Supreme Court of the United States.

It declares against any changes of our tariff laws until the money question is settled, except such as are necessary to make good the deficit caused by the decision of the Supreme Court in the income-tax cases; and this declaration is made in the face of the fact that the revenues of this country are grossly insufficient to meet its necessary expenses, and that the deficit

is many millions more than any estimated revenue from the proposed income tax.

It denounces the profligate waste and lavish appropriation of recent Republican Congresses. Both the Colorado Senators have been members of these "recent Republican Congresses," and have voted for most of the appropriations.

Above all, the platform denounces the interference of Federal authorities in local affairs. This plank was openly stated to be an attack upon the Government for sending Federal troops to preserve life and property during the recent railway strike in Chicago

This, fellow-citizens, is the platform which was adopted unanimously by that portion of the Democratic party which nominated Mr. Bryan, one of the platforms upon which he stands, a platform which those who vote for him must practically indorse. I decline to stand upon this platform and vote for this candidate, even with the alluring free-coinage plank. I cannot do it. I am a believer in protection and shall not abandon that belief. The Supreme Court of the United States is a pure and able tribunal, the highest judicial tribunal in the world; I will not help smirch it. The Government must be enabled to pay its running expenses, and whenever my vote is needed for that purpose and I fail to vote it supplies to keep it alive, I shall consider that I violate my oath as Senator. The "recent Republican Congresses" have been neither wasteful nor extravagant, and I must decline to certify to a statement I know to be untrue. When, some months ago, the great railway strike at Chicago grew beyond control, and innocent lives were being sacrificed and millions of dollars' worth of property was being destroyed by lawless men; when the sheriff was powerless and the governor failed to perform his duty, the President of the United States, with Federal troops, under sanction of law, saved further bloodshed and destruction and thereby deserved the thanks of every man who values our liberties and believes that the rights guaranteed us by the Constitution ought to be sacredly guarded against every form of lawlessness.

The recent travesty at St. Louis, the Populist convention, has but illustrated the elements which naturally gravitate toward the candidacy of Mr. Bryan. Every cranky quirk, every incongruous and ludicrous and misshapen idea which the wheels in the brains of men could evolve, buzzed and whirled through days of talk, but the net result was Bryan. Government ownership of railroad, telegraph, and telephone lines, initiative and referen-

dum, silver money and more money had their advocates, and at the end, on assurance that all who voted for Bryan would be equally recognized, Mr. Bryan was almost the unanimous choice of the convention.

For four years in Colorado we have been fighting Populism and Populists; that party is as unfit now as it has ever been to control the welfare of this people. The party stands to-day just where it has always stood. I am not yet willing to march under its banner.

Because, therefore, I believe that free coinage will come through the efforts of the Republican party, and because the Democratic and Populist platforms, except on the money question, are odious and hostile to the welfare of our country, I shall not cast my vote for Mr. Bryan.

Seven years ago I was elected to the Senate by the Republican votes of the General Assembly, and against the opposition of every Democrat in the two houses. My re-election met the united opposition of every Democrat and every Populist member of the General Assembly. I hold my commission from the Republican party. Many of its members, including some of its leaders, in the exercise of their judgment, have announced their intention of leaving the party. I shall stay. My loyalty to the party which has honored me is entirely consistent with my loyalty to the highest and best interests of the State I represent in the Senate of the United States, and I know no reason why I should abandon my party or desert its colors.

It is to me a source of the deepest regret that my position is at variance with that of many of the former members of the Republican party—among them many who have honored me with their personal friendship. I trust that time and further reflection and the course of events will bring us together again in unity of agreement.

But whatever may result, my path of duty is plain. My one aspiration is for the welfare of the State in which I have lived for more than a quarter of a century—all the years of my manhood. Every interest I have is here, and Colorado will be my home until I am buried in its soil. The differences which exist are not as to the result we seek, but as to the best method of reaching that result.

There is to my mind no reason why it was not as much our duty to vote for Weaver four years ago as for Bryan to-day. The Omaha platform declared for free coinage and was no more

objectionable than the Chicago platform; and Bryan is vouched for by leading Populists as being "as good a Populist as lives." The Populists have not changed in the past four years. It is we who are expected to join their aggregation. Others may find it wise or expedient, but I won't do it. If ever the course of events should make it possible for me to speak from the same platform as Tillman or Waite or Ignatius Donnelly, in advocacy of the same Presidential candidate, I should know there must be something wrong with me. What we need in Colorado is less hysterics and more common-sense. We have glorious resources, yet in the infancy of their development; we are suffering from the imposition of a mistaken financial policy, which it is our natural and proper desire to see overthrown as speedily as possible. We are one of forty-six States in the Union, each free and sovereign. Within our borders live about one one-hundred-and-fiftieth of the people of the United States. We live in a Republic where the majority rules. The vast majority of the people of the United States are honest and of high average intelligence, and devoted to the perpetuity of free institutions. Our great desire is to induce a majority of the people of the United States to believe as we believe. The way to the accomplishment of this result is not by vituperation and abuse.

The press of the country, East as well as West, is largely responsible for the bitter sectional feeling now sought to be invoked. It is for us who do not own or control newspapers, and are not in the business of throwing mud, to remember that of the millions of people who will cast their ballots this fall, nearly all are as patriotic as we are, and, with us, equally desirous that this Republic shall live and not die. The people of the East are our brothers; we sprang from the same loins; we have a common country, a common faith, and the same dear flag. This gospel of hate, which is now being preached, should find no followers among sane men, no welcome among good citizens.

We who believe in the free coinage of gold and silver at our mints, at the ratio heretofore existing, will secure the adoption of our views when we are able to induce the majority of our fellow-citizens to share our belief; when people who do not now agree with us shall be led to agree with us, not alone because of our arguments on finance, but because our views on other great questions entitle us to public confidence and respect. Free coinage will never come, in my opinion, out of the jumble



and folly of the Chicago platform, nor will it be heralded by the cap and bells of Populism.

EDWARD OLIVER WOLCOTT.

DENVER, August 1, 1896.

#### THE CAMPAIGN

The convention for the nomination of candidates for the State offices was not held until the last day of September, and it took place at Colorado Springs, the only city in the State where straight Republicanism could hope to receive any toleration. The convention was well attended, but its members were so united in support of the junior Senator that the work was speedily despatched. It was an orderly, but determined, body of men, who knew what they wanted to do and who lost no time in carrying their plans into practice. Speaking of the character of the members of the convention, the *Colorado Springs Gazette*, the only Republican paper of any importance in the State which had remained loyal, said:

"It was the nicest and biggest body of men that has ever assembled here for convention purposes. There were none of the usual scenes of drinking and carousing that usually accompany political gatherings, and this was a fact particularly commented on by the visitors."

Judge George W. Allen, a State district judge in Denver, was named for Governor, and a full ticket was placed in the field.

General Hamill was chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, and the platform reported by him and adopted by the convention declared the people of Colorado "irrespective of party" to be favorable to the free coinage of silver; expressed regret at the position on the subject taken by the national party at St. Louis, and then voiced the confidence that "the remonetization of silver, so essential to the prosperity of this and of all other civilized countries, will be accomplished through the efforts and under the direction of the Republican party of this country, and through no other channel." Except upon the silver question, the convention heartily and cordially endorsed the platform of the party adopted at St. Louis. Senator Wolcott was sustained in the following plank:



“ We heartily commend and endorse the noble and fearless position taken by the Honorable E. O. Wolcott in his splendid efforts in the interest of Americanism, Republicanism, the people of the State of Colorado, and for the preservation of the Republican party in Colorado from disintegration.”

Mr. Wolcott was both temporary chairman and permanent chairman of the convention. In his speech assuming the first position he reviewed the issues of the campaign thoroughly, and took occasion to refer to a former statement that he would join any other great party that would declare for free silver. He confessed to that promise, and said in explanation :

There are two things I must offer in explanation: In the first place, I did not dream that they were going to join hands with Populists and give us the anarchistic platform. Nor did I ever dream that the change would make me stand on the same platform with Governor Waite and General Coxey, and when I really came to face the possibility of leaving the dear old party, I would n't play;—that's all. I walked up to the trough, but I could n't drink.

Speaking of Mr. Wolcott's speech before the convention, the *Gazette* said :

It was the most effective speech ever delivered in the State of Colorado.

It was red hot all the way through to the end, and the end was the finest flight of oratory founded on genuine patriotic feeling that the present writer ever heard. Before he reached the peroration, the audience had been almost uproarious in its applause of the many telling shots fired into the enemy's camp. After the first sentence, a death-like stillness came over the house—men and women fairly held their breath as they hung upon the orator's lips, and many an eye was moist. Then signs of a desire to express the pent-up feeling began to be evident; and before the last sentence had been reached the audience could hold in no longer, and burst forth in the most tremendous applause ever heard in that great auditorium. Men stood up on chairs and flourished their arms and threw up their hats. Women waved their handkerchiefs, and everybody hurraed until he was

tired. It was a magnificent tribute to a most splendid and inspiring effort of genius. It was a scene which those who witnessed will never forget. It was an occasion of which Mr. Wolcott may be proud as long as he lives.

The campaign attracted wide attention, and Mr. Wolcott's course was the subject of much commendation from party leaders throughout the country. Occasionally also there was a cheering word from the Republican press, a specimen of which is the following from the *New York Tribune*, of October 6, 1896:

While we are having here in the East such an easy fight that the campaign seems almost to run itself, with an almost certain prospect of a walkover in November, we must not forget that there are Republicans in some of the silver States who are quite differently situated. They are making a hard, heroic, uphill fight for Republicanism, with the odds heavily against them. In the whole political field there is to-day no finer figure than that of Senator Wolcott of Colorado. Deserted by his colleague and by so many of his old Republican friends and associates that he seems to be facing almost alone an overwhelming opposition, he is standing up for McKinley and for Republicanism with the desperate courage of a forlorn hope. The magnificent energy which he has thrown into a desperate encounter against heavy odds, heightened by the gift of unusual eloquence and the wide personal popularity due to the attractiveness of his manner and the evident sincerity of his convictions, recall the famous Maryland statesman, Henry Winter Davis, who in similar hostile conditions braved an overwhelming opposition in his own State in the struggle for the preservation of the Union and rendered the greatest possible service to the cause.

Senator Wolcott is entitled to the highest praise for the manly courage with which he has maintained his convictions, resisting the turbulent tide of Populism which has apparently carried Colorado off its feet, and has saved the Republican party of the State from utter demoralization. . . . We repeat that the attitude of Senator Wolcott, in making in the silver State of Colorado a manly stand-up fight for Republican principles and the integrity of the party, entitles him to something more than passing praise. His services, even though they may not prove immediately effective among his own constituents, cannot fail to be of ultimate benefit to the party and the cause, and

there can be no reasonable doubt that they will receive grateful recognition.

The ticket was overwhelmingly defeated, but the party organization was preserved and was kept in shape for future campaigns, when Mr. Wolcott predicted the Republican party would come into its own in Colorado, as ultimately it did.

Mr. Wolcott did not make many speeches in the campaign, but those he did make were among the most notable of his career and will take rank in history with the best political speeches ever made in any State by any orator under trying circumstances. With the State hostile to him almost to the point of personal attack, he was notified from many quarters that he would not be allowed to speak if he should visit the sections mentioned. Under the circumstances, he did not consider it worth while to make an extended tour of the State, but confined himself to addresses at Colorado Springs and Denver. The first of these was made at the Springs on the 16th of September, and the last in Denver on the 24th of October. Coming midway between these two was a short speech at the State Convention when it met at Colorado Springs, on the 30th of September.

Except for his written address to the voters, Mr. Wolcott had not been heard from since the national conventions previous to the first Colorado Springs speech, and intense interest in his movements was felt throughout the State. His speech had been widely advertised, and when it appeared in the newspapers was read with eagerness by the general public. Colorado Springs was then, as it still is, a city of much culture. Its population was composed very largely of Northern people, many of whom resided there on account of health, and were unmoved by local conditions. It always has been a centre of Republicanism, and there was less change there in 1896 than in any other portion of the State. Consequently, Mr. Wolcott chose wisely in selecting that city as the place for his first appearance and as the location of his State Convention.

Few men have received a greater ovation than was

awarded him upon his arrival during the afternoon preceding the night in which the address of September 16th was to be given. The city turned out almost to a man to greet him when his train pulled into the station, and he was escorted to his hotel by such a procession as the place never had seen. Two special trains from Denver and other specials from other near-by cities augmented the crowd, which was so large that only a small percentage could find space within the auditorium in which the meeting was held, notwithstanding it seated forty-five hundred people. In the parade ladies marched side by side with their husbands, and both men and women were greeted by immense throngs on the sidewalks and on the house-tops as the procession passed along. Mr. Wolcott was driven to the Antlers Hotel, but he was not allowed to disappear from sight before lifting his voice in a word to the throng that crowded the Plaza in front of that building. He spoke very briefly, but his words are worth quoting as indicating his method of meeting the attacks which were constantly being made upon him. He said:

*Ladies and Gentlemen:* I thank you from the bottom of my heart for this welcome. I wish that the papers of this State that have been saying for the past three months that I am not in touch with the people of the State were here to witness this demonstration. I have been here about three months and I find that I have been "touched" about as often as formerly. We have nothing to apologize for and nothing to explain. We do not propose to betray our party and we are not going to put up a ticket that will fuse with anybody. The most pitiable exhibition that has ever been seen in the State was the four or more sets of office-seekers who got together in Denver last week, ready to fuse with anybody, and seeking to fool one another and grab everything in sight. There was no principle in it, nothing but greed. The man from Judea got away with the baggage. Think of the Silver Republicans putting up as their leader, as the chief representative of their party, Simon Guggenheim! All that we have is here in Colorado. We will have to live here for some time yet before we come to believe that any ticket that has T. M. Patterson at the head of it is for the best interest of Colorado. If Colorado for the second time casts its vote for the Populist electors we shall all feel it.



The regular speech at the Springs on this occasion was one of the most memorable ever made by the Senator. He touched upon most of the questions of the day, many of which were quite personal to himself, in such a manner as to win many admirers if he did not add to the number of his supporters. The speech appears entire elsewhere, and only two extracts will be given here. He was defiant and independent throughout, as witness the following from the first sentences:

We have no apologies or explanations to make to anybody, for we have not cut loose from our moorings, or lost our bearings; we stand where we have always stood, with our faces toward the dawn, presenting a united front against Socialism, paternalism, and Populism, including Waiteism, Pattersonism, Coxeyism, and Bryanism. We have not betrayed our party, nor do we intend to abandon its great principles. Eight bolting delegates could not take our consciences and our convictions with them out of a national convention of our party. We are not to be delivered over to the Democratic-Populist conglomeration by manifesto or otherwise; and we meet to-night to send word to our brothers of kindred faith with us all over the Union, that at the first organized party rally in Colorado, thousands, many thousands, of faithful Republicans assembled in El Paso County to declare their enthusiastic and earnest faith in Republican principles and their loyal devotion to McKinley and Hobart.

And this from the body of the address:

I am a Republican. Democratic dogmas have no charm for me, and it is my firm conviction that the doctrines of the Populist party are dangerous and are subversive of the interests and threaten the perpetuity of this republic. Believing as I do, therefore, I welcome the hostility of both Democrats and Populists, if there is now any difference between them. It is infinitely pleasanter to me than their approval. It has been my good fortune to have been twice elected to the Senate of the United States from Colorado. On each occasion every Democrat and every Populist member of the Legislature was actively and bitterly opposed to my election. I was not elected by Democratic and Populist votes, and please God I never shall be. As long as I live I expect to combat and fight their teachings and their tenets, and when either of these two parties, now appar-



ently united, shall indorse me, or approve my political course, I shall know it for an everlasting sign that I have betrayed and abandoned the party whose commission I hold.

His speech in the Coliseum in Denver was delivered to an audience which in the main was in perfect accord with him, and when he appeared upon the platform he was received with tremendous applause, which continued for many minutes. Boldly attacking the opposition, he declared in the beginning that his party was not a party of fusion, and, referring to the numerous addresses which were being promulgated by the Silver Republicans and Populists, he declared himself to be a Republican and again announced that he had no apologies to make on that account. Making the most that he might of the Republican declaration for international bimetallism, he asserted that neither of the other parties could guarantee the free coinage of silver even if willing to do so. The Democratic platform was denounced as a menace to Republican institutions. These and many other reasons were given for not breaking with the Republican party and going over to either of the other parties which promised more for the white metal. Declaring himself to be a citizen of the Union as well as of the State, he said, "I charge myself with loyalty wider than the borders of the commonwealth in which I live."

The Denver speech was delivered under very trying circumstances. That city was largely hostile to Mr. Wolcott, and there had been an effort to confine the attendance to his friends. Many others, however, found their way into the building, and strenuous efforts were made to break up the meeting and turn it into a Bryan ovation. It looked for a time as if this plan would succeed, but, when Mr. Wolcott made his appearance, his magnetism was such that all possibilities in that direction soon vanished. Beginning his address in the midst of great confusion, he soon brought order out of chaos, and no man ever had a more attentive audience than he had for the greater portion of his speech. This fact was remarked on every hand, and the comment was common that "those who had come to scoff had remained to pray." Probably no better illustra-

tion of his mastery over men was ever afforded than in this speech, and every incident of the occasion was remembered by his followers for many years afterward as one of the best instances of his great power, not as an orator only but as a fearless and persevering man.

At that time Mr. Wolcott was without a friend among the newspapers of Denver, and as a consequence the only accounts of the Denver meeting were written from a hostile point of view. There was, however, enough of news interest in the speech to compel a full report of its text and this was given, although it was accompanied by harsh denunciation of its author. In the report of the meeting before us, Mr. Wolcott is spoken of as an "excrescence" and frequently referred to as "Cousin Ed." In one place we are told that the assemblage was composed almost entirely of friends of Wolcott, admittance being only by card, and in another that the meeting came near being stampeded to Bryan. Again, we are assured that there was a poor attendance while later the reporter, forgetting himself in describing an anti-Wolcott demonstration, said that "the hall was too crowded for the Wolcott sergeant-at-arms to reach any one."

Although probably unintentionally, this reporter has left a very graphic and doubtless an accurate account of one of Mr. Wolcott's greatest triumphs as a public speaker. He was intending only to explain the hostility of the crowd, but in accomplishing that purpose he also placed on record an account of the man's wonderful magnetism and complete mastery of such a situation as would have baffled most men.

When Wolcott entered the hall Thomas E. McClelland, a Republican candidate for Congress, was addressing the audience, but he suspended to permit a fitting reception. There was a very hearty salutation. Let the reporter tell the remainder of the story:

His supporters tried to keep up the shouting just a little too long. When the first "sag" occurred some one in the gallery shouted "three cheers for Bryan," and several hundreds responded.

"Three cheers for Teller," were called for, and they were given more freely this time.

The Wolcott people began to get anxious as the cheering was taken up in the different parts of the hall.

State Senator McNeeley, late of Custer, rose and put his foot in it by demanding that the supporters of Senator Teller be thrown out.

In a moment there was an upturning. The people rose and yelled defiantly.

The hall was too crowded for the Wolcott sergeant-at-arms to reach any one. There was general uproar, getting more serious all the time on account of the McNeeley request, and the fear that the meeting would have to end.

Mr. McClelland was waiting to resume his speech, but he was waiting in vain. At the request of Senator Wolcott he attempted to proceed, but the noise drowned him. The Wolcott boosters, in their nervousness, were really making the most of the confusion.

The chairman, Mr. Cook, Greeley W. Whitford, and several minor lights attempted to get order, but made matters really worse.

Senator Wolcott, who was chafing in his seat like a reined war-horse, could stand it no longer, and he bounded to the front and brushed the others aside. Buttoning his Prince Albert coat he launched forth, and had there been really an organized gathering opposed to him it might have been dangerous. But his "bluff" went. There was quiet.

"If there are any persons here disposed to make a disturbance on behalf of Mr. Bryan, I want to tell them that they have got the right town and number, but the wrong street; their meeting is up on Sixteenth Street," he shouted. "If any of you here in this audience are such it is because you have got somebody's money for being here, and you should go back to the saloons where those people found you and tell them that when you got down here you found an audience of ladies and gentlemen, and there was no room for you. Tell them this is a place of meeting of decent people, who respect individual opinion, and allow other people to have their own meeting, and we do not propose to tolerate the interruption of a lot of bummers and heelers."

No one took offence and he went after the newspaper press right away. Then he spoke of the feelings of the State with respect to silver and his position. He insisted that the McKinleyites were being shamefully treated, and some were afraid to let their sentiments become known. The reign of terror of

the French Revolution had hardly anything to equal it, the junior Senator announced.

As Senator Wolcott proceeded he got some of the audience to warm up and cheer him. But as he got to a glowing period some one demanded, "What's the matter with Teller?" which caused a damper for a time. But the Senator had his audience shouting when he returned to the newspapers.

In this meeting Mr. Wolcott accomplished another wonderful feat. He rose above the strife of the moment to pay tribute to the personal worth of his colleague, Senator Teller. Although the two men had been members of the same party, they now were rival State leaders, Teller of the big Silver party, Wolcott of the much smaller Republican party. Notwithstanding these conditions, Mr. Wolcott not only recognized the honesty of his antagonist, but he voiced the recognition in the most public manner possible.

He was referring to the attacks of a Denver paper upon himself, and for the purpose of showing that he was not the only object of the newspaper's hostility, he had had collected a number of criticisms formerly made by that paper of the senior Senator, and, holding them aloft, called attention to them:

I hold in my hand [he said] typewritten copies, and they are not five per cent. of what I could have got from the files of that paper, of the most filthy and dirty and outrageous and lying attacks that were ever made, upon my colleague, during the different years he has been in public life. I won't soil my tongue by reading them. Those of you who have lived here during the past ten years have read them. They include the direct charge that since my colleague has been in public life, fighting the battle for silver in Washington, he has been an enemy of silver and would defeat it if he could. They charge him with personal dishonor and personal misconduct, and personal dishonesty, when there never was a man of purer life connected with public affairs.

No wonder so magnanimous a sentiment was cheered, as it was, to the echo.

But, that justice may be done and that another instance of magnanimity in politics may be recorded, it should be



stated that the paper which was the subject of the Senator's condemnation printed the speech entire and gave the best account of the meeting that was published.

After Mr. Wolcott's death in 1905, W. S. Boynton, of Colorado Springs, was quoted by the *Denver Republican* as saying:

Senator Wolcott's speech at Colorado Springs in the campaign of 1896 was the finest thing I ever heard. It was grand. He espoused the cause of McKinley with all his fervor and with that eloquence for which he was noted pleaded against sectionalism. It was the grandest speech ever made in Colorado. Senator Wolcott practically preserved the Republican party in those troublous times and it was mostly due to his efforts that the organization was maintained in 1896, 1898, and 1900.

Continuing its reference to the campaign, the *Republican*, which in the meantime had become a supporter of Mr. Wolcott, said:

Practically the same thing is said of the Coliseum Hall speech, in Denver. Excitement ran high in the city. The Senator declared that he had a right to speak, as well as any other man. He declared that he would speak, in spite of threats against his life. And he did. He called upon John Russell, then chief of police, for police protection, and a squad of patrolmen preserved order at the hall. In addition to this, friends of the Senator stationed themselves near the platform in case trouble arose. The Senator was at his best. He protested against sectionalism, he pleaded the cause of McKinley and the old Republican party with all the eloquence at his command and before he concluded he had the audience applauding to the echo. Here was furnished an instance of how his forensic ability appealed to the people. Crowds flocked to hear him that evening and the meeting was the most largely attended of any in Denver during that campaign, not excepting the gathering which was addressed by William Jennings Bryan.

In its review of Mr. Wolcott's life, the *Denver Times* bore similar testimony concerning the campaign of '96. It said:

Speaking in towns and cities where he had been informed his life was not worth a moment's purchase, the magic eloquence



of this gifted man stilled vast audiences of those who, although they hated him and the principles which he supported, could not remain away from the sound of his voice. Those who came to sneer and deride him remained spellbound, and, when the last word had fallen from the speaker's lips, awoke as if from a hypnotic sleep and found themselves applauding. Senator Wolcott was never so great as he was during this period. Opposition of the most virulent kind brought out every latent ability.

No one expected anything less than an overwhelming triumph for Bryan in the State, and in this respect there was no disappointment. Not only did the State give Bryan its vote by the unprecedentedly large majority of 134,882 out of a total of 187,882 votes, but its citizens contributed large sums of money to the Bryan campaign fund for use elsewhere.

Owing to the failure to fuse there was not such unanimity on the opposition State ticket. For Governor, Alva Adams, Democrat, received 87,456 votes; M. S. Bailey, Populist, 71,683, and George Allen, Republican, 24,111. The Legislature was largely Democratic, and Senator Teller was re-elected by it.

## THE CAMPAIGN OF '98

THE campaign of 1898 was similar in many respects to that of 1896, and the result, as before, was against the Republicans. The majority, however, was far less. This year Henry R. Wolcott was the Republican candidate for Governor. He was not elected, but his vote was more than twice that cast for Judge Allen two years before, while the vote for his opponent, Hon. C. S. Thomas, of Denver, was 94,274. The Thomas figures were about 7000 in excess of the vote cast for Adams in 1896, but almost 65,000 less than the vote for Adams and Bailey combined. Thus the Republican gain was very marked, and the Wolcotts received a most flattering endorsement.

The State Convention was held at Denver, September 15th, and E. O. Wolcott presided. The speech nominating Henry Wolcott for Governor was made by General W. A. Hamill, the old-time friend of the brothers. He said:

This is a representative body and not a body of swappers and traders. It is the province of this body to place candidates before the people of Colorado for their approval, and it is not the province of any committee to perform your functions. Under the false pretence that they are the only friends of silver, a certain coterie of gentlemen recently assembled at Colorado Springs, some calling themselves Democrats, others Populists, and some Silver Republicans, and by a committee that required some two days and three nights to reach a conclusion, and which was composed entirely of trading politicians of this State from the various parties, have presented for the suffrages of the people of Colorado a mongrel ticket composed of Democrats, Populists, and so-called Silver Republicans, and have pre-

sented it with the excuse that it is the only way to test what they call the silver issue in Colorado.

Now, as to the silver issue in Colorado, just stop and think for a moment. There is not a sane man or woman within the boundaries of this State that is not a bimetallist. All are necessarily so. Self-interest alone would teach them to be so if nothing else did. So the question of bimetallism in Colorado never has been, never can be, and never will be a dead issue until settled.

I am not going to criticise the men, for I believe there are good men and women on the patch-work ticket. But take the head of the ticket. That gentleman four years ago was making special efforts to beat the Populist party in this State. How can he with decency and honor and manhood ask any consistent Populist to support him? I have known the head of that ticket for over twenty years as a bitter partisan politician. I am speaking of him politically and not as to his private character. The burden of all his creeds has been that all the ills that flesh is heir to are brought about by the Republican party. How can he ask any Republican to support him, whether Silver Republican or otherwise?

The man whose name I shall submit to you is a bimetallist in the broadest and noblest sense of the word. I had the pleasure of his acquaintance many years ago. He was then engaged as a practical—mark the word—miner in the old county of Gilpin, and has brought his earnings year by year and his splendid business ability to the development of the gold and silver mines of this State. His name is well and favorably known in golden Boulder, in the silvery San Juan, in Gilpin, and Clear Creek and Cripple Creek and Ouray, and all other mining districts. His form is familiar on the streets of every mining camp in this State, and his name is a household word in every miner's camp. No man in distress, no woman in adversity, no rising young fellow wanting a helping hand has ever applied to him in vain. He has brought to this State millions of dollars to develop the mining resources. He has built monument after monument on your streets, such as the Boston building and the Equitable building with money he was mainly instrumental in raising.

Such a man you can take to your hearts and support at the polls, as I know he has supported the State. I submit the name of Mr. Henry R. Wolcott as candidate for the position of Governor.

For a time during this campaign Hon. Simon Guggenheim of the wealthy New York family of this name, who afterward was elected by the Colorado Legislature to the United States Senate as a Republican, was a candidate for Governor. He was nominated by a branch of the Silver Republican organization, but he withdrew from the contest and many of his followers became supporters of Mr. Wolcott.

There was a slight effort on the part of some delegates to the regular convention to have the nomination of Mr. Guggenheim endorsed, but it was not pressed and Mr. Wolcott was nominated by acclamation.

The opposition was by no means as harmonious as were the Republicans, and while in the end complete fusion was effected, it only came after much wrangling and contention.

Again Senator Wolcott was the subject of all attacks, "the storm centre," as he described himself. He was made the object of much vituperation by the newspapers of the State. There was, however, a noticeable softening of general public feeling.

The Wolcott brothers stumped the State together, and were received cordially wherever they went. Again this year Senator Wolcott made his two principal speeches in Denver and Colorado Springs. In those addresses he gave an account of his mission to Europe in the interest of bimetalism, and he again placed on record the prediction that ultimately through the efforts of the Republican party silver would be restored to its old place as a money metal. In a sense Mr. Wolcott was embarrassed by the candidacy of his brother. There was evident a constant desire to praise him, but he was more restrained from motives of delicacy than he would have been if there had been no bond of kinship between them. He did, however, assure the people that if elected Henry would serve them faithfully and well.

Henry Wolcott made only short speeches, explaining that he had entered into a contract with his brother that the latter should do "all the speaking for the pair." Henry's continuing popularity in the State was attested in this campaign; his every appearance was a signal for prolonged

cheers. At Colorado Springs he took notice of a report which was in general circulation to the effect that he was a "sacrificial candidate" and that he had accepted the nomination for Governor with no hope of being elected, but for the purpose of assisting to prepare the way for his brother's re-election to the Senate two years from that time.

The papers are trying to make it appear [he said] that I do not expect to be elected; that I have been nominated to be defeated, in order that I may, in some mysterious manner, which I must confess I am too dense to understand, elect some other person to some position in some other year in the dim future. I understand that one of the candidates for governor has withdrawn. The candidate of the Democracy may withdraw, but I shall be in this race until the 8th of November and I confidently expect on that day that every one on the Republican ticket will be elected.

He made his longest speech at a monster meeting held in Denver on the evening of November 3d, a few days before the election, when he said:

*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:* I ought to feel entirely at home in any meeting of the citizens of Denver, for I have spent twenty years of the thirty years I have lived in the State as a resident of Denver, and I have the pleasure of personal acquaintance with a majority of the people composing this vast audience. But somehow, I would rather talk to a few of you at a time than to address you now from this platform. Those who know me best would be the most astonished if I were to attempt to make a speech and I shall not disappoint you.

But even if I were inclined to, I should restrain myself to-night, for abler speakers will present the issues of the campaign. Besides, I have learned some wisdom from my opponent who must these days have been wishing he never had made speeches and that he had never written letters, and never submitted to interviews for publication.

Fellow-citizens, I am here because I am a Republican, and I have received the endorsement of every wing and branch of the party which in any decency is entitled to the use of the name Republican, as its candidate for governor.

I am very weary of the old lie which has been told, and



which is repeated now from day to day, that the Republican party is opposed to silver. We are told that those who do not vote the fusion ticket are the enemies and the foes of the white metal.

Is it fair to say that because a Prohibitionist who believes in the principles of his party votes that ticket, he is therefore an enemy of silver? Our different religious organizations have different views as to which is the true road which leads to Heaven, but they are all trying to get there. They are all striving to reach the same gate when all is done. The ways are many, but the end is one. And so it is with every one in Colorado. No one can be more interested in silver than I am, or in enhancing the value of silver, for the greatest prosperity I ever had in this State has come through my interest in silver mining.

What Colorado needs is increased prosperity. We need greater activity in our mines and in our works. Our manufactures are to be built up. Business is to be improved in every direction, and this can be accomplished, in my judgment, only through the Republican party. It is through that party alone that we can ever expect to see silver restored to the position which it must sooner or later again occupy as a money metal the world over.

It seems to me that the time has come for us to take the position that hereafter we will support this government in every good measure which is calculated to advance the welfare and the best interests of the entire country; that the time has come for us to take the position that while we are residents of Colorado we are, over and above and beyond all, loyal and patriotic citizens of the United States.

It has been my intention to make no pledges or promises during this campaign, and so far I have made none. I have declined to answer letters which have been addressed to me, and which were calculated to forestall legislation and to commit me to some certain action on matters which will come before the Legislature, and I have treated all alike, no matter how much or how little sympathy I may have had with them.

But it seems to me it is fair and right for me to say to you, citizens of Denver, in no uncertain terms, that I am forever and unequivocally in favor of home rule for our city. I believe that good and true men can be found, I would almost say alike regardless of their party, who can give their time to the upbuilding and the improvement of our city, to the



HENRY R. WOLCOTT.



advancement of its material welfare, and that they should be allowed to do so without the interference of any outside person.

Fellow-citizens, if I am elected as executive of this great commonwealth on Tuesday next, as I now confidently believe I shall be, I must remember that I have predicted here to-night that the success of the Republican ticket means the return of prosperity to this State. I must remember that I have promised you, as I do now, that I shall give my undivided time to conducting the affairs of the State, so far as they are under my control, upon strictly business principles. I must remember that my own good name is at stake and my reputation as well; that I expect to live, so long as God gives me life, among the citizens of Denver, and it shall be my ambition so to conduct the affairs of the office that when I shall retire you and I and friend and foe alike shall feel I did my level best.

## THE BIG FIGHT OF 1900

WHILE the result of the campaign of 1898 had been disappointing, the work done in the interest of the Republican party was of such a thorough character that immediately after the election many recalcitrants announced that henceforth they would be found voting with the old party. So pronounced was the trend of sentiment that long before the opening of the contest in the fall of 1900 hope of success ran strong among Republican leaders, and there was a general disposition to "get together and stay together" in the interest of party success. Not only were the party men of Colorado in high spirits, but Republicans throughout the country who had watched the valiant struggles of the loyal partisans since 1896 had become interested and were looking forward to the fall election in Colorado as an event which was sure to bring victory and insure reward for faithful services. But another disappointment was in store for them.

Mr. Wolcott was not among those who were deceived. He knew conditions better than most of his followers, and while he appreciated that the movement in favor of Republicanism had received a decided impetus, he was apprehensive from the beginning. Even then, he figured more on 1902 than on 1900, and as early as January, 1900, we find him discussing the chances two years forward quite as much as those of that time. Still, he entered heartily into all preparations for the immediate work, assumed a hopeful air, and maintained active control of the party in the State. He manifested especial interest in getting backsliders into the fold again, and, as we shall see, was instrumental in having the doors thrown wide open for their readmission. He advised that no question should be asked



and that they should be taken in on mere "profession of faith."

As indicating his state of mind the following from an interview in the *Denver Republican* of March 5, 1900, is quoted:

"It is of infinitely more importance that Colorado again take her place among the Republican States of the Union than it is that I or any other specified individual should represent her in the Senate; and my personal aspirations should be counted as nothing if they stood in the way of that result."

Speaking of the outlook in the State, Mr. Wolcott said:

"I think it clearly possible that the State will be carried for the Republican ticket this fall if those voters in the State who formerly belonged to the party and have no sympathy with Democracy and are at heart tired of Bryanism will come back into the ranks and work as in former days for the success of our ticket and for Republican principles."

Frequently during the preparation for this campaign he urged the readmission on liberal terms of those who had deserted in '96, and to this end he sought to influence his fellow-Republicans through private conferences and by letter as well as by means of published interviews. Success at the polls, with a friendly Legislature as one of the results, meant not only his own triumph and complete vindication, but, better still to his view, the restoration of Colorado to its old position before the world as an intelligent and progressive commonwealth. Moreover, he always had conceded integrity of purpose, if not justification, to the Republicans who had deserted the party because of the silver question. Appreciating the importance of that question to the State, he had regretted without resenting their falling away. He knew most of them to be Republican at heart on all but the money issue, and he wanted them back in the fold. He knew success to be impossible without them, and he pleaded zealously for the utmost inducement for their return. With such inducement he considered it possible that a sufficient number would come back to make a vastly improved showing.

Nor was he especially sanguine in his own interest over the prospects of 1902, for he foresaw the strife in his party, which in the end actually prevented his return to the Senate after a lapse of two years. In view of what actually happened the following letter of January 14, 1900, to his confidential secretary, Mr. C. A. Chisholm, is entitled to be ranked as prophecy :

I do not think I shall be able to make the Senate in two years from now. If I thought I could, I should at once arrange for my constant presence in Colorado until that time. There is serious doubt about our ability to carry the State in two years, and, naturally enough, there is a growing opposition to me in my own party which will be serious in two years if we have a chance of success. The latter I could probably overcome, but it is another obstacle, and it means a harder fight and more expenditure, and I doubt if it is worth while.

The year 1900 was an important one in Colorado politics. It was the last year of Senator Wolcott's second term and of President McKinley's first. Mr. Wolcott or his successor must be elected by the Legislature to be chosen in November, and that election, broadened so as to include the entire country, was to decide whether McKinley should continue to preside over the destinies of the nation or give way to some one else. But many interesting events were to occur before these results could be accomplished. To say nothing of the nation at large, there must be two State conventions in Colorado, a stirring State campaign, and a meeting of the State Legislature. In addition, it was in store that at the first of the State conventions Senator Wolcott was to be chosen the head of the delegation to the national convention, at which Mr. McKinley was to be re-nominated and over which Mr. Wolcott was to preside as temporary chairman.

The national gathering was held in Philadelphia, and the Colorado delegation was composed entirely of Mr. Wolcott's friends, many of them men who had opposed him in the campaigns of 1896 and 1898.

As going to show the spirit that prevailed in 1900 among many who had left the party in 1896 and were now finding

their way back, the following is cited from an account, probably "more truth than the truth," of a meeting of members of the State Central Committee, held early in the year to decide upon a date for the formal meeting of the committee. It is quoted from the *Denver Republican*, which paper also was beginning to manifest a disposition to return to the party of its former allegiance:

Marshal Bailey presided, and the cigars were passed—good cigars that gave pleasant feeling to the olfactories and filled all the air with perfume.

"It's like livin' again after bein' dead," said the ornate Jared L. Brush, erstwhile Lieutenant-Governor, and just then Charles Brickenstein came in and Mr. Brush made a rush for him.

"I want to congratulate you, Charley," said he, "on your return to the Grand Old Party."

"I had to do it," added the prodigal, "to keep him from doin' it to me."

"I would like to know," said the stranger within their gates, "if anybody has any sort of a kick against Eddy—pardon me—I refer to Senator E. O. Wolcott. Now's your chance, you know. Here's a minute in which you wear no man's collar. Before Edward gets a ring in your nose, speak up."

"Nitty, nitty, nit," spoke up the faithful. "Ed's all right. He represents McKinley, and McKinley stands for prosperity, and prosperity means about everything we want."

"Good!" said A. B. Seaman, coming in, the door having been prudently left off its hinges. "That's the way to talk it. Ed's all right. Where would Colorado be now if it had n't been for Ed Wolcott?"

"There's nobody dissatisfied with Ed except those who want his place," said State Senator Bromley.

Of course the story is exaggerated, but it serves the purpose of showing how pleased leading members of the party were to find the way open for the resumption of former affiliations. Many of the rank and file manifested the same exuberance without getting any of the cigars.

From the beginning of the preparation for the fight, as early as January, Mr. Wolcott took the position that not his success but the party's should be the end to be sought. This was his attitude in his private letters as in his public

utterances, and he lost no opportunity to impress his views upon his friends. Confessing frankly his own ambition but declaring that it ever should be subordinate to the party welfare, he strenuously urged the most liberal treatment of the returning members of the party. He wrote freely to his private secretary, C. A. Chisholm, on this, as on all other points. The most elaborate of his letters to that gentleman was dated at Washington, January 15th, and it is of such importance as going to show Mr. Wolcott's genuine and unselfish interest in his party as to justify its publication entire. It follows:

I am clearly of the opinion that the wise and politic thing for us to do is to grant immediately every request that has been made respecting primaries, etc., and any other concessions that occur to us. Under no circumstances ought there to be a hostile speech made by anybody, or any single act committed by us that may create schism in our party ranks.

What we want is success, and we must have it by votes. It is undoubtedly true that certain corporation influences are at work with a desire to control our organization. It is absurd, however, to think that all the people who are joining with the opposition are cognizant of this motive. Ninety-five per cent. of them are men who will vote with us on any fair proposition, and we do not want anything that is not fair.

I have no sympathy with the feeling that it is a surrender under fire. Suppose it is;—nothing is hurt but our pride, and that will not count for anything in view of possible success. I do not mean myself that this factionalism shall be carried any further with any support of mine, and I would rather lose all we have built on in the past, and all the excellent work that there has ever been done to keep the party alive, than invite defeat now by a factional fight.

The real motive of these people is this:

They have been Silver Republicans, and they are ready to come back. They don't propose to come back on terms; they propose to come back, if at all, and have just as much to say as people who stayed with the party when they have opposed it. Why not let them come back in this way? What do we care provided we are successful?

The truth is that within five days after we have opened the doors wide and let everybody come back, and given everybody a chance to steal the organization who wants it, matters will



settle down, and in the future, as in the past, the cleverest men will control our organization, and I hope control it for good.

I realize what this means. I know that friends, who have submitted to abuse and suspicion and all sorts of indignity, don't like to give up the fruit of our labors. Don't let that stand in our way. If it defeats any possibility of my success two years from now, I shall be content, provided we have brought the State back to Republicanism.

It is certainly true that if a fight is conducted in the party there will be no chance of success this year, or chance of success two years from now.

If I had my own way I should to-morrow, in the most public fashion, give notice of every possible concession that could be made, and I should have no strings to it. Our friends will naturally keep the State organization, but, if they don't, all you can say is we are out of luck and are fairly beaten, and I do not want us to keep the organization if we are not entitled to it.

It has not been easy for me to reach this conclusion. My instinct is to say that those of us who have endured contumely and contempt and hatred, and at a personal risk kept the party alive, ought not now to turn it over to those people who but a year or so ago were seeking to destroy it. I have passed that stage, however, and I would like myself to see every possible concession made, whether it has been asked for or not.

Two years from now is a long way off. By that time I believe the party will be again triumphant, provided there is an open door for everybody who wants to come in. It may defeat me; it might even re-elect Teller. He will have to be re-elected as a Republican, however, and it does not make any difference if he is the man, provided the State is redeemed.

Personally, of course, I am ambitious, as every man is who takes an active interest in politics, and I should be gratified beyond measure if I could be re-elected to the Senate this fall, or two years from now. I cannot be re-elected, however, with hundreds of good Republicans fighting us. And if we get the party together our action now may defeat me, but it is a great deal better that I should be defeated than that the State should be torn by faction and the party kept disunited.

In similar vein was the statement made through the *Denver Republican* of March 5th, in which Mr. Wolcott further said:



The Republican party in Colorado is not a close corporation; it is under nobody's dictation, nor is it under the management or control of any man or set of men. There is but one test of Republicanism and it applies equally to everybody in the State. That test is that the person desiring to vote at a Republican primary or to be a member of a Republican convention, should be in truth and in fact a Republican, believing in the principles of the party and earnestly and unqualifiedly desiring its success. Any man or woman in Colorado who is a voter and intends to work and act hereafter with the Republican party is equally entitled to participate in every step which the party may take, whether it be at the primaries or in convention, and I know of nothing which would justify any other construction.

I feel bound to say that I have never heard of anybody in Colorado who holds any other view of this question. Whether anybody at some former election may have voted for some other ticket is a matter of no importance whatever, provided there is a complete and full return to the Republican party. It is of vital importance, however, that the existence of the Republican party in our State shall be for the purpose of keeping alive and burning the lamp of the Republican faith, and that the organization should not be used, or sought to be used, as an appendage for any organization, corporate or otherwise, or any individual. I have heard some fears expressed in certain sections of the State that this motive prompted a desire in certain quarters to secure a leading voice in the affairs of the party. I do not believe, however, that this fear is well founded.

With the same end in view, that of permitting the easy return of backsliding Republicans, another letter was written to Mr. Chisholm on April 8th. At that date the State Central Committee had held its meeting, had called the State convention, and had taken the precaution of appointing in advance a Committee on Credentials. Mr. Chisholm had notified him of these proceedings, and his letter was in reply to this notification. In it Mr. Wolcott said:

I have just received an account of the proceedings of the Republican State Central Committee.

I confess I cannot at this distance understand what earthly object there could have been in the appointment of this committee to pass upon credentials. Any sort of unusual obstacle placed in the way of the traditional freedom of conventions or committees is absolutely certain to bring the organization num-

berless enemies, and is equally certain to be indignantly swept aside sooner or later.

I have no sort of sympathy with any such action, and I cannot for the life of me understand why we do not graciously and freely open the party and its organization to everybody. Personally, I am not in the slightest degree afraid of the result. If by any machination the Republican organization shall be turned against me, I am content to go into private life, but I am not in the slightest degree afraid of that result. After all, the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Republicans are certain to be followed in State politics, and if I cease to be the choice of the great majority of the party then I want to quit.

I suppose it may be too late to undo what has been done, but I write this line to express my sincere and deep regret that, when, after the organization had secured friends by certain concessions, they seem to have invited a still deeper hostility and bitterness by their unnecessary restrictions upon a course which has been followed for a generation. I would give a great deal if it had not been done. The only reason, so far as I can see, is to create an impression throughout the State that there was some sort of conspiracy to injure me, which it was necessary to defeat by unusual and arbitrary methods. As a matter of fact, this is not true, but the appointment of this committee to pass upon credentials invites anybody who is discontented to join in a movement to overthrow the organization.

#### THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

While, when chosen, the delegation to the Philadelphia convention proved in every way satisfactory to Mr. Wolcott, he refrained from all advance efforts to influence its personnel. Writing to Hon. A. B. Seaman, chairman of the State Committee, as early as January 11th, he said with reference to this subject:

I have not had, nor expressed, any preference as to the makeup of the delegation. In fact, not one person has mentioned the subject to me from a personal point of view, or as indicating a desire to be present. It is important that the delegation, when selected, shall be representative Republicans, fairly apportioned throughout the State, and should be comprised of men who intend to stay with the convention to the close of its deliberations. I have no doubt that the convention, when

it meets, will be animated solely by the desire to get representative men, devoted to the principles of the Republican party, and disassociated with any other interest.

He expressed himself similarly to the newspapers. In an interview given out about the same time that the letter was written, he said he would refrain from attempting to name the members of the delegation. "I have only one desire respecting the delegates," he said, "and that desire is one which is shared by every true Republican in the State. It is that we shall be represented at Philadelphia by intelligent representative Republicans, devoted to the welfare of the party and loyally desirous of aiding in its success." The same sentiment was expressed a day or two before the meeting of the convention, when he said:

I know of no slate, and I have no desire to interfere in the slightest degree with the will of the convention. I know the convention will send good men to the national convention at Philadelphia next month, and I hope the choice will be exercised among people who are to-day for Republican success, no matter what were their views four years ago. I would like to see a delegation of representative business men go to that convention.

By the time the State convention met there had come to be considerable discussion of the Colorado Senator's availability as a Vice-Presidential candidate. Starting in Colorado, his "boom" had been favorably received by many of the Eastern press and by some of the party chiefs. The one circumstance urged against him was his location. There was no doubt on any hand of President McKinley's renomination. Though improperly so since the recent great development of the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast regions, Ohio, which State was McKinley's home, was then classed, as it still is, as a Western State, and there was a general feeling that if the Presidency should go West the East must have the Vice-Presidency. The second place was, as usual under such conditions, practically conceded to New York if that State should ask it, and Governor Roosevelt's name was more frequently mentioned than any other.

There was, however, sufficient discussion of Mr. Wolcott

in connection with the office to justify the interviewer in quizzing the Senator about it. Accordingly when he reached Denver early in May to attend the State convention, he was asked about the Vice-Presidency. To one reporter he said:

I feel very much flattered, of course, by the mention that my name has received in certain quarters as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. To this I can say only that I have enjoyed my twelve years in the Senate immensely, and the next best thing to a place in the Senate, in my opinion, is to be a citizen of Colorado and to live at Wolhurst, and as I have one or the other hope before me, I am quite content without the further honor.

To the questions of another interviewer he responded:

"It certainly is to be considered a very great honor to receive a nomination for Vice-President of the United States, but I am not a candidate, nor do I desire the nomination. It is my impression that it is likely to go to the far East."

The State meeting was a Wolcott convention throughout. Every wish was granted as soon as it was expressed, and while he did not seek to control the selection of delegates, those chosen were known to be in perfect accord with him. Mr. Wolcott was made chairman, and his associates were: David H. Moffat, of Denver; W. S. Stratton, of Colorado Springs; D. R. C. Brown, of Aspen; H. E. Churchill, of Greeley; Earl B. Coe, of Denver; Crawford Hill, of Denver; and Ben W. Ritter, of Durango.

On his return to Washington after the State convention, Mr. Wolcott gave to President McKinley and to his colleagues in Congress a faithful description of the existing political situation in his State. If the picture that the Senator drew was not highly colored, it was cheerful, and out of it grew the report that he was authority for the statement that Colorado was certain to go Republican in 1900. The Senator did not make such a prediction at that time, and from an authorized interview with him printed later it appears that what he did say was merely that Colorado was surely going back into the Republican party. He did not say when the change would take place, but expressed con-



fidence that the signs of a general desertion of Populism and a return to Republicanism were unmistakable.

His real view of the situation is given in a sentence in a letter written to a sister immediately after his arrival in Washington from Denver. The letter is brief and is worth quoting entire:

On my desk in my committee-room at the Senate, there lies an unfinished letter to you, commenced long ago, added to once or twice, but interrupted and never finished. I don't seem to accomplish much of anything in this world, but somehow there is always at hand some instant thing that demands attention.

My trip to Colorado was very hurried. I was gone eight nights and spent six of them in sleeping-cars. There is a great change in political sentiment there, but it is not enough to bring success this fall, and after next March I shall have abundant time for the enjoyment of Wolhurst.

For the time I am busy every spare moment trying to get up a speech for Philadelphia, where I am to preside as Temporary Chairman. It is n't quite easy, but I shall do the best I can with it.

Did n't seem to "accomplish anything"! The average man who had just come from the absolute control of a State convention of his party, and who was preparing an address to be made as the presiding officer of a national convention, would have considered himself as doing "something," not to mention the fact that he was conducting a private business of magnitude, running the political affairs of a big State, and attending to the exacting duties of a United States Senator.

At Philadelphia, Senator Wolcott was highly popular. He had been asked to preside over the opening sessions of the national meeting, and he was expected to sound the keynote of the coming campaign—McKinley's second, and a most important one, because it would be necessary for the party to give an account of its conduct of the war with Spain and to explain its policy toward the new territory that had been so suddenly acquired as a result of the war. How well he performed the task his speech itself explains. It was received with every indication of favor.



President McKinley, to whom of course it had been submitted before its delivery, was so pleased with the address that he requested that all other speeches of the convention be patterned after it. Secretary Hay wrote Mr. Wolcott after the convention:

"I knew it would be a great speech, but it is finer even than I looked for—which shows that your capacity is stronger than my imagination. I congratulate you with all my heart. The whole country is your debtor."

In the course of an address of his own delivered at a later stage in the same convention, Senator Chauncey M. Depew said of Mr. Wolcott and his speech:

You from the West produced on this platform a product of New England transplanted to the West through New York, who delivered the best presiding officer's speech in oratory and all that makes up a great speech that has been heard in many a day in any convention in this country. It was a glorious thing to see the fervor of the West and the culture and polish of New England giving us an ammunition wagon from which the spellbinder everywhere can draw the powder to shoot down opposition East and West and North and South.

#### THE VICE-PRESIDENCY

In his *Twenty Years in the Press Gallery*, Mr. O. O. Stealey, a veteran Washington correspondent, makes the following reference to the part Mr. Wolcott played in the Philadelphia Convention:

His opening address as Temporary Chairman of the Republican National Convention of 1900 attracted universal attention. The convention was captivated by his eloquence. His voice possessed a most magnetic quality, and his diction was well-nigh perfect. His speech was frequently interrupted with storms of applause, and after its delivery there was strong talk of nominating him for the Vice-Presidency. He was thinking over the matter when the news reached him that the leaders had agreed upon Mr. Roosevelt. He then refused to allow his name to go before the convention, and later was Chairman of the official committee to notify Mr. Roosevelt of his nomination.

Mr. Stealey is in error in saying that Mr. Wolcott had

under consideration the suggestion of his own nomination when Mr. Roosevelt was named for the Vice-Presidency. That point already had been settled. There, however, was far more serious consideration of Wolcott for second place on the National ticket in 1900 than most people knew of. That this is true the writer has become convinced since beginning this work. While the convention was in progress there was frequent mention of him in the press, but in the perfunctory manner of the reporter who must needs find "a story." But it is now known that his name was seriously canvassed by the leaders, and unquestionably his nomination would have been entirely acceptable to Major McKinley, whose personal friend he was.

Everything in connection with the Vice-Presidential nomination depended upon the attitude of Colonel Roosevelt. Just back from the Cuban War, in which he carried off the lion's share of glory, it was felt that he would add much to the popularity of the ticket. Furthermore, for reasons of their own, there were certain New York politicians who desired the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt. They wanted to eliminate him from New York affairs and they believed that his selection for the second place would not only accomplish this result, but that it also would lay him on the shelf for all time. How that scheming worked out would be another story, but not for this book. Suffice it to say that he held aloof for some time, absolutely declining to permit himself to be considered a candidate, with the result that the New York delegation accepted his declination and at a State caucus decided to press Hon. Timothy Woodruff for the place. In connection with this condition of affairs a plan was conceived in Mr. Wolcott's behalf, and Senator Matthew S. Quay was its author.

Apprehensive that Colorado might still prove obdurate and that Mr. Wolcott might fail of re-election to the Senate, and being especially desirous of keeping his friend in public life, Mr. Quay was an ardent advocate of Wolcott's nomination for the Vice-Presidency. He pressed him as in every way available—a splendid campaigner and a Republican whose loyalty had been tried in the fire. He also urged the necessity of bringing the Centennial State back into

line, which, he argued, would be assured by placing Wolcott on the National ticket. But no little planning is necessary to bring about a vice-presidential nomination, even though it generally seems to come very easily.

So long as there was uncertainty about Roosevelt's attitude, Quay was in a quandary, but the Rough-rider had no sooner announced his declination than the fertile mind of the Pennsylvanian had developed what he believed a feasible course for the accomplishment of his desire. His plan was this: There should be an apparent effort to force the nomination on Roosevelt, and Wolcott, disregarding the selection of the New York delegation, should take the floor and bring Roosevelt's name to the attention of the convention. All was to depend on the character of the nominating speech and the manner of the speaker, for it was intended that it should result, not in the selection of Roosevelt, but in the nomination of Wolcott. Knowing Wolcott's oratorical capacity, Mr. Quay had calculated that the Colorado Senator would put so much fire and magnetism into his speech that he would inspire as great admiration for himself as for the hero of San Juan Hill. Advantage was to be taken of the situation thus created. Immediately some other gifted friend of Quay's was to address the Chair, and, making the most of Roosevelt's refusal, was to place Wolcott himself in nomination, and thus force him through on the tidal wave of his own creation.

The plan was communicated to a few other trusted friends of Quay and Wolcott, and the programme was quite complete until some one suggested the necessity of consulting Wolcott.

Whatever was to be done must be done expeditiously. Conventions do not wait indefinitely on private conferences. The plan was concocted the night before the nomination was to be made. A trusted messenger, who still lives and from whom the story is received, was chosen to call upon Wolcott. The Colorado Senator had taken a house on Spruce Street in Philadelphia for convention week. He was entertaining a dinner party when Quay's emissary arrived. Excusing himself from his guests, he went out to greet his visitor. There is no doubt he would have been pleased

to receive the nomination, and he listened eagerly to the proposal. The very daring of the coup appealed to him. But he did not quite like the indirect method of proceeding. He also pointed out reasons why an Eastern man would be more available for the place than himself. He therefore declined; but, in declining, he expressed his admiration for the originality of the plan.

It is great! [he exclaimed in his enthusiasm]. It is worthy of the general in politics who conceived it. And it might work. We might do it; but I do not believe it would be best if we should succeed. So, tell "Mike" [his pet name for the Pennsylvania Senator] that while I appreciate his interest I cannot consent under the circumstances. It's splendid of him to want to do such a magnificent thing for me; but we shall have to let it pass.

With these words Mr. Wolcott returned to his guests with never a twitch of countenance to indicate the importance of the conference in which he had been engaged. His word was final. The plan was abandoned. Wolcott was not proposed, and notwithstanding his original declination, Roosevelt was nominated.

#### FOREIGN SERVICE POSSIBLE

It is also a fact that previous to the convention and while there still was a possibility that Mr. Wolcott might remain in the Senate, he was tendered a foreign ambassadorship. The proffer came from President McKinley through Secretary of State Hay. He was told that he could have any post then vacant or soon to become vacant. But the offer did not contain any allurements for the Colorado Senator and he declined, his declination eliciting from Mr. Hay a complimentary note of date October 10, 1898, in which that official said:

"Your letter is precisely what any one who knows you would have expected—generous, just, and clear-sighted. As to the question of fitness, there can be no two opinions. You would be *persona gratissima* on both sides; but, of course, you are wise in refusing to leave the immediate field of conflict."



Having closely observed Mr. Wolcott's work as Chairman of the Bimetallic Commission Mr. Hay had become convinced that he would be successful at the head of any legation and he was sincerely anxious to utilize his services. Later the subject was again taken up, but the way was not open for Mr. Wolcott's appointment. The only available places were those at Constantinople and St. Petersburg, and diplomacy at those centres had no charms for the Colorado Senator. He would have been willing to represent his government at London or Paris, but at no less important post. Consequently, after more or less correspondence and consultation the subject was dropped.

#### NOTIFICATION OF ROOSEVELT

As the temporary Chairman of the Philadelphia Convention it became Mr. Wolcott's duty to head the committee appointed by the convention to notify Hon. Theodore Roosevelt of his nomination as Vice-President on the ticket with Major McKinley. The proceeding took place July 12, 1900, on the breeze-swept veranda of Mr. Roosevelt's home on Sagamore Hill, Oyster Bay, Long Island, and was so simple as to be almost informal.

There was no attempt at ceremony. The participants quietly ranged themselves about the wide verandas which command a magnificent view of Long Island Sound, and Senator Wolcott, practically without preliminaries of any kind, delivered a short address, which was frequently applauded. His reference to Governor Roosevelt's hunting stories evoked a hearty laugh. When he stepped forward he stood in a clear space on the crowded porch, facing the doorway of a reception-room in front of which the Governor stood in erect military attitude. To the left were a number of ladies and other guests, Mrs. Roosevelt and three Roosevelt children.

The unceremonious character of the proceeding was due to the hot weather and to Mr. Wolcott, who, as Chairman of the Notification Committee, gave notice to those who had been asked to be present that the occasion was to be strictly informal. There was not a high hat or a frock-coat in the party. Senator Wolcott himself wore a cool, light suit,



becomingly set off with a pink shirt and an expansive pink tie. The Vice-Presidential candidate addressed him as "Ned," and he called Governor Roosevelt "Ted."

#### THE STATE FIGHT

The convention over, the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates duly notified, and all the other formalities complied with, the work of the campaign was taken up. The Republicans nominated Frank C. Goudy, of Denver, for Governor, and the Fusionists, James B. Orman of Pueblo. Mr. Wolcott gave practically all of his time to the Colorado campaign. Many prominent Republican orators visited the State and made speeches. Included in the list were the Vice-Presidential candidate, Hon. Theodore Roosevelt and Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, United States Senator from Massachusetts. The battle was fought on broad lines. The Democrats, led by Mr. Bryan, made bold attacks upon the McKinley policy in the Philippines, which was characterized as "Imperialism." The Republicans were delighted to have an opportunity to defend and explain their course in the far-away islands. They had come into the possession of the United States as the result of the war incidentally, not designedly, and must of necessity be held for the time at least, as the defenders of the Administration felt themselves abundantly able to show.

There were occasional references to silver, but even then, only four years after the memorable battle of 1896, the money question was recognized in most places as a dead issue. Enough was made of it in Colorado to use it as the excuse for personal attacks upon the character of Mr. Wolcott. These assaults were often bitter, and on one occasion there was an effort at personal violence. This was at Victor, when Senator Wolcott visited the great Cripple Creek gold camp in company with Governor Roosevelt and Senator Lodge. There a *melée* occurred and it came near resulting in personal injury. At that time the camp was overrun with miners fresh from the serious labor troubles in northern Idaho and before the arrival of the party, their passions had been aroused by the general circulation of a pamphlet attacking Wolcott, Roosevelt, and others. The

streets were filled with men of threatening aspect, and banners carrying the inscription "Remember the Horrors of Cœur d'Alene" were displayed at every turn. At the hall in which the meeting was held the speakers were greeted by a jeering mob, which had taken possession. Many of the men were intoxicated and they were most insulting. No one was allowed to speak, and the travelling party soon left for the train. They were followed by the crowd, which continued its hostile demonstrations. These reached their climax when Governor Roosevelt was struck in the breast with a piece of scantling. Fortunately he was not seriously hurt, but the affair came near being a riot and was disgraceful in the extreme.

In his very first utterances in the campaign, Mr. Wolcott gave his attention to the new "paramount question," that of imperialism and militarism. The opportunity for this discussion was found at the dedication of a new Republican meeting place in Denver, known as Windsor Hall, on September 9th, and on that occasion the Senator said among other things:

As to the danger from this so-called militarism, you know something of the character of the young men who compose the United States army, you who sent out regiments of strong young men who fought and upheld the nation's flag in Cuba and in the Philippines. Some of these young men lie there in the islands, others have come home, expansionists; but there is none among them who wants to establish a military rule, or who is not an ardent supporter of the nation and the liberties of its people. This danger of imperialism never existed except in the perfervid imaginations of the people who want to tear down the Supreme Court and destroy the safeguards of the Government. Such a fear never existed in the young hearts of those who have striven and are striving to push the nation into its place among the nations of the earth. If our commissioners at Paris had given up the Philippines, Mr. Bryan's paramount issue in this campaign would be that we did give them up. The entire army of the United States, scattered, as it is to-day, includes less than nine one-hundredths of one per cent. of the people of the United States, less in proportion than it was in 1870, in a time of profound peace.

In his speech before the State Convention for the nomi-

nation of State officers, which was held in Denver, September 18th, Mr. Wolcott again took occasion to say that he did not consider essential his return to the Senate, but he added that in the interest of the State he did desire the election of a Republican.

It is not the purpose to here follow the campaign in all its details, for while extremely spirited, it was in most respects like many another political contest.

Fortunately if a review were needed, one has been left by Mr. Wolcott who in an interview published in the *Denver Republican* subsequent to the election not only outlined the issues as they had been presented, but analyzed the result, and pictured a bright future for the State. In that pronouncement, he reiterated his intention of continuing his home in Colorado. The report of the interview follows:

"Have you any comment to make on the result of the election?" asked a *Republican* reporter.

"The Republican party of Colorado ought to be and will be intensely gratified with the enormous gains made in this State during the last four years," said the Senator. "It is unparalleled in the history of politics in any State of the Union. A hostile majority of 134,000 has been cut down to about 25,000, and 45 per cent. and upward of the people of this State, which includes a vast majority of the intelligent citizens of Colorado, have demonstrated their hearty accord with the principles and policy of the Republican party. The change has been radical and progressive, and if the election had been postponed a month I have no doubt the State would have given a substantial Republican majority. As it was, many of us were hopeful enough to believe that victory was in sight. We did not make allowance, however, for the fact that thousands of people in the State, having once voted for Bryan, had that pride of opinion which led them to vote for him 'just once more,' although they realized that Bryanism was dead. These people, naturally, either hesitated or were ashamed to declare their intentions before election and so the silent vote was cast against us instead of for us.

"It is pitiful, almost grotesque, to realize that this great intelligent State has joined hands with Montana, which was always, even in territorial days, Democratic, and which never went Republican except when its Democratic magnates quarrelled, and with Nevada, the population of which is less than at least any one of six towns in our State, in allying itself with the unprogres-

sive States of the South. If any one will take a map and mark the States which have cast their majority for Bryan, they will see how isolated we are among the great progressive States of the Union. Even New Mexico went Republican, and we are entirely surrounded by Republican States."

"To what do you attribute the result in this State?"

"The silver question is, of course, at the bottom of it. It induced our people, irrespective of party, to vote for Bryan four years ago, and there are still thousands of people in Colorado who have a lingering belief that Democracy and bimetallism go hand in hand. There is a rude awakening in store for them.

"Long before the next national election the Democracy will formally abandon the silver question and will take its stand on some other issue; probably the old issue of general antagonism to the progressive policies of the Republican party.

"In the general trend and growth of commerce and of our commercial relations with other countries, especially if the Orient be opened to foreign commerce, the question of bimetallism will again be raised, probably by some of the nations of Europe. If it does again become matter for international discussion it will be through some policy approved by England, France, Germany, and the leading commercial nations of the world, at some change of ratio, and under conditions which will secure an absolute parity of value at a fixed ratio between the two metals. The question has long ceased to be one which may be settled by the United States alone. Any adjustment of it will be international, and it will come without doubt, if it comes at all, solely through the policy and action of the Republican party. Except in Colorado, Montana, and Nevada, the question had ceased to be active and was generally recognized this year as being no longer a live issue in this Presidential campaign."

"What part did the Administration's policy of expansion play?"

"A curious feature of it all as affecting Colorado is that at heart our people are in entire sympathy with the Administration in its policy respecting the Philippines and in all the great questions growing out of the recent war with Spain. Western men are naturally expansionists and are ready to assume the national responsibilities which are imposed upon us.

"There was never so interesting a time as now in the history of our country, and there is no State in the Union which is so certain to benefit by the policy of the Republican party as Colorado.



"The Philippines are ours, and will for all time remain ours. In the opening and development of the commerce of these islands Colorado, owing to its geographical situation, and its vast and varied resources, is certain to have an enormous share.

"Our cattle interests are to be immensely benefited; our cotton and other mills now running, and the others sure to be established, will conduct an ever-increasing commerce with the islands; our iron and steel interests are nearer the Philippines than any others in the world, and we shall be a great gainer in that direction.

"Recent events make it certain that the Orient will before long be opened to foreign commerce. There are 250,000,000 of human beings who will come into business and other relations with the civilized world. Our agricultural interests will be vastly stimulated by this enormous market as well as all of our iron and steel and manufactured products. In addition to all this, both in the Philippines and in China, there will be a constantly increasing demand for silver, certain to result in both steadying and raising the value of the metal. The policy of this Administration respecting China has been one of rare ability. We have kept our hands off from all attempts to acquire territory, but we have successfully insisted that whenever any section of the country is opened to foreign traffic American merchants shall have free access to their markets. Within the next generation tens of thousands of miles of railroad will be constructed in China, and Colorado iron and steel works will furnish as much of the material as they are able to produce.

"Important as has been the silver question with the people of Colorado, I believe our acquisitions in the Philippines and the establishment of our right to share in the commerce of the Orient means far greater prosperity to Colorado than it would have experienced, even under the restoration of bimetallism."

The interview then entered upon the practical present-day consideration of the best thing to be done under the circumstances, in which Mr. Wolcott was especially at home. "How," the reporter asked, "will the welfare of Colorado be affected by the fact that its Congressional delegation will be entirely Fusion and in the minority?" Mr. Wolcott replied:

This country is entering upon an era of unparalleled prosperity. Colorado is certain to enjoy a share of it. Of course if a State is in harmony with the general policy of the Govern-



ment, and its representatives are in accord with the majority of Congress, it has a great advantage in securing needed and favorable legislation. Our disadvantage in this respect ought largely to be overcome by the fact, however, that every decent citizen of Colorado, whatever may be his political affiliations, will work with constant and undivided effort toward securing everything possible for our State. The Republican party is in the minority, but it is equally interested in advancing the welfare and prosperity of our State. We all have, to a greater or less degree, friendships and influence at the national capital, and every one of us will do what we can to help Colorado. Important measures have already passed the Senate, such as the bill for the Soldier's Home and for certain public buildings. Unless they pass the House this winter they will have to be reintroduced into both bodies. I shall, of course, do everything in my power to secure the passage through the House of all these measures, and the Congressional delegation, whatever may be its political character, will naturally do what it can.

It is no time for anybody to sulk. What we want in Colorado are hope and confidence and real prosperity, and every good citizen, irrespective of party, will seek to build up the welfare of the State.

We have already secured for Colorado a more ample distribution of rural free delivery than has been accorded, territorially, to any other State in the Union, and the last few years have seen a very great increase in the number of our mail routes and a general extension of our mail facilities. We have been treated with great courtesy by the representatives of the other States in the Union, and I trust that the same liberal policy may continue to prevail in our behalf.

There is another matter of vital importance to Colorado which I trust will be soon brought about. We appropriate annually millions upon millions of dollars for river and harbor improvements. Colorado is one of two or three States in the Union which has no share, or direct benefit, from these appropriations. There has been for some years a growing inclination among the Eastern Senators to recognize the demands of the arid States for intelligent surveys and liberal appropriations for the building of reservoirs and the storage of water for irrigating purposes. With a united and persistent effort I believe that a system of such internal improvements can be soon commenced and carried out from year to year, until the irrigable lands of Colorado will be quintupled in acreage.

I sincerely believe that within a generation the population of Colorado will be counted by millions, and that even then we will have hardly commenced the development of our resources. If in twenty-five years from now any new-comer should be told that in the last year of the century a majority of the people of this State voted in favor of dishonoring the policy of the Administration, and for a Presidential candidate pledged to withdraw our soldiers and our authority from the Philippines and running on a platform which denied the constitutionality or wisdom of the expansion of our territory, he would find it difficult of belief. Colorado is full of intelligent and progressive and patriotic people. We do not belong to the ignorant and illiterate States, and long before the next Presidential campaign comes around our people will set themselves right on national questions and take the position that belongs to us with the intelligent and progressive States of the North, the West, and the East.

Asked concerning his own future, Senator Wolcott said :

I shall be going East soon to serve out the remainder of my term, which ends on the 3d of March.

I shall then return to Colorado, where I have lived for thirty years, and which is the only home I have ever known. I shall resume here the practice of my profession. Everything I have or hope for, all my interests, all my associations, are centred in the State; I shall live here until I die, and in office or out of office, I shall continue to be a steadfast Republican believing in the principles of the party with which I have been identified since boyhood.

For twelve years I have served my party and the State in the Senate of the United States, and during that time I have cast no vote that I would change if I could. I am not in the least disturbed by the personal attacks which have been made upon me for I am conscious of their injustice. The talk of my accepting other responsibilities out of the State is nonsense. There is no place like Colorado, and I expect to find here a field of usefulness and happiness for the rest of my life.

There is one other word I must say. During the last campaign the Republican party was united and earnest and patriotic as never before in its history. In every county of the State the members of the Republican party counted no sacrifice too great, or no work too arduous that might bring success.

Our gains have been tremendous and the size of the Republican vote in every county of the State is most flattering. The credit of this is largely due to the women of Colorado, and especially of Arapahoe County, who, with perfect organization and sincere devotion to the principles of the party, worked unceasingly to bring about its success.

Personally, I am relieved at the outcome; as a Republican I feel buoyant and joyful over the great accessions to our party, and I look forward, as does every other good Republican in Colorado, to the day of our eventual and final triumph, which cannot be long postponed.

That after the general election he accepted with equanimity the prospect, even the certainty, of defeat, by the Legislature, is evidenced by the tenor of a speech he made before the Union League Club at Philadelphia two or three weeks after the result in Colorado had become known. Declaring in that address that he was "no mourner," he said:

I have been told for years that "Sweet are the uses of adversity." Fortunately, I have many years in which to ascertain wherein that sweetness consists. There is no more pitiable spectacle than a man in public life who fancies that the world owes him something. In this world we are entitled to just so much of success as we conquer, no more. Somebody has said that to the strong man life is a splendid fracas, and this is true. It is infinitely better to have fought and lost than not to have fought.

The following from the same address is too characteristic to be omitted in this connection:

She [Colorado] is a wonderful State, of marvellous resources and unlimited possibilities. The sun shines out of a clear sky for three hundred and fifty days in every year, and she is settled by as fine a set of people as ever lived under the canopy of Heaven. I know, for I have lived there since boyhood. I have served her for twelve years in the Senate. I have been hanged in effigy in most of her important towns. I have been burned in effigy in a few of them, and I claim the right to speak for the people, because I know them. I have known there days of friendship, and days of adversity, and days of returning friendship, and, although the sun climbs slowly

over its cañons and defiles, it gets there finally, and its dawn is already beginning to illumine the State.

When the Legislature met in January only an even dozen of its hundred members were Republican, and Hon. Thomas M. Patterson was elected to succeed Mr. Wolcott, after twelve years of service by the latter in the highest legislative body in the Union. Mr. Patterson had been Mr. Wolcott's consistent and persistent antagonist during most of the thirty years each had been in the State, both as a party leader, and as owner and editor of the principal opposition newspaper in the State. They also had been frequently opposed to each other as counsel in cases at bar. In many ways, indeed, they were rivals, and while in the heat of controversy many bitter sentiments found expression by each regarding the other. These, however, were soon forgotten, and their antagonisms did not extend beyond politics. Mr. Wolcott recognized in Mr. Patterson a man of ability, and after the latter's election did all that he could to influence his friends in the State to aid in upholding his hands as a representative of the State in the Senate.

Returning to Washington after the announcement of the result of the November election, Senator Wolcott continued to give his undivided attention to his legislative duties until the close of the term on March 4, 1901. He was Chairman of the Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads, and the big appropriation bill providing more than a hundred million dollars for the conduct of the postal affairs of the country continued to hang fire until almost the last hour of the session. Mr. Wolcott had every detail of the vast measure at his fingers' ends, and was in the thick of the fray to the last.

A melancholy interruption of his legislative duties came about a month before the close of the session, when he was called to Longmeadow by his mother's death.

#### OUT OF THE SENATE

Poor health kept Mr. Wolcott from Colorado until the next fall, a year from the time of his previous contest. In the county elections of 1901 the Republicans again made



large gains outside of Arapahoe County, and Mr. Wolcott issued a statement claiming the State to be Republican at last. He said:

The election just over shows that the majority of the people of this State are Republicans. Outside Arapahoe County the party scored a glorious victory.

In this county, owing to Democratic frauds, principally, but partially, as well, to apathy and to dissatisfaction, which I do not believe to have been well founded, we failed to carry our ticket, and Arapahoe County will, for two years longer, suffer from mismanagement, which has increased our taxes and diverted our revenues from their proper channels. There are some political questions affecting the party in Colorado that I am glad to talk about.

Until 1896 we belonged among the strongest of Republican States. Then came the Bryan delusion, which swept ninety per cent. of the voters, including eighty per cent. of the Republicans, into the Populist-Democratic vortex. Less than eleven per cent. of us stood with the party. Our former friends, naturally enough, wanted to "make it unanimous," and the story of the struggle we had to prevent our whole organization from being taken, body and breeches, into the Bryan ranks would make very interesting reading. As a natural result, those who remained with the party had to make very stringent rules respecting its primaries, nominees, and conventions. It was done solely as a measure of self-preservation. But now the necessity for such regulations has long since ceased to exist, for we have again become a united party.

Two years ago I urged that the rules be widened, and, so far as possible, all rules be abrogated so that every man and woman desiring Republican success should have not only full voice, but equal voice in all its deliberations and in controlling the policy and organization of the party. I have n't been home long enough to have talked with any one familiar with the subject, but if there is a single rule or regulation in our party organization that prevents the full and fair and free expression of the views of any Republican, or prevents or hampers the open and free choice of the majority of the Republicans of the State from being registered, I am for the unqualified repeal of such a rule.

Yes [he said further in the same statement], I am back here to stay this winter and every winter and every summer, unless



I am called away from the State on business; and I expect to renew the practice of my profession which I have followed in Colorado for thirty years this autumn.

Shall I continue to take an interest in Colorado politics? Of course I shall! And I have no doubt that we will soon take a place where we belong, among the intelligent, progressive Republican States of the Northwest.

This statement by Mr. Wolcott covered much important ground and deserves no slight attention from the biographer. Portions of it will be quoted elsewhere, but his concession to aspirants and his estimate of his own place in the party show a phase of character for which he received little credit. On those points he said:

The battle for Republican principles in this State for the past five years has been fierce and bitter. Those of us who maintained the brunt of the attack aroused, naturally enough, the greatest hostility; it was inseparable from such a contest.

I have always foreseen that when the day of the party's reunion should come, as it surely would, I should be a rock of offence to some good men who had conscientiously left the party, and who now are inclined to return to it, but who still remember something of the former rancor.

I both understand and respect this sentiment. Republican success is of infinitely greater importance to the prosperity and welfare of our State than that any one man should be called to represent her in the Senate of the United States, and no man feels this more deeply than myself.

It would be premature and idle to say that I would not accept an office that may never be tendered me, and that office the highest Colorado can bestow.

But I am in no sense an aspirant for the Senate. Colorado has rewarded me far beyond my deserts, and I shall be wholly content to spend the remainder of my life as a citizen of Colorado, devoting myself to her advancement, and seeking always the triumph, in the State and nation, of Republican principles, under which alone we have ever achieved prosperity.

But broader still was his platform! Hear his plea for other "bosses" in his own party:

So much for party "bossism," so far as I am concerned. But

I already hear criticism of other "bosses," criticism which, in my opinion, has no real foundation. There will always be "slates," as they are termed, and there will always be, in any vigorous party, a struggle within party lines to secure its honors and a share in its direction. The cries of "slate" in conventions, so far as they come from men who interest themselves actively in politics, really mean little, for if they had control they would be, properly enough, equally active in endeavoring to manage conventions.

There are, however, thousands of intelligent men in this State, bound by no rigid party lines, who have an impression that if they vote one "gang" out they only vote another in.

When Colorado wins its next Republican victory it will be when these voters believe that no man and no set of men dominate our party, and when we present a ticket made up of good men in whose nomination every Republican has had, or has had the opportunity of having, full and free and equal voice.

And for the successful "bosses" in the other party:

One thing further: Our representation at Washington belongs to a hopeless minority. We need, as never before, generous and intelligent legislation for Western interests, not alone in the reclaiming of our millions of acres of arid lands, but in countless directions.

We ought to strengthen the hands of our Senators and Representatives in every possible way, assisting them in their presentation of our interests and generously applauding them when they accomplish something for us. They all seek to help our State in the national councils, and we owe them every encouragement in this direction. Nothing more seriously hampers honest effort in Washington than constant and belittling abuse at home. I know, for I have had more experience of it than most men in public life.

The next few years mean so much to Colorado! This republic has become one of the great world nations, destined to share in the solution of the vast problems of civilization all over the globe. We have reached such a plane of prosperity as the most hopeful of us never dreamed of twenty-five years ago. And we are only at the threshold of our possibilities. Colorado, with her limitless resources, can contribute more to the general sum of prosperity than any commonwealth in the Union, and I believe we shall never attain the measure of our greatness until

we renew our devotion to the Republican party, under whose principles and policy our country has made such giant strides.

Yet, while approving the denunciation of pernicious political bossism, Mr. Wolcott did not concur in the condemnation of his appointees which was indulged in by some of the Republicans. He realized that this was only another means of criticising himself, and, convinced of the loyalty and patriotism of these men, he did not turn against them because of the public clamor. The two men most viciously attacked had been among his most devoted followers in '96, and he found in the aspersions upon them assaults upon their party loyalty, which especially aroused his resentment. While not demanding especial favors for those who had remained true to the party, he could not endure reflections on them because of their fidelity.

But if he defended the characters of individual office-holders he did not attempt to exercise any further influence in the matter of the distribution of Federal patronage. Once out of office himself he determined to let the minor office-holders look out for themselves. He claimed no authority because of past position. If his party should bestow any future honors upon him they must come because of the public recognition of the fact that he had proved himself worthy of trust and not because of the favor of individuals won by office barter. Openly avowing this policy, he said in an interview printed November 17, 1901:

"With my return to private life my duty as to appointments is ended. I naturally am interested in preventing the removal of fit and proper appointees now in office, but I shall no longer be active in influencing the selection of new men for the offices."

In a speech made February 14, 1902, he was able to assert: "Since my retirement from the Senate I have not sent a single letter about an appointment to the President nor to any member of his Cabinet." So again, at a still later period: "I am in private life and am not counted a purveyor of patronage, but a simple citizen fighting in the ranks."

Thus he stood when the campaign of 1902-3 opened.

## THE LAST SENATORIAL FIGHT

CAME then Mr. Wolcott's final political struggle—the contest of 1902-3, when the Republicans were again in the majority, as was attested by the election of a State ticket, including James H. Peabody as Governor. The triumph of his party at that time brought to Mr. Wolcott his only chance of re-election after the expiration of his second term in the Senate, and the Fates then seemed to conspire to prevent his success. Senator Teller's term expired on the 4th of March, 1903, and if the Republican party in the State had been harmonious, the re-election of Mr. Teller, who had become a Democrat, might have been prevented, and, after a lapse of two years, Mr. Wolcott might have been chosen to resume his old place in the Senate.

But Mr. Wolcott was not so well prepared then to command the situation as he had been most of the time in the preceding fifteen or twenty years. During the greater part of that period his power in the party had been absolute; but upon leaving the Senate he had surrendered control of the machinery, had permitted his supporters to drift away, and in doing so had allowed his enemies to gain such ascendancy in the party as to render them capable of accomplishing his defeat by co-operating with the Democrats. His relinquishment of party authority greatly emboldened his opponents, many of whom would not have taken a positive position against him if he had occupied his old position of power.

Aside from the natural ambition which had demurred at his supremacy, there were special reasons why many were reluctant to follow his leadership. Some of those who abandoned the party in 1896 retained their personal antagonism

after their return. The quality of his leadership operated against him. Had he been a dickering politician, working simply for immediate success he would have stood on a lower plane. Those who co-operated with him would have felt that they were using him rather than following him. But he always had maintained such a lofty tone that those who had parted with him for a while found themselves tacitly acknowledging by the very act of returning to their allegiance that they had been in the wrong and he in the right. His imperious manner had been at all times an offence to many persons, some of whom had schooled themselves to bear it with what patience they could, but many of whom openly resented what seemed to them his lack of courtesy. It is probable, moreover, that persons against whose interests he had appeared in the courts had a feeling of having suffered wrong through him, and it is certain that some of the corporations which he had antagonized were among his determined and effective foes. In short, all of the grievances which had accumulated against him during his long political reign, which had smouldered quietly as long as he was successful, now sought vent.

The Chairman of the State Republican Committee, J. B. Fairley, of Colorado Springs, was opposed to Mr. Wolcott. Indeed, the machinery of the entire Republican Committee was arrayed against him notwithstanding most of its officers had been chosen by him. There also was another Colorado Springs man, Mr. Philip B. Stewart, a recent comer into the State and a novice in politics, who by reason of his connections in Washington was regarded as the distributor of Federal patronage, who exerted himself to the utmost against Wolcott. In addition to these adverse conditions in his own party, the Democrats were fairly united.

But notwithstanding all these elements of opposition he would have stood a fair chance of winning if some of the Republican members of the Legislature had not conspired against him, as they did at the crucial time.

Mr. Wolcott's opponents in his own party began operations by appealing to his chivalry in connection with the State campaign of 1902. Representing to him that if he



were absent from the State and had no part in that contest, the fight could be made on the State ticket without having the question of the Senatorship complicated with it, thus increasing the prospect of success, they appealed to him to go away for the time. He had misgivings as to the wisdom of the course, but yielded. It is evidence of the openness of spirit of one ordinarily so shrewd in political matters that he should have been thus hoodwinked. The rival Republican factions made use of his departure to strengthen their position. When, after the election of the Republican State ticket, Mr. Wolcott returned, they claimed that his absence from the State had been accepted as a pledge that he would not seek to return to the Senate.

Far from having given such a pledge, he had let it be known among his friends that a return to the Senate would be agreeable to him whenever it could be brought about without injury to the party. He enjoyed service in the Senate, but his Senatorial ambition was subordinated to the success of Republicanism. Hence, in becoming a candidate, he was not inconsistent. He had said over and again that he was not concerned so much for his own success as for the restoration of his party to power, and that his chief desire was that Colorado should be represented in the Senate by a Republican—a circumstance which would help to put the State in accord with the dominant party in the country, and, as he believed, place it in the way of greater industrial progress and more rapid material development. He never had said that he would not be a candidate. He realized as did few others the probability of other aspirants entering the contest, and he did not seek to discourage them. He was willing that all should have a fair field, and he asked as much for himself.

The first open indication of opposition to his candidacy came immediately after the result of the November elections became known as favorable to the Republican ticket, and was made manifest in connection with a meeting in Denver called for November 18th to ratify and rejoice over the result at the polls. This meeting was held under the auspices of the Young Men's Republican Club, and was called by W. B. Lowry, chairman of the local committee, whose plan was

to have a number of ten-minute speeches by the candidates and State leaders. Mr. Lowry obtained Mr. Wolcott's consent by telegraph to deliver one of these addresses, but when Mr. Fairley learned that Wolcott was on the programme, he sent telegrams all over the State, calling the meeting off. Lowry, however, despatched rival messages declaring the meeting would be held, and it was held.

Wolcott arrived in Denver the day before the meeting. As the *Denver Post* tells the story, Lowry went to see him, feeling very despondent over the withdrawal of speakers. Wolcott heard Lowry's report in silence. He paced up and down the room for a few minutes, and going then to Lowry, laid his hand on that gentleman's shoulder, saying:

"Walter, it is n't the first time Colorado Republicans have refused to speak from the same platform with me. We will hold the meeting. You go ahead with the arrangements. If there is nobody on the platform but you and me we will carry out the programme, and I will endeavor to entertain the audience for the entire evening."

Chairman Lowry and the local Republicans had prepared extensive plans in the way of parade and bands and were expecting to expend considerable money out of their own pockets, but Wolcott would not permit them to do so. "You go on and get up the finest demonstration that can be had," he said, "and then bring the bills to me."

The absence of Mr. Fairley and his followers did not, therefore, prevent an enthusiastic demonstration either on the street or in Coliseum Hall, where the meeting was held. Giving an account of it, next day, the *Denver Republican* said:

Thirty thousand citizens joined last night in the great jollification over the return of the State of Colorado to the union of Republican States. Ten thousand marched in line, or rode in carriages, waving banners, swinging torches, and cheering. Twenty thousand more lined the streets along the two miles of the line of march, a solid mass of humanity. Everywhere was the same enthusiasm shown, the kind which cannot be embalmed, sealed up, and put in a vault to be brought out for use on a later occasion.

Five thousand were packed in Coliseum Hall to hear the

speeches delivered by leaders of the party to whom Republicanism in wholesale lots means no menace. Two thousand more filled the street outside, and formed an overflow meeting which was addressed by speakers from within. Everywhere was good nature. The crowd knew no enemies, and it knew no factions. All were Republicans, glad that Republicanism had triumphed.

Edward O. Wolcott spoke again from the platform where six years ago he had to be guarded from the violence of the opposition while he addressed a small gathering of the faithful. But this time it was to a cheering crowd, every one recognizing his leadership in the party which he led through the deserts in the days when its numbers were few.

In addition to Mr. Wolcott, Congressman-elect H. M. Hogg, John W. Springer, and Edward P. Costigan delivered addresses. While in the main devoting his remarks to general issues, Mr. Wolcott did not fail to make reference to the circumstances under which the meeting was held. He spoke in jocular mood, mentioning several of the more notable absentees, whom he cajoled unmercifully. Referring to Chairman Fairley, he said:

I regret the personal attack that has grown out of this meeting, for I know he will regret it some day. I have spent my time fighting Democrats, and I don't propose to enter into a campaign of slander. I believe we should send greeting to him to-night, and if he does not invite us to his party in January, we will be there. If we are not at the table, we will be in the galleries.

Especial reference was made by Mr. Wolcott to the device by which he had been induced to refrain from participation in the campaign, as follows:

In this last campaign I was requested by the members of the central committee to withdraw from the convention and from the State because they believed that if the Senatorial contest were eliminated and the battle fought out on State issues, our chances of success would be greater. My pride was hurt as never before. If I am called upon to abstain from one contest in Colorado I think perhaps my record is as good as that of most of the party, and if I am to be debarred from any campaign in this State I would rather it would be at such

a time as this, when victory was in sight, for I cherish no memory in my life as precious and as sacred as the associations formed in those dark days, now happily forever past, when, with no ray of hope and no star in the sky, facing certain defeat and hate, it was my blessed privilege to be one of those who warmed into life the almost dead embers of Republican principles in Colorado, until now they have been pressed into victory.

An important feature of the address was a plea for party loyalty, in part as follows:

This meeting is given under the auspices of the Young Men's Republican Club. It seems to me but yesterday when I, too, used to speak for young men and for young men's Republican clubs. But the span of political life is short and the workers drop out, and the new men and the young men come and fill the ranks. You are to be congratulated that you come upon the arena at a time when the old battles have been fought and the old bitterness threshed out, and you have only to preserve and maintain intact that for which your elders fought. Growing out of the lessons of the last few years, may I beg of you to insist to the members of your club and to the young men of Colorado, to stand always with their party, and if things go wrong and you want to right them, right them from within and not from without. And, further, my friends, when you see factions and personalities in you own party raising their heads, stamp them out. The individual is nothing,—the party is all. Faction and slander are the poor creatures of the hour. The great principles of the Republican party are eternal, and by your devotion to them, and so only, can you lift this great commonwealth, with its marvellous resources, into the front rank of the States of the Union. And so, and so only, can you place our great beloved country in the forefront of the nations of the earth, a mighty instrument for progress, for civilization, and for Christianity.

From the time of Mr. Wolcott's return to the State the Senatorial contest became the subject of much attention, and the situation in the Legislature was canvassed with especial care. When that body, comprised of one hundred members, assembled it was found to be composed of fifty-five Democrats and forty-five Republicans, giving the Democrats a majority of ten on joint ballot. But, because of the allegations of



fraud in the election of members, the Republicans were not without hope of overcoming this disadvantage. Of the thirty-five Senators twenty-four were Democrats and eleven Republicans, and there was no prospect of a favorable change in that body. In the House there was a Republican majority of three, there being thirty-four Republicans and thirty-one Democrats. Among others the fraud charges involved all of the House members from Arapahoe County, including eleven representing that county alone and four representing Arapahoe in connection with small adjoining counties who were known as "floats." The frauds consisted of all manner of election irregularities, and those in Arapahoe were so flagrant as to attract much attention and call forth severe condemnation from all believers in righteous government. Still, it was contended that, even though illegal ballots had been cast, there were not enough of them to overcome the large majorities returned for the Democratic candidates, and in addition there were countercharges in connection with the election of Republican members in other counties. However, except in a few cases, the last mentioned charges were never pressed to a conclusion, so that the Arapahoe elections still bear an unenviable distinction. Mr. Wolcott believed the infractions of honesty and decency to have been without excuse, and he spent a large sum in proving them to be so.

It never was intended by the anti-Wolcott leaders that the fraudulent elections should be exposed if in any way Wolcott was to become a beneficiary of the proceeding, and in the end the fear that he would be such beneficiary prevented effective action. Notwithstanding Mr. Wolcott's practically enforced absence from the State during the previous campaign, most of the Republican Senators and an even half, or seventeen, of the thirty-four Republican members of the House were advocates of his election, as were enough of the Republican contestants to insure him a majority in a Republican caucus in case of the removal of the Democrats against whom there were charges.

This situation was not a pleasing one to either the Democrats or to Wolcott's Republican antagonists. Independently and through fusion with the Populists, the Democrats had been in control of the Legislature as well as the State offices



since 1896. Their majorities had gradually dwindled away until their men had been removed from all the executive places, and now that they were in danger of losing the Legislature also they were ready to exert themselves to the utmost to prevent such result. The Legislature was all that was left; there they must make their final stand. The fact that the United States Senatorship was involved in the contest naturally acted as an incentive to a vigorous fight. Consequently they were in receptive mood when advances came from the Wolcott opponents in Republican ranks. The anti-Wolcott Republicans were by no means enamored of the Democrats, but they were willing to forego all party advantage to insure Wolcott's humiliation. Coalition offered the surest means of accomplishing this end, and the session had not proceeded far when the Wolcott opponents were found working together regardless of party name.

Deep feeling resulted from this state of affairs, eventuating in a situation such as seldom has been witnessed anywhere in connection with a Senatorial contest. Six members of both Houses were expelled; for a time two Senates were sitting; the legislative halls were barricaded, and in the control of heavily armed guards. There was talk of calling out the militia. Bloodshed was imminent at any moment for almost a week. During much of that time Senators and members slept at their desks, because they did not feel safe in leaving them.

As the time approached for the session of the Legislature, it was felt to be desirable that a caucus should be held to determine the course of the party representatives, and on January 6th, the day before the session opened, Mr. Wolcott addressed the following letter to Mr. Fairley:

DEAR SIR: The General Assembly meets to-morrow morning. There is in the House of Representatives a clear majority of Republican members.

There was never in the history of the State such an important session of the Assembly as this, or one on whose action the future of the party and the welfare of the State so greatly depended.

At a time when the Democracy presents a united front, our

party seems threatened with dissensions of a more or less serious character.

It is of comparatively little importance who is elected Senator, but he should be a Republican. Of far more vital moment is it that our party should be courageous and animated by a common and friendly purpose. There are gross frauds upon the ballot to be dealt with. The Republican governor should have his hands strengthened by a united party.

The very foundations of Republicanism are based upon the proposition that it acts always through the will of its members, as evidenced by the wish of the majority, and never in collusion with the Democracy.

The Speaker of the House must be chosen to-morrow. Before that hour the Republican members should meet in free and fair caucus and determine by vote in the ordinary and customary way their choice for Speaker. I am informed that although most of the members desire so to meet, no concerted arrangement for such a meeting has yet been effected.

For these reasons, and because I know your sturdy devotion to Republican principles and traditions, I take the liberty of respectfully requesting you, as the recognized head of the party organization, to call upon the Republican members of the House of Representatives, to meet in caucus at an early hour, at some convenient place, to determine by the vote of the majority of the members present, their choice for Speaker. Yours truly,

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

No response was made to this appeal, and no caucus was held. The House was in a deadlock over the Speakership for forty-eight ballots, the votes for the candidates standing 17 for the Wolcott candidate, 17 for the anti-Wolcott candidate, and 31 for the Democratic candidate, when suddenly the Democrats abandoned their man to vote for J. B. Sanford, of Douglas County, an anti-Wolcott Republican, with the result that he was elected.

With the House organized and ready for business, the first matter to be settled by the Legislature was the disposal of the contested elections. The new Speaker appointed a Committee on Elections to consider this subject, five of whom were anti-Wolcott Republicans and four Democrats, the latter including two of those whose seats were in dispute. The Republican members of the Committee

were embarrassed by the fact that nine of the fifteen Arapahoe claimants of seats were supporters of Mr. Wolcott, a sufficient number if seated to give him a majority of the votes of the party. Meantime the Senate, alleging Republican as well as Democratic frauds, had threatened to unseat a Republican for every Democratic member of the House displaced, and to this end had adopted the Goebel rule of the Kentucky Legislature, by which the Secretary of the Senate was authorized to put a motion for the unseating of members if the Lieutenant-Governor refused to do so. At this juncture, January 16th, Mr. Wolcott issued the following appeal:

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF COLORADO:

The grave and imminent danger which threatens the party—the certainty that within almost a few hours, unless wise judgments intervene, our representatives will engulf us in irreparable party disgrace, of far-reaching injury, and affecting seriously the future welfare of the State, is my excuse and justification for this appeal.

It is not a time for recrimination or personalities. It is a moment when the real earnest Republicans of Colorado, without rancor, but with earnest purpose, must exercise every possible influence in their power to induce their own representatives in the General Assembly to stand by Republican principles, withdraw before it is too late from disastrous and dishonorable fusion with Democrats, consent to vote and work with their fellow-members of the same political faith, and save the country the spectacle of the election of a Democrat by a Legislature which every man in Colorado knows to be fairly Republican, and which only needs honest and united action to make it so. In the Colorado House of Representatives there are at present thirty-four Republicans and thirty-one Democrats. There are *pro forma* contests for all seats, but the one main contention is the question whether the fifteen members of the House, eleven from the county proper, and four tied to Arapahoe County and known as float members, elected, all of them, through glaring, open, undenied, and undeniable fraud, shall hold their seats. The facts are familiar to everybody. These crimes against the ballot have been thoroughly investigated, the summary of the evidence long since in the hands of every legislator; and unless there shall be an opportunity of voting upon them by the mem-

bers of this Legislature, it not only means a Democratic General Assembly, but it means something far more, a condoning by Republicans of great and palpable frauds and a perversion and miscarriage of justice. There are also frauds alleged and said to be proved, affecting two members from the southeastern portion of the State.

Before the opening of the session, the thirty-four Republican members of the House entered, as is usual, into an intense, but, everybody supposed, a good-natured party rivalry and contest for the selection of a Speaker. The very foundation of the party is based upon control by the majority, evidenced by the action of its members in convention or conference or caucus. The day, therefore, before the Assembly was to meet, seventeen Republicans asked their associates to come into caucus or conference, to arrive at a choice for Speaker. To their amazement this was refused by men assuming to speak for the seventeen to whom the request was made. An appeal was made to the Chairman of the State Central Committee, as the head of the organization, to exercise his influence to bring about such a caucus, but the appeal was refused. What followed we all know. The thirty-one Democrats, and seventeen Republicans refusing to caucus, elected a Speaker and committees, and the patronage was distributed among them.

It is futile now to discuss the terms of this deal. There must have been some inducements for such an arrangement. The unfortunate evidences of the deal, so far most apparent, are the appointment by the Speaker of four Democrats on the Elections Committee, two of whom are from Arapahoe County, upon the unseating of whose members the whole question of the complexion of the Legislature turns; and upon the fact that when the non-fusion Republicans urged speedy action by the Elections Committee, and by resolutions called for a report by the 15th, the other side first changed it to the 17th, and then, the fusion Republicans and the Democrats agreeing, again postponed it until eleven o'clock on the 19th, but twenty-four hours before the voting on the Senatorship commences—to an hour when, unless there is absolute unanimity among all the Republicans, and a firm resolve to act together with vigor and courage in the few hours left for action, the election of a Democratic Senator is certain.

The issue which we must meet and face, as Republicans, is not the question of who shall be the next United States Senator. It is solely and only whether the Republican members of the



House, having right with them, shall do their duty and make the General Assembly Republican on joint ballot. The threatened importation into the State Senate by Democrats of the bloody methods which have forever blackened the good name of the State of Kentucky, must not swerve us. The patriotic Republicans in the State Senate are loyal to their party, and they are able, backed by a Republican Governor, to take care of themselves.

There is still time for the seventeen Republicans who declined to act with their party associates to retrace their steps. They were elected as Republicans; they are Republicans. They have been the dupes of designing and unscrupulous men. They may still save the good name of the State. Let them report the whole body of the contestants back into the House, and let the thirty-four Republicans, in the open, and before the sight of the Republicans of Colorado, vote as their names are called, whether the Arapahoe Republicans, county and floats, shall be seated, or whether these iniquitous frauds shall be condoned. Thus and thus only can they show the people of Colorado that they have neither part, nor lot, nor sympathy with any deal or fusion with Democracy.

Or, better still: Let the thirty-four Republicans of the House meet at once in caucus and determine by a majority vote their action upon these contests. Notwithstanding the unjust and unfair treatment of which they have been subjected, I *know* that the seventeen Republicans who have voted without affiliations with Democracy, will enter to-day into such a caucus to save our party the degradation that otherwise awaits us. We can know no more on Monday than we now know about these frauds. Every member has had for days before him a synopsis of the evidence. For the sake of our principles and our party, I beg every Republican to lend his aid to bringing about such a caucus or conference.

Unless between now and Monday the thirty-four Republican members of the House reach some agreement to act in unity, a Democrat will be elected to the Senate for six years, from Colorado, a Republican State. If it happens we make ourselves a by-word and a reproach among our fellow-Republicans throughout the land. In the heat and bitterness of faction, we may not realize the crime against our party which is about to be perpetuated; but when the smoke and dust of this conspiracy shall be cleared away, every Republican in the State, whatever his present affiliations, will bow his head in grief and humiliation.



Between now and Monday every member of the party in the State can do something, by letter or telegram or personal expostulation, to prevent giving over our party again to the Democracy. I make this appeal, believe me, animated by no personal interest, but solely by an earnest desire that the party shall not be dishonored.

I have no criticisms or denunciations or a harsh word or thought toward anybody. We have, as a party in Colorado, passed through enough vicissitudes and suffered sufficient injury by fusion with Democracy. We love our State and are devoted to its interests. We believe its welfare to be forever interwoven with the welfare of the Republican party; and we need, as never before, representation in the Senate at Washington in sympathy with Republican ideals and principles.

Unless prompt and united action is taken by every true Republican, there will be inscribed at the State House next week a darker page in the political history of our beloved State than any that has yet been written.

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

DENVER, January 16, 1903.

The Committee on Elections lost little time in reporting. The Democratic members of the Committee took position against all displacements. One of the Republican members recommended the unseating of all of the Arapahoe Democrats, regular and float, and of one Democratic member from Las Animas County and a float member representing Las Animas, Baca, and Bent counties. The other four Republican members of the committee united in recommendations for the removal of the four float members and one regular member from Arapahoe and of the regular and float members from Las Animas whose right to their seats had been questioned.

As the more extreme suggestion of the individual member included the recommendation of the other four Republicans, there was a majority for the displacement of seven Democrats by as many Republicans. But, notwithstanding the limited recommendation of the four moderate Republicans, when a vote was reached on the report, they joined with the more extreme member and cast their ballots in favor of the displacement of seventeen Democrats. Such a course had been expected to insure the success of the plans

of Mr. Wolcott's friends. But here they met with an unexpected obstacle. Three Mexican members from some of the southern counties, who had been acting with the Republicans, switched suddenly about and cast their votes with the Democrats against ousting any of the eleven Democrats representing Arapahoe County proper. They aided in the displacement of the four Arapahoe floats and of the regular and float members from Las Animas County, thus reducing the Democratic representation in the House to twenty-five members and increasing the Republican representation to forty members. With the Senate standing twenty-four Democrats to eleven Republicans, the removal of the six Democratic members of the House gave the Republicans fifty-one members, or a majority of two on joint ballot. The Democratic Senators immediately retaliated by removing two of the Republican Senators, thus reversing the condition and giving the Democrats fifty-one as against the Republicans' forty-nine members.

The action of the Senate in removing two of its members, against whom, but for the partisan conflict, there would have been no such proceeding, was severely criticised, and Lieutenant-Governor Haggot, who had been elected on the same ticket with Governor Peabody, refused to recognize Democrats to make motions connected with a contest case. This refusal had the effect of causing the Democratic Senators to take into their own hands the Senatorial organization. The Republicans continued to assemble under the leadership of the Lieutenant-Governor, and for a time there were two Senates doing business in the same chamber. There was much talk of displacing other Democratic Representatives, but these threats were met by the announced determination of the Democrats to oust a Republican Senator for every House Democrat that might be turned out. On this account, and because of the danger of physical hostilities, a truce was tacitly agreed to, and no further steps toward the elimination of members had been taken when, Tuesday, January 20th, the day fixed for the beginning of balloting for United States Senator, arrived.

On that date, the House and the two Senates cast their votes for Senator. Senator Teller received all but one of

the Democratic votes, and Mr. Wolcott the larger share of the Republican votes. Immediately after this ballot, on motion of an anti-Wolcott Representative, the House precipitately adjourned for three days. This step was avowedly taken to permit the Senate to adjust its differences; but it was in contravention of the Federal law requiring a joint session of the two Houses on the day following a vote by the individual Houses in the election of a Senator. In accordance with this requirement of the law, the twenty-five House Democrats met the next day, Wednesday, January 21st, in connection with the Senate, when a joint ballot was taken for Senator. All of the twenty-six Democratic Senators and the twenty-five Democratic members were necessary to constitute a quorum. Mr. Teller received the votes of fifty of the fifty-one members present, but as they were not equal to a majority of the entire Legislature in joint assembly, no election took place at the first sitting. The joint meetings were continued until January 24th, when, all the Democrats being present and all voting for Mr. Teller, he was declared elected as his own successor.

No Republican member of the Legislature had taken part in the joint convention, and some of the disappointed aspirants for the Senate, raising the point that the proceedings had been irregular, threatened a contest before the United States Senate. Mr. Wolcott was not one of these. On the contrary, he took the position that with a quorum present and the law observed, the election had been strictly legal. Indeed, immediately after the joint sessions began, he had told his friends that an election by the organization would be in accordance with law, and he frequently warned the Republican members that they were throwing away their opportunity. Now, with the election consummated, he issued a formal statement of his views.

The publication of this pronunciamiento had the effect of quieting all talk of contest, and terminated the contention. Acquainted with the law and familiar with Senate precedents, Mr. Wolcott understood perfectly that when the Republicans consented to an adjournment over the period prescribed for the election of a Senator they opened the door for just what happened, which was the unopposed

election of a Democrat. He knew that, whatever the charges in connection with the election of members of the Colorado House of Representatives, the United States Senate would not attempt to go behind the action of the Legislature, as it was in accord with the legal requirements. Still, there might have been an excuse for creating temporary annoyance at Washington, and a man of smaller calibre might have availed himself of it. Not so Ed Wolcott. He was more anxious to bring peace and quiet to the State and to restore its good name abroad than he was to keep himself before the public or to annoy any one. Therefore, while condemning the processes leading up to the result, he advised acquiescence in it and absolved his former colleague from all responsibility even for those processes. The advice was followed. Those who had criticised the proceeding were guided by Wolcott's superior wisdom, and soon ceased their complaints.

But, while Mr. Wolcott acknowledged the regularity of Mr. Teller's election and refused sanction to any movement against him, he waged sharp and unrelenting warfare on his own opponents. Unquestionably there had been palpable frauds in the Arapahoe election, and there is no doubt that the Democratic legislative candidates profited by them. If, on the other hand, Republican legislative candidates had received benefit from similar proceedings elsewhere, as was alleged, Mr. Wolcott had not been a party to the frauds nor even cognizant of them. If the Republican members of the House had made a determined and whole-hearted fight for the seating of the Republican contestants, the result might have been different. At any rate, it would have been more satisfying to Mr. Wolcott's sense of proper political warfare, for he was ever ready to decide the rights of a question by combat. But the attitude of the anti-Wolcott members was known of all men. They were willing, even anxious, that the House should be Republican if unfavorable to Wolcott; not otherwise. Many of them preferred the election of a Democrat to the Senate. Hence they were without zeal, and their course was faltering and uncertain, if not treacherous, as was shown in their action with reference to the report of the contest committee.



It would be too much to say that Senator Wolcott was not disappointed by the result of the action of the Legislature. He felt grievously hurt, but not because of any sordid ambition of his own. While for many reasons he would have been gratified to receive another election to the Senate, his heart was not set absolutely upon a return to office. He had enjoyed all the honors that could be expected to come through service in the Senate, and notwithstanding a laudable ambition to improve upon his already enviable record, he would have been reasonably content to retire if his defeat had been brought about by the usual methods. It was the manner of the proceeding quite as much as the result that met his condemnation. Time and again he had said that, compared with the triumph of his party, his own success was of comparatively little importance. But to be beaten by a member of the opposition as a result of the machinations of Republicans—that was a little too much for human nature to endure with equanimity. He had labored long and against unusual odds to redeem his party in Colorado, and with redemption attained it was hard to have the party as well as himself deprived of all the fruits of victory—a victory which he believed to have been won indisputably. With the supremacy of Republicanism re-established, he had anticipated that there would be other aspirants for the Senate. He had clearly foreseen the probability of rivalry in Republican ranks, and while, of course, he would have enjoyed a spontaneous general movement for his election, he understood human nature too well to expect it. He knew his own disposition and appreciated it to be of the kind that creates enmities. Had he not said a year before that in the day of triumph he would be a rock of offence? His attitude in 1901 was correctly outlined in a newspaper interview, and it had not changed in 1903. In that interview he said:

It would be premature and idle to say I would not accept an office that may never be tendered me, and that office the highest Colorado can bestow; but I am in no sense an aspirant for the Senate. Colorado has rewarded me far beyond my deserts, and I shall be wholly content to spend the remainder of



my life as a citizen of Colorado, devoting myself to her advancement, and seeking always the triumph, in the State and nation, of Republican principles, under which alone we have ever achieved prosperity.

Controlled by sentiments of such magnanimity, Mr. Wolcott naturally was disappointed to meet no reciprocal feeling from the opposing faction in his party, and especially was he chagrined by the discovery that personal ambition and resentment should cause such a schism as to bring about the election of a Democrat. He saw then how deep had been the plot, the carrying into effect of which had been begun by enticing him away from the State in 1902 and terminated by the betrayal, not of himself only, but of the party as well. The iron sank deep into his soul, and it is not impossible that it remained there as long as he lived.

Mr. Wolcott's statement was a general review of the campaign, as follows:

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF COLORADO:

The seed sown on the opening day of the legislative session has borne its certain fruit. The inevitable has happened, and the conspiracy entered into between a few Republicans and the Democracy has brought the only result possible, the election of a Democratic United States Senator from Colorado. The terms of the fusion or deal are unimportant; they will some day be fully exposed, and the degradation and dishonor that have come to the party in the Senatorial election indicate the heavy price the Republican conspirators paid for the coalition.

When the Legislature met there was but one question presented, Should the fifteen members and float members from Arapahoe County be unseated? The evidence of fraud was overwhelming and conclusive. Every honest man in the State knew that the facts not only justified but required the unseating of these Democrats. Even when four of the five fusion Republican members of the Elections Committee of the House reported against unseating eleven of them, they dared not face the people of the State in a direct vote, and so the help of "the three Mexicans," nominally Republicans, but who by the terms of their agreement of adhesion waived all scruples that other men might

entertain, came to the rescue and, making with the Democrats a majority of the House, insured the retention of the fraudulently elected members, and permitted the other fusionists to vote in favor of the unseating. The refusal to unseat these Arapahoe County members was a crime against the Republican party, and against justice, and was the second exposure of the terms of this wicked deal.

The law, Federal and State, required the two Houses to vote separately for Senator on the 20th of this month, and thereafter each day at noon, in joint session. No member of the Legislature can fulfil his duty to the State and the nation without compliance with this law. On the 21st of the month, before twelve o'clock, a fusion Republican member moved an adjournment of the House until two o'clock on the 23d. It was a palpable trick. Protests from the real Republicans were unheeded, and being finally informed that it was the Governor's wish, and might save possible violence, they consented, and, the Democrats voting aye, the motion was unanimously carried. On both the 22d and the 23d the Democratic members of the House notwithstanding they had voted to adjourn, met in joint session and balloted for Senator. Yet on the 23d and 24th, when the trickery of the motion had been made apparent, the same member of the fusion party again moved an adjournment until the 25th at ten o'clock, and then until the 26th, and in spite of the votes and objections of the Republicans, twenty-two in number, the motion again, with Democratic votes, was carried. On Saturday, the 24th, as everybody knows, fifty-one Democrats voted in joint session for Mr. Teller, no Republican having voted at any joint session. This was the third demonstration of the corrupt deal.

On Wednesday evening at eight o'clock, the General Assembly consisted of fifty-one Republicans and forty-nine Democrats. At that hour the Senate by a motion, put by its chief clerk, unseated, without argument or hearing or evidence, two Republican members lawfully holding their seats. The Lieutenant-Governor, the presiding officer of the Senate, acting with courage and patriotism, refused to put this revolutionary motion, and, assured by his associates in the State government of their approval and support, sought to protect the legally elected Senators from this action, and, by steps justifiable and, if properly supported, legal, presided over the organization of a Republican Senate composed of nineteen members—the support of which the Lieutenant-Governor was assured, fell away from him. There was

still left the House, which, if it promptly recognized the Republican Senate, might with it constitute a valid and legal General Assembly. This recognition was sought for in vain. On the 23d and 24th the Republican members notified their associates, who were allied with the Democracy, of their readiness and desire to recognize the Republican Senate. This was refused them by their fusion associates, who insisted, instead, on voting with Democrats for adjournment. This constitutes the fourth link in the absolute proof of the terms of the deal or combination.

There were three joint sessions of the General Assembly. At the last one fifty-one Democrats voted for Mr. Teller. No other joint sessions have been held, and no Republican has voted in any joint session. The election of Mr. Teller is tinctured with fraud; first in the trickery of the adjournment by the Democrats of the House; second, in the arbitrary and fraudulent expulsion of two legally elected Senators. There is, however, for the reasons given above, now no other legally constituted Senate, as there might have been but for this conspiracy, and it is now too late to undo the wrong, and by unseating the fraudulently elected members from Arapahoe County insure the valid election of a Republican Senator.

The welfare of the State requires that there shall be no possible question or doubt as to the legal status of the two legislative bodies. Important laws are to be passed, moneys must be lawfully paid, our public institutions must be protected, and our State credit preserved. Wicked and unforgivable as is the wrong done the Republican party, yet from the point of view of the highest citizenship, there is but one thing to be done, and that is for the people to accept the deplorable situation, and for the Governor of the State to issue a certificate of election to Mr. Teller. It is enough that we are disgraced at home. The State needs the help of our Senators at Washington in countless ways for the upbuilding of Colorado, and we should not, if it can be helped, throw doubts upon their title to represent us. It is important also that this Assembly should be able to devote its time to proper legislative work, and not be further occupied by quarrels over the Senatorship. It is most desirable also, for the public morals, that the professional boodle brokers, those foul birds that hover over the Legislature looking for corruption, representing men whose ambitions or desire for revenge lead them to expenditure of money to debauch votes, should transfer their field of action to some more promising spot.

The above is a fair and true statement of the situation. Senator Teller is in no sense a party to the frauds, while he is the beneficiary of them. He has served Colorado for nearly a generation at Washington, and whatever may be our regret that he no longer marches in the ranks of the party that has so highly honored him, every citizen of the State wishes him health and strength, and believes that he is single-minded in his devotion to the material interests of the State.

The Republicans of Colorado have passed through many vicissitudes, and have faced overwhelming defeat; but always before at the hands of an open enemy. We have never walked as deep in the valley of humiliation as to-day; but after the darkness comes the dawn. All honor to the Republican members of the House who stood firm for party and principle and whose skirts are clear of Democratic taint! All honor to the Republican members of the Senate, and their party associates who left their homes and came here ready to act at the call of duty! The great mass of Republicans in the State are beginning to understand the situation and the party treachery of which many of even the fusion Republican members were the dupes. The lesson of to-day will not be lost, and the party, purified and strengthened, will guard forever hereafter against the presence of traitors in its citadel.

For myself I have not the slightest sense of personal disappointment, nor do I cherish rancor toward anybody. My first vote was cast in Colorado more than thirty years ago. I was a Republican then, and have been since. I was a Republican in '96. I am a Republican in 1903, and shall always remain a Colorado Republican. I have an abiding and indestructible faith in the principles and teachings of the party, and in the wisdom and fairness and judgment of its members in Colorado. In this hour of party shame and humiliation, I see in the heavens only the day-star of hope.

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

DENVER, COLORADO,  
January 25, 1903.

During the exciting days of this campaign, Mr. Wolcott was interviewed by a special writer of the *Denver Post*. The occasion of the publication was the printing of a card by Philip B. Stewart, in which Mr. Wolcott was severely attacked. Mr. Stewart was on terms of personal friendship with President Roosevelt, and the fact that he was making



a vigorous fight upon Mr. Wolcott led many to conclude that the President himself was opposed to Wolcott's re-election. Stewart appeared willing to allow this impression to prevail, but Mr. Wolcott met the intimation with a denial. "It is not," he said, "the province of a President to interfere in State politics, and President Roosevelt is too wise a man and too just and honorable an official to overstep the proscribed bounds—and this in spite of any assertion of Mr. Stewart to the contrary."

Then the Senator spoke of the charge that he had left the State during the last campaign, saying:

I was never a coward but once in my life, and that was when, at the solicitation of the party managers, I left the State last fall. I wish to God I had not gone. It was a great mistake. But when Mr. Stewart is assailing me in regard to this, he should remember that two years ago, when I am accused of defeating the ticket, I had the very active assistance of both President Roosevelt and Senator Lodge here in the State. More, he forgets—or probably does not know—that the proportionate growth of Republican votes in the past two years is not as great as during the two preceding years.

The interviewer dwelt upon the difficulty of reproducing Mr. Wolcott's language and manner, among other things, saying:

After a lengthy interview I came away sure of just two things: One was, that I had met a man who was the very incarnation of force, and the other, that nothing short of a combination electric dynamo and phonograph could ever catch and retain his exact language.

To me he seems positive to the point of brutality and most arbitrary, but tremendously in earnest, alert, keen, scintillatingly brilliant, and wonderfully magnetic. To a vocabulary of unrivalled richness, he brings a clear, incisive mind, a wide knowledge of men and affairs, and a sonorous voice of great capacity and infinite variation. It is a pleasure to listen to him, but purgatory to try to report him.



## SUPREMACY REGAINED

**M**R. WOLCOTT'S loss of control of political affairs in Colorado was not of long duration. He was again "in the saddle," having regained the mastery which he had lost as a result of his absence from the State, and by the time the next State convention was held he was as strong as ever he had been, showing that only a little attention of the right kind at the proper time would keep him in control as long as he might care to so remain.

There was a campaign in the fall of 1903 for the election of a Justice of the State Supreme Court, and the convention for the nomination of a candidate was held in Denver September 29th of that year—only about eight months after the failure of the Republican members of the Legislature to get together for the election of a Senator. Mr. Wolcott was present as a delegate and was chosen to preside over the convention. Of the seventeen Republican members of the House of Representatives who had supported him, fourteen were present as delegates, while only one of the opposing members appeared in that capacity. All the nine Senators who stood with Wolcott were delegates. His friends were in charge everywhere. Mr. Wolcott was given a flattering reception when he entered the hall, and the demonstration was still more pronounced when he was proposed for Chairman.

To Mrs. Anthony, a well-known Denver writer of the day who used the pen-name of "Polly Pry," we owe a graphic picture of Mr. Wolcott's reception on this occasion.

Mrs. Anthony revelled in the breezy language of the plains, and her method of dealing with men and affairs was original rather than conventional. Here is her story of this event;

The Republican State Convention, which nominated Judge John Campbell to succeed himself on the supreme bench, was the occasion for Mr. Wolcott's reappearance upon the political stage last Tuesday morning, and likewise the occasion for a Wolcott demonstration which gave the celebrated Fairley-Stewart-Brooks faction a dose of knock-out drops that laid them low—at least for a spell.

"Wolcott as a political factor is dead—as dead as a pickled mackerel," a sapient politician had remarked as we wended our way toward Twenty-second and Arapahoe that morning.

"Requiescat in pace!" I murmured devoutly, looking at him admiringly and wondering how on earth he managed to stagger under all he knew.

Then we plunged into the vestibule of that Black Hole of Calcutta, misnamed East Turner Hall, and a few minutes later, triumphant but somewhat breathless, were mopping the perspiration from our classic brows and trying to talk against the rag-time rackets of the band.

Everybody was present and accounted for, including President Roosevelt's "old college chum," Mr. Philip B. Stewart, and Archie Stevenson, he of the Hyperion curls, the bland smile, and the witty tongue, when Chairman Fairley rapped for order. Then a man came in, passed hurriedly through the crowd about the door, walked half-way up the centre aisle, and took a seat with the Arapahoe County delegation.

"Hip-hip-hurrah!" shouted the Denver delegation. "Yip-yip-yip!" came the old familiar Twombly yell, and "Yip-yip-e-ip!" chortled the mavericks from Huerfano County, while Saguache chimed in with a "Wa-wa-wa-woop-ee!" that could be heard a mile.

"Wolcott! Wolcott! Wolcott!" chorused the crowd, and the man who was deadlier than a "pickled mackerel" was escorted to the stage, where, accompanied by a continuous rumble of applause, he gave an excellent imitation of a live person with something to say, and by no means averse to making the fact public.

For a man who has been reported as among the "politically dead" so many times, and tommyhawked, knifed, double-crossed, and solar-plexed, he certainly is a warm member.

In ringing tones and with beautiful hyperbole he pictured the ends and aims of the Republican party, extolled Republican principles, and denounced Republican backsliders, Fusionists, and traitors. With the tremolo stop turned on full, he pleaded for harmony and a Republican victory, ending with a scathing denunciation of the political boycott and a stinging arraignment of the political hucksters who claim to own and undertake to peddle party patronage through personal friendship with men high in power.

Mrs. Anthony also supplies the following estimate of the Colorado orator :

It is said, among other things, of Edward O. Wolcott, that he is an ingrate, that he admits of no independence except his own; that he has no friends; that he himself has said that he recognizes only "slaves and enemies," and that he is selfish beyond the understanding of the ordinary man. And yet, even so, with all of his faults he towers among Colorado Republicans like the Washington monument in a forest of telegraph poles.

Because why? He is a big man, a great man—not alone in Colorado, but in Washington, in New York, London—where you will. There is no Padua with him; it is all Rome. His reputation is international, based upon sound money and conservative principles. He is the Political Nestor of the West, and whether he attains his ambition and returns to the United States Senate three years from now or not, his niche in the Temple of Fame is already secure. Colorado could not forget him—if she would.

His speech on taking the chair was brilliant and effective. Its keynote was harmony. But he did not spare those most responsible for the discord that had characterized the party in recent times. He was ironical and sarcastic regarding the "amateurs who were led to burn their fingers by picking chestnuts from the fire for other people who ministered to their egotism"; and he was scathing in his indictment of the real instigators of the trouble.

For himself, he was willing to surrender all responsibility and join the rank and file should it be so decreed; and then he spoke of the dark days in Colorado and of the patriotism of the few soldiers who had stood fast; but leader and followers would go out were it for the benefit of the party.

His tribute to the vanguard was in lofty measure, and before it had concluded the audience was cheering and shouting, causing a long interruption.

The old leader's triumph was complete. Once more he was the party chieftain of undisputed right, and the party was overjoyed to have him in his old place. He had completely re-established himself.

Again, at a banquet given by the Republican Club of Denver, on Lincoln's Birthday in 1904, he received another strong assurance of undiminished popularity. A newspaper chronicler of the time furnishes this account of that occasion :

When former Senator Wolcott arose to respond to the toast "Colorado," he was greeted with a great display of enthusiasm. As soon as Toastmaster Dixon spoke the name of Wolcott, the audience arose to its feet and applauded. They gave three hearty cheers after he was introduced, and he was not permitted to go on until friendly and enthusiastic words of praise and encouragement had been shouted to him from all over the hall. It was a reception to touch a leader's heart. As he proceeded, he warmed to his work and his terse, vigorous sentences followed each other quickly. He was greeted at every pause by cheers. There was no part of his speech that was not given entire approval. The audience seemed anxious to assure him that he was its especial favorite and the ovation he received at the close of the address was a personal triumph.

Also at the State convention in May, 1904, for the selection of delegates to the Republican National Convention which was to be held at Chicago, he was in complete ascendancy. This was destined to be the last State convention he should attend, and he again was chosen to act as Temporary Chairman, as he again was placed at the head of the delegation to attend the National Convention. He was in the best of form for this meeting and made a vigorous speech outlining the issues involved in the campaign and especially urging reform in the conduct of the official affairs of Denver. His associates as delegates were: Hon. James H. Peabody, Governor; A. M. Stevenson, Denver; Thomas F. Walsh, Ouray; N. Walter Dixon, Pueblo; Sylvester S.

Downer, Boulder; John W. Springer, Denver; W. B. Miner, Fort Collins; Charles F. Caswell, Grand Junction, and Clyde C. Dawson, Cañon City.

That he had serious misgiving about attending the convention even after he was chosen to lead the delegation is shown in a letter to Mr. W. S. Boynton, of Colorado Springs, as follows:

15 E. 48th St., N. Y.,  
Monday, June 6, 1904.

MY DEAR W. S.

Two or three days ago I received Bailey's despatch, sent, I know, after consultation with you, saying that I should, he thought, by all means attend the convention at Chicago. I shall probably do as you think I should, although if we three were to talk it over, I doubt if you would so advise me. I have been here a fortnight, and for three fourths of the time, I have been in bed with a continuance of the same vicious attack of gout I had in Colorado, and I am not at all well and need the cure at Carlsbad. I won't go again into the embarrassments which will meet me in Chicago. . . . There is necessity for my keeping quiet, because if I said anything it would be in the nature of a criticism. I should have thought of all of these things before I accepted the election as delegate. But there is another feature that I have not written about and that is the certainty that my delay in starting (for I *must* go to Carlsbad after the convention) means my later return here and to Colorado.

Perhaps nothing makes any difference. My friends tell Mr. Chisholm that unless I come back after the convention they fear the "Antis" will get control of the committee, and that our friends are thoroughly disheartened, etc. I can understand this and I think their fears are well founded. . . .

My one desire has been to control the political situation because I thought we could serve Colorado better than the faction that seeks to dominate the party. I have never, I think, been controlled by any personal desire for the Senatorship. Perhaps I am a stumbling block to success; if so I don't want to keep my personality prominent in the councils of the party. . . .

I have been to two National Conventions; in one I nominated Blaine, and I presided over the other. In this one I must keep absolutely silent. . . .

Just wire me that you have received this when you do. If a letter comes from you or Bailey, I will write one of you again.



But, my friend, I still feel that I ought not to be at the convention, because I cannot help anybody, and the situation has only humiliation for me. However, I shall be there unless I am again laid up and am unable to leave my room. . . .

Everything is dull here; I see hardly anybody and am alone in my rooms most of the time.

Your friend,

To

E. O. W.

HON. W. S. BOYNTON,  
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO.

Mr. Wolcott attended the National Convention, which was held at Chicago; but he kept his word, and for the first time at such a gathering remained absolutely quiet. He was far from well, and the political embarrassments in his own party, growing out of his recent contest, had extended to figures prominent before the national assembly. Roosevelt was nominated for President.

After the convention and just before sailing for Europe, Mr. Wolcott wrote to his friend, United States Marshal Bailey. His letter possesses a strongly personal tinge, but it throws so much light on his view of the Colorado political situation and especially on his state of mind generally that it is given:

NEW YORK, June 25, 1904.

HON. D. C. BAILEY,  
U. S. MARSHAL,  
DENVER, COLORADO.

DEAR BAILEY:

I have your letters, and better than all, I have received that photograph, which I was delighted to have and I shall always keep.

The political situation in Colorado is deplorable. As I understand it we have to sell the Denver Committee furniture to pay the unpaid debts of the last campaign. The enormous fund in control of our opponents, and the defection of former friends who want to hold on to their offices or get new ones will be too much for us in the State Committee. My chief anxiety is for you. . . .

I have been very hard hit in financial matters recently, but there will always be enough, my friend, to keep the wolf from both our doors, and you shall not suffer if I can help it. Don't

worry about the situation. I am unwilling to spend any more money, and I know that you would be unwilling to have me do so. It is of no use. We have already wasted thousands of dollars to make it possible for our enemies to control the situation. . . .

If things go against us I shall not hurry back, but in any event shall return early in September and shall remain some time at Wolhurst, where you and I will have some happy hours I hope.

As things have turned out, I should not go abroad if I did not believe it necessary that I take a cure at Carlsbad. I go away of course depressed over the situation, but neither you nor I have anything to reproach ourselves with.

I trust you will write me sometimes, and with all good wishes and sincere regards, as always,

Your friend,

EDW. O. WOLCOTT.

#### LAST VISIT TO COLORADO

After the National Convention, Mr. Wolcott was compelled to go to Europe on account of his poor health, and he did not return to Colorado until the latter part of the following October. In the meantime the State convention for the nomination of State officers had been held, Governor Peabody had been placed at the head of the ticket for the second time, and the campaign was well under way when on the 24th of that month he reached Denver for a visit of brief duration. Mr. Peabody's administration had been marked by a great activity on the part of the Western Federation of Miners and by many disputes and even conflicts on account of labor troubles, and altogether had been far from peaceful. In a brief interview given during his stay in Denver, the ex-Senator said:

I have just returned from New York, where I find the most intense interest is being taken in the result of the Colorado election. It seems incomprehensible that the Governor of Colorado should not be supported in the determined stand he has taken on behalf of law and order in the State.

It seems to me of the greatest possible importance that good citizens should support the Republican ticket. No matter what

individual grievances may exist, or however much we may differ on other matters, the welfare of the State requires that the course of the chief executive during the last two years shall be vindicated at the polls.

Mr. Wolcott made but one speech in the campaign of 1904. It was delivered at Coliseum Hall to a packed and enthusiastic audience on November 7th, the night before election.

In this contest the principal State issue was Governor Peabody's controversy with the Western Federation of Miners, which organization was charged with responsibility for many atrocities committed in the State, and the campaign was a bitter one. Mr. Wolcott devoted much attention to the organization, which he denounced vigorously and fearlessly. His speech had little of the stirring oratory which usually characterized his campaign addresses. It was a closely reasoned argument such as he was accustomed to give in court-rooms and was a clear, measured, and convincing statement of facts showing how law and human rights had been ignored and vindicating the repressive efforts of the State government. The last part was the more effective because of the self-restraint manifested. He explained his reason for not taking part in the campaign, and closed with a beautiful tribute to Colorado, whose future he pictured in rainbow hues. His explanation of his failure to participate in the campaign was a frank avowal of his dread of the criticism which he knew his appearance would arouse, and was as follows:

I am touched by this cordial and kindly reception, and I feel moved to make but one personal explanation. It is that the reason I have not participated more early in the campaign has been solely because, though I do not count my years as old, I have become weary to death of personal abuse, vituperation, and slander.

This abuse has followed me since '96, and while it does not keep me awake at night, it yet makes me feel that there are times when the post of honor is the private station, and I can say to you that I have no political enemy attacked by vituperation and slander, and no political friend similarly attacked, that my feel-

ing toward them is not kindlier and warmer when attacks are made upon their private character.

We have more of personal abuse in Colorado, I fear, than in most of the States, and while for the moment it meets the passions that partisanship engenders, in the end it lowers the moral tone and degrades the community which endures and tolerates it.

The meeting was the last political demonstration in which Senator Wolcott ever participated. The campaign resulted in a victory in the State for Roosevelt and Fairbanks on the National ticket, but on the face of the returns Alva Adams, Democrat, was elected Governor. The Legislature was Republican, however, and he was unseated on an allegation of fraud. His antagonist, Peabody, was not given the place, but it was awarded to Jesse F. McDonald, one of the State Senators who had been deposed during the legislative entanglement of 1903, and who in the fall of 1894, had been elected Lieutenant-Governor on the Republican ticket.

#### WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN

There can be little question that if Mr. Wolcott had lived and had retained his health, he would have returned to the Senate. While in Denver in the fall of 1904, he told his friends that he would be in the race to succeed Mr. Patterson in 1907, and with his hold upon the party leadership re-established, as it most securely was, the prospect of success was flattering. Still, there were many ugly complications, and that he had full appreciation of them is indicated by his letters to personal friends during this period. But in the main he then looked forward with some eagerness to the contest. He was more anxious to return to the Senate than he had been in 1901. Then his first concern had been for party success. But he had not at that time experienced the bitter personal assaults from inside his own party organization that were made upon him and upon his friends in the fight of 1903, and he felt all the generous impulses of the strong man who has done a great thing. He was willing, as are all big men under such circumstances, to share the reward with others or even to entirely divert

it from himself. Now it was different. Not only he, but his friends had been attacked. He had been persuaded to turn his back to his foes and to leave the State in the contest of 1902, the first time he ever had submitted to such humiliation, and we have seen how deeply he regretted his course. He expressed himself frankly to this effect in his speech of November 18th, and privately he was even more emphatic. In conversation with friends he was full of self-condemnation for permitting himself to be influenced as he was, and at such times would complain bitterly that he had allowed any one to make "a renegade" of him. He resented also the criticisms directed against his friends in public life. While he did not grudge full membership and high position to any of the Republicans who had been led away by the sentiment in the interest of silver, he did resent the strictures of some of the returning members of the party upon those who had remained faithful in the days of adversity.

He had still another reason for desiring election at this time. His intimate personal friend, Grant B. Schley, of New York, told the writer that it was Mr. Wolcott's ambition to go back to the Senate and show what he really was capable of by giving more serious and closer attention to public affairs than ever he had given.

He had been promised, even before asking, the enthusiastic support of "the Old Guard," and many new friends, both in and out of the State and in and out of the Republican party, had told him that they would do all they could to assist.

He was to go abroad, regain his health, recoup his fortune, and come back and make such a fight as never before had been made in the State. But, alas, he soon was to encounter a foe more obdurate and more unrelenting than even Fusion candidates or party opponents!



## LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH

SENATOR WOLCOTT'S last speech, the one made at the Denver Coliseum November 7, 1904, proved his undoing. He had been indisposed with a cold when he went to the meeting, but his condition was not in the slightest degree alarming.

As always, when the Senator spoke, his whole being was launched into the effort; voice and gesture were vigorous and emphatic. The occasion aroused every faculty of the man. Not only was he at his best intellectually, but the emotions were stirred by the recollection of past experiences in the great hall. It had been the scene both of trial and triumph; he had spoken there in '96. When he took the platform he was tremendously in earnest. He spoke with much vehemence, which necessarily involved great physical effort. In the hall, packed to suffocation and poorly ventilated at best, the heat was oppressive, and, after speaking under such trying conditions, he left the platform superheated and somewhat exhausted. The weather was bitterly cold, and despite the advice of friends, he insisted on walking to his apartments in Glenarm Street.

That night he was taken with a chill, and by next day bronchitis had developed. With his customary indifference, he at first paid little attention to the attack. Some days in bed under care of doctor and nurse for the time averted pneumonia, but the bronchitis was still severe and troublesome. He did not improve sufficiently to satisfy his physicians, and a decision was reached that he should seek a lower altitude and a milder climate. Henry also was indisposed, and the brothers determined upon another journey across the water in search of health, each going, as he

thought, largely for the benefit of the other. There were times when Ed realized his own condition, while at others he spoke lightly of his sickness and freely discussed the advisability of beginning preparation for the next Senatorial campaign, which his friends fully expected him to enter as a candidate. Not even Henry fully appreciated the dangerous possibilities of his brother's attack. He knew, however, that for a year or two Ed had been far from well, and was generally apprehensive about him. He was sufficiently alarmed by the symptoms to determine upon removal to a lower altitude.

But while it is true that the cold and the Coliseum meeting doubtless were the immediate cause of Mr. Wolcott's collapse, other reasons also must be sought, and they are easily found. In part at least, he was the victim of adverse conditions and unjust criticism. His spirit was weakened by the repeated personal aspersions of the press and the politicians, and there is little doubt that this fact had much to do with his ultimate breakdown. He would not have succumbed so easily five years previous. It is doubtful whether he cared so much to live as formerly. If the world was entirely without gratitude, and if one could succeed only by deserting one's friends, what was there to live for? Very little for Ed Wolcott!

By November 22d, following the Coliseum meeting, Senator Wolcott had recovered sufficiently to justify his removal to New York. But he did not long remain there. The weather was bleak and harsh, and his bronchitis was so much aggravated, that, after a stay of six weeks, another change was decided upon, and by January 7, 1905, the two brothers found themselves aboard the *Deutschland*, bound for the Mediterranean. It was their last voyage together. Ed did not return. In the early evening of the 1st of March the news of his death was flashed under the seas from far-away Monaco.

Before leaving New York, Mr. Wolcott wrote a letter to his brother William, probably the last to any member of the family before his departure. It was dated January 3d, and in it he said that it was the intention that he and Henry should sail for Cairo *via* Naples on the following

Saturday, "to be gone three months or so." He made only slight reference to his physical condition. Saying that both he and Henry needed a journey and a change of climate, he added: "I rarely go down-town, for I have not been very well lately, being troubled with a rather persistent bronchitis." His brother had notified him that he had sent him a Christmas present, which evidently had been directed to a down-town address, and he expressed anxiety to get it before leaving.

The original intention of going to Egypt was changed *en route*. The brothers decided to stop at Naples and not to continue to the region of the Nile. An unfortunate choice; that winter was the worst Southern Italy had experienced for thirty years. They next tried Palermo, in Sicily; Palermo was unbearable—cold, bleak, comfortless.

Ed's condition grew worse. He developed more serious bronchial trouble, and upon the advice of eminent physicians decided to go to Southern France. Choice lighted upon Monte Carlo in the Mediterranean as being the best calculated of all places to coax back health through climate. Here, with Henry, he established himself soon after the 1st of February at the Hotel de Paris, and there remained until the end came a month later.

The last letter of any length from Senator Wolcott, and unquestionably the last utterance by him on Colorado politics, was written to United States Marshal Dewey C. Bailey, from Palermo, January 31, 1905, a short month and a day before the end. The letter was in Mr. Wolcott's own handwriting, and he appeared quite broken in spirit. But there was the same contention for honest politics that so often had been heard by his friends. It also contained the assurance that his finances, which of late had been running down, were now improving. The letter reads:

GRAND HOTEL DES PALMES,  
ENRICO RAGUSA, PROP.,  
PALERMO.

Tuesday, January 31st.

DEAR DEWEY:

. . . If anything could make me well again at once, it would be your interesting and entertaining letter of the 15th, which has

just reached me here. I was delighted to get it. The fact is that I have been pretty sick; I have never fully got over the attack of bronchitis I got in Denver, and in New York I did not take any sort of care of myself. I have, however, taken more care ever since I sailed. But a slight cold gave me a very bad attack, and I have been in bed here for a week.

Henry went on to Rome and Albert [Ed's valet] and I have fought it out together. It has been rather dismal, but I am getting a good deal better and hope to get away from here by the last of the week. If I am well enough I will go to Cannes, or somewhere in the south of France for a little time, and I'll be coming home before long. . . .

Away down in my heart, but this is to you alone, I have n't the slightest idea that I shall enter another Senatorial race. But it is good to feel that those of us who have always stood together, still stand for honest politics and do not seek to justify wrong-doing by the fact that our enemies did wrong at prior elections. . . .

I know that you will be glad to know that things are coming right with me again. There are still many holes to fill, and I am by no means back where I used to be, but there's enough. . . .

I haven't seen an American newspaper for weeks, and am three days from London papers, so I cannot keep much track of what is going on at home.

I think often of you and am very glad when you find time to write.

With best wishes, as always,

Your friend,

EDW. O. WOLCOTT.

To

HON. DEWEY C. BAILEY,  
UNITED STATES MARSHAL,  
DENVER, COLORADO.

When they reached Monte Carlo Senator Wolcott was not regarded by the physicians as seriously ill. Ever vigorous in movement, he mingled with the crowd and seemed even then stronger than most men. He drove considerably, patronized the amusements when so inclined, and seldom referred to his physical condition. He suffered greatly from a severely irritating bronchial cough, but for a time after

his arrival this trouble improved. Indeed, the change was at once generally beneficial, and had he exercised ordinary prudence and care all might have been well. But it was now the end of February, and the wind had set in from the north, bringing every afternoon chilling breezes from the Alpes-Maritimes. Senator Wolcott was more than indifferent to the precautions ordinarily taken against cold and exposure. He hated heavy or warm clothing. Rarely was he seen in Denver wearing an overcoat. He had a vigorous man's contempt for pampering himself, and in winter, as in summer, his clothes were of thin and light texture. To this fact probably may be attributed the final attack to which he succumbed.

The sudden malignant turn of the disease was unexpected. Only a few days before Edward's death a Denver business friend received a cablegram from Henry, stating that he and Ed intended to leave Monte Carlo soon and travel to Paris by easy stages. They were to stay there a short time and start for America in April.

When driving in the afternoons at Monaco, Henry repeatedly warned his brother. He begged him to clothe himself more warmly and carry an overcoat. All such suggestions and remonstrances were listened to good-naturedly, but were unheeded. On the evening of February 21st, the wind being more than usually biting and dangerous, while returning from a long drive, the Senator remarked to his brother that he felt chilled, and he said he would keep to his room for a day or two. Evidently he was not alarmed, for he did not call a doctor until two days later. Then Dr. Guigliumanti was summoned.

The doctor found his patient breathing with difficulty, coughing considerably, and in an anxious state of mind. By the next day his general condition had become critical: bronchitis had developed into pneumonia. There was a high fever. Another doctor was called on the 26th, and a third on the 27th. But the best skill and care were in vain. He did not rally, and at 9:13 o'clock of the evening of March 1st, within less than a month of his fifty-seventh birthday came the end, the Last Scene of All, the scene "that ends this strange, eventful history."



There were present at the deathbed only Dr. Guigliumanti and Henry Wolcott, the stranger and the brother—Henry Wolcott, the faithful, the brother who had watched over his progress from infancy to manhood and through manhood's struggles, rejoicing more over his triumphs and weeping more over his reverses than did he himself; who had been with him in his days of health and days of illness, in the flush time as in the lean time, and who never had been less than a brother. Surely if only one member of the family—the family he loved so well—could be present at the last struggle, it was fitting that Henry should be that one. It was a companionship that never had been interrupted. How appropriate that it should continue to the end!

A few days after the demise the body was cremated in Paris, and the ashes carried to America, where in the beautiful Woodlawn Cemetery at New York, they were interred. The spot is appropriately marked and is often visited by admirers from far and near.

#### THE NEWS AT HOME

Henry Wolcott cabled the distressing information of his brother's death to the members of the family, to Ed's law firm, Wolcott, Vaile & Waterman, in Denver, and to various business associates throughout the country.

Everywhere the news was a surprise and a shock. Washington found it almost impossible to believe. Denver was dumbfounded. Ed Wolcott dead? Incredible!

But it was so.

To his friends and admirers, Mr. Wolcott's death seemed most untimely. He was in the prime of life, and but for an occasional attack of gout or of quinzey, had appeared in general good health. His prospects, political and financial, were promising. Indeed, never did Death seem to enter at a more inopportune time, causing all to feel the sad truth of Mrs. Hemans's lines:

Leaves have their time to fall,  
And flowers to wither at the north-wind's breath,

And stars to set; but all,  
Thou hast all seasons for thine own, O Death!

Washington was in the throes of preparation for the inauguration of President Roosevelt, and the Fifty-ninth Congress was rushing to a close when the information of Mr. Wolcott's death reached the National capital, where recently he had been so active and so well known. But, busy as all were, the news from across the water did not fail to arrest the general attention. All expressed grief as well as surprise. Few men ever left more or more devoted friends upon retiring from the Senate than did Mr. Wolcott. He was loved for his genial, companionable, helpful disposition, and admired for his strength and brilliancy. Nor were his mourners confined to official life or high society. Many a poor creature who had been the beneficiary of his big-heartedness mingled his tears with those of the more fortunate of his friends.

In a somewhat different way and even more intensely did the news affect Colorado. There he was more generally and more intimately known; there the grief over his loss was quite universal. At the time the Legislature was intensely occupied with the complications growing out of the previous campaign. The State was torn with partisan and factional strife. The Capitol was constantly guarded, and armed men stood over the legislative halls while business proceeded. It was a period of great bitterness and intense excitement. But the news of Wolcott's death had the effect for the time of stilling all excitement and quieting all strife. The Legislature and the courts, Federal and State, adjourned as soon as announcement of the demise was received, and all ultimately adopted resolutions and took other action expressive of the deep regret of the community. The news came at night, and the public expression of grief was necessarily postponed until the morrow. But the private utterance was not deferred; it was immediate and genuine. In the hotel lobbies and the club-rooms the Senator's death was commented upon to the exclusion of almost every other topic. Late political foes were quite as unstinted in their praise of the dead man's noble qualities

and in expressions of admiration for his genius as were his friends. The universal thought was that the State had lost one of its strongest characters and one of its ablest and most devoted public servants.

The Denver newspapers printed long biographies and appreciative eulogies of the Senator, and expressions of sympathy and sorrow poured in from all directions. The head-lines in the papers on March 2d announcing the death were illustrative of the general feeling. In them politics was completely obliterated. In the *Denver Republican*, Republican in politics, we find this: "E. O. WOLCOTT, COLORADO'S GREATEST STATESMAN, DEAD"; in the *Post*, Independent, "E. O. WOLCOTT, KING OF DIPLOMACY, POLITICS, AND ORATORY, IS DEAD AT MONTE CARLO"; and in the *News*, Democratic, "EDWARD O. WOLCOTT, ORATOR, JURIST, STATESMAN, DEAD."

In Denver, on the day after the announcement of the death, evidences of grief were visible on every hand. Republican State Headquarters were draped in mourning. Out of respect to the memory of the departed statesman, the State Legislature took a recess. The offices of the law firm of Wolcott, Vaile & Waterman, of which he was senior partner, were closed. The depression was especially marked in the offices of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. As general counsel for this road his relations with the heads of the various departments had been exceedingly close and cordial, and all were deeply touched by the news of his death.

#### EXPRESSIONS OF ESTEEM

Both in Denver and in Washington, many of Mr. Wolcott's former associates in public life gave expression to their feelings through the public prints.

When a sitting Senator dies a day is set apart for eulogies, but this course is not pursued with respect to a deceased ex-Senator. No exception was made in Mr. Wolcott's case, but in lieu of such action the presiding officer and all the members of the body in which so recently he had been so conspicuous a figure expressed themselves personally in strong terms. Included in these expressions were

those of Mr. Wolcott's former colleague, Senator Teller, and his successor, Senator Patterson. Senator Teller spoke as follows:

I am deeply shocked over the sad occurrence. I knew Ed Wolcott as a young man, when he first came to Colorado. I was with him when he tried his first case. I sat by him in this trial at his request and advised him. I also knew him when he taught school at Blackhawk. Mr. Wolcott was a brilliant man, and one whom any person could not help admiring. We differed politically in late years, but our relations were always pleasant. I regarded Mr. Wolcott as the natural successor to Senator Patterson should the Republicans have the State at the next election.

Senator Patterson said:

The death of ex-Senator Wolcott, so sudden and unexpected, comes with a great shock. The announcement hushes all adverse criticism and calls out acknowledgments of his great talents and charming manners which fall spontaneously from the lips of all who knew him. He was a most distinguished citizen of Colorado, and his public career has shed lustre upon the name of his adopted State. His power with men is shown in vivid light from the fact that, though he has been so little in Colorado for the past six or eight years, he held to the last thousands of devoted friends who followed his fortunes in sunshine and storm and through evil and good repute. The death of Senator Wolcott removes a powerful element for good in the politics of Colorado. While his methods in many a political struggle have been severely criticised, he was nevertheless so thoroughly independent in his party and kept in closer touch with the people than any other of the most prominent Republican leaders.

His death will be a distinct gain for the intolerant autocrats in the Republican party, for he was the last serious obstacle to the unquestioned rule.

Other expressions were:

VICE-PRESIDENT FAIRBANKS.—Senator Wolcott was a man of great ability; strong and firm in his friendships. His death was a very great shock to me. I had supposed he was a man of

the most robust health and reasonably assured of many years of activity and usefulness.

PRESIDENT PRO. TEM. W. P. FRYE.—Ned Wolcott's death was almost tragic. I have known but few men who possessed so many admirable traits of character and yet were distinctly men of force and resolution.

SENATOR A. P. GORMAN.—Wolcott was one of the braniest men that ever came to the Senate. He was genial and thoroughly delightful—a well-spring of pleasure to know.

SENATOR J. B. FORAKER.—He was a gifted man, charming in manner, but so full of energy that he lived more rapidly than his constitution could stand.

SENATOR JOHN T. MORGAN.—He was a great, big, broad, splendid fellow. He ought to have lived forty years longer, if he had taken care of himself.

SENATOR SHELBY M. CULLOM.—He was one of the most forceful men I ever knew. He had wonderful resolution and an undaunted spirit, and was a power in this body.

SENATOR JOHN W. DANIEL.—Wolcott's death came to me as a very great shock. We were excellent friends, and I learned to respect the man's indomitable perseverance and splendid pluck. He was a fine type of the Western man, trained in one of the world's great universities to help in the upbuilding of the nation.

The expressions from public men in the State were quite as warmly appreciative. Of those the following must suffice for present purposes.

JUSTICE JOHN CAMPBELL OF THE STATE SUPREME COURT.—I followed his lead for many years, and the news of his death has come to me with a shock that is beyond all description. I was for him for United States Senator the first time, the last time and for all time. . . .

I have been a close personal friend of his for many years and have always been proud to be numbered among his followers. I know of no blow that has come upon me that has cast such a chill on my heart. It has made the face of nature seem lacking in something, wanting in one of her grandest works—the presence of Edward O. Wolcott.

ARCHIE M. STEVENSON, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN—Poor Ed! Gone! It grieves me greatly. It was so unexpected, and yet I knew he was sick and that he had, in fact, been a very sick man for years. The doctors had him nearly



scared to death and sent him all over the world a dozen times to be cured. Had he lived he would surely have been the next Republican Senator from Colorado. He was strong, generous, sincere, and brave even to indiscretion and rashness. He was warm, generous in his friendships, and always open and manly to his friends. He never turned his back.

GOVERNOR ALVA ADAMS.—In his death we lose the most brilliant man in the State, and a great national leader; always a commander and never a follower. Strong and dominating, he made bitter enemies and loyal friends. A natural leader of men was E. O. Wolcott. When inclined to please, few could resist the fascination of the man.

DEWEY C. BAILEY.—Senator Wolcott was the bravest, kindest, and best friend I ever knew. Faithful to his friends and to himself, the loss is not to this State alone, but to the nation. He was greater than the State, belonging to the nation. His place in public life never will be filled.

IRVING HOWBERT.—He was one of our most distinguished citizens, and his loss will be greatly felt by the State. His brilliant career in the Senate made him one of the most commanding figures in that body and he was universally recognized as one of the brainiest men of the country. Colorado will mourn his loss.

JUDGE S. S. DOWNER.—I regarded Senator Wolcott as one of the bravest, cleanest, and ablest men in public life in this nation. I think he has died at a peculiarly unfortunate moment, as the State needs him and his services more than ever.

HENRY BRADY.—My sorrow will scarcely let me speak. No man will ever know the depth of my grief. It is like losing a father. Side by side we have fought in many a bitter political fight. His victory was my victory.

JOHN W. SPRINGER.—What a superb leader! What a friend to his friends! Tears come unbidden when I recall his fight for me in the mayoralty contest in Denver less than a year ago. Coming all the way from New York, and rising from a bed of sickness, and leaning heavily on his cane, he appealed to the loyal members of the Grand Army of the Republic to stand by the regular nominees of the Grand Old Party. I would I could lay a fitting tribute on his bier—but time will make all things right.

Of the newspaper testimonials none was more eulogistic or more genuinely sorrowful than those of the *Denver*

*Republican* and the *Rocky Mountain News*: the former Republican in politics and then owned by Mr. Crawford Hill, under whose father's management, that of the late Senator Hill, the paper had been very antagonistic to Mr. Wolcott; and the latter Democratic, and still under the management of Mr. Wolcott's perennial opponent and finally successful rival for the Senate, Hon. Thomas M. Patterson. The editorial remarks of the two papers are here reproduced as fair specimens of the tributes from the press of the State. On the morning following Mr. Wolcott's death, the *Republican* said:

EDWARD OLIVER WOLCOTT

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In the death of former United States Senator Edward Oliver Wolcott, Colorado loses its most distinguished citizen and the nation one of its most noted public men.

A great orator, a sound law-maker, a political leader of rare magnetism and enthusiasm, a masterly lawyer, and always a sterling patriot worthy of his splendid lineage reaching back to the foundation of our government and beyond seas to its English origin, his memory will be fondly cherished by the people of Colorado long after the dust and din of party strife, in which he won and lost in such heroic fashion during his somewhat stormy political career, shall be forever laid in oblivion.

He made mistakes—who does not?—but where shall we seek for another so gifted in so many ways—so wise and witty, so keen in his intuitions of men and things, so capable of going to the very core of any problem, so highly cultured and widely read, so spontaneous and so full of courageous optimism?

He had faults, but, like his vastly outweighing good qualities, they were temperamental. As the years passed, the philosophic spirit triumphed over the impatience and the natural insolence of ardent youth in him, as it does in most strong natures fortunate enough to keep sweet through the successes and failures of life, and we have no doubt that if he had been spared to fill out the normal span of existence his opponents would have been disarmed of their hostility, and he would have seen

“The stubborn thistles bursting into glossy purples  
Which outredden all voluptuous garden roses.”

The twelve years which he served as Colorado's first favorite in the United States Senate would have been prolonged indefinitely, beyond doubt, if he "had gone with his State" in the great Presidential campaign of 1896. He stood for unflinching loyalty to the Republican party, not because he was hostile to the overwhelming silver sentiment of Colorado, but because he believed that both country and State would fare better in all desirable things under McKinley than under Bryan.

That was not politics, but it was magnificent, and countless thousands of Coloradoans who thought otherwise then will now do fuller justice to his wise foresight and his unselfish patriotism.

This is neither the time nor place to do full justice to the countless admirable qualities of head and heart of this many-sided man, with his vast capacity for the making of warm friends and bitter foes, his undying charm of person and voice and manner and utterance, his dauntless spirit and his boundless interest in everything that goes to make up the sum of life.

His great contemporaries at the bar, in the halls of Congress, and in many other fields of human effort will grieve at his going and will most fittingly do honor to his memory as a leader among men.

The *News's* expression of the same date was as follows:

#### EDWARD OLIVER WOLCOTT

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Edward O. Wolcott, who died yesterday in Europe, was one of that remarkable series of young men for whom Gilpin County was the scene of first prominence and who afterward attained distinction in many walks of life. Coming to Denver, where his brilliant qualities were already known through his service as State Senator, he sprang almost immediately into the position of a party leader to whom it were well for the older leaders to pay respectful attention. Soon followed his advancement to the Senate of the United States, wherein for twelve years he was a figure of no mean proportions. Since his retirement from that position in 1901 comparatively little of his time has been spent in this State, the management of financial transactions centring in New York and frequent visits to Carlsbad and other curative springs occupying his attention. Rheumatism of a severe type had been his relentless enemy. During his last visit to this city he was compelled to lean heavily upon his cane, and his friends were deeply moved to see his once stalwart and

splendid figure bent by the assaults of a disease to which his ringing voice and merry jokes gave no indication of surrender.

No man in Colorado had a more remarkable gift for making friends—and enemies. However far away might be their chief, however dark might seem his fortunes, his friends stood together like a loyal band of brothers, always with their faces to the front, always a force to be reckoned with. Whatever criticism may be passed upon Edward Oliver Wolcott by those who ranked themselves as his enemies—and they were not few—no man who held the enthusiastic support which always came to his standard, whenever he sounded the call to battle, could be other than a leader of distinguished qualities.

Gifted with a fine presence, a melodious and powerful voice, an alert and resourceful mind and the air of one fearless, daring, and born to command, he was a truly impressive figure on any political stage.

To attempt to consider within the limits of this article an intellectual equipment so large, a character so complex, and a life so full of action and color, were idle and unseemly. Only shall we say that he was a truer man than some who remain to grieve little at his death.

Of many hundreds printed only one outside obituary is reproduced here. It is from *Goodwin's Weekly* of Salt Lake City, a publication whose editor ever had been a sincere admirer of the Colorado Senator. It follows:

#### SENATOR WOLCOTT

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So the stormy life of Senator Ed Wolcott has worn itself out. Gifted beyond his fellows, he was handsome, winsome, impulsive, impetuous, reckless, undisciplined, a born leader, a born fighter, subtle as a serpent, eloquent and high-bred as a Greek master, implacable toward enemies, enchanting to friends, magnetic, imperious, audacious, at home with Bacchus when in the mood, but ready to look Thor full in the face and challenge him to bring out his biggest hammer and try conclusions with him. He was a natural aristocrat by virtue of his lineage, his learning, his family place in the nation's history, and his own masterful abilities, but still a genuine American in every way, and especially reverential of the fact that when it comes to a question of country and the direction of events all Americans stand on the same plane, and all have a right to a hearing, and the



more especially that the aristocracy of a republic rests on brain and heart alone. So, many-sided, followed by honors and troops of friends and always shadowed by embittered enemies, for twenty years he has been more the concernment of the men of Colorado than any other man; his comings and his goings among them were like those of Mercury on Olympus, "to witch the world." He will be passionately mourned in that State by those who loved him, and even his enemies will feel as did Earl Douglas when, his passion cooled, and in justice, he said: "Bold could he speak, and fairly ride."

He died young, comparatively, and when his intellectual powers were at their height, and, still, judging by his life for the past thirty years, he was eighty-seven instead of fifty-seven, for in those thirty years he lived two years for every one. He aspired to the very highest honors that the Republic can bestow; he had abilities that justified his ambition, but he, strong and controlling as he was, would never control himself, and he watched as he burned life's candle at both ends and contemplated calmly what would come when the two flames met.

There also were many tributes in verse, the most notable of which was from the pen of James Barton Adams, a Western poet who has contributed many worthy lines to modern literature. His tribute was printed in the *Denver Post* and ran:

"Ed Wolcott's dead."—As comes a thunderbolt  
From cloudless skies with harsh, earth-jarring jolt,  
So fell the tidings on the startled ears  
Of us who knew him best, and sorrow's tears  
From pain-drawn eyes of those who loved him well  
On pulsing, grief-swept bosoms silent fell;  
And e'en his enemies with bated breath  
Read of the ruthless stroke from hand of death  
With swollen throats, and hearts that seemed to feel  
The stinging of bereavement's cutting steel;  
And lips in animosity once set  
Against the aggressive statesman voiced regret  
That death had chosen such a shining mark,  
Had dimmed forever the bright vital spark  
Of one whose gifted tongue oft thrilled the land  
With eloquence immeasurably grand,  
And friend and foe in this sad hour of gloom  
Clasp hands and place a wreath upon his tomb.



Following these more or less public utterances came pouring in letters of condolence from all over the world. Manifestly it is impossible to here give a tithe of these, and a few only will be reproduced. Generally they were addressed to Mr. Vaile of Mr. Wolcott's law firm. The few selected for reproduction follow.

From E. T. Jeffery, President of the Denver and Rio Grande Railway Company:

I have just received your personal letter of the 4th instant about the death of our good friend, and can scarcely write you upon the subject. I saw him the day before he sailed and felt a little apprehensive about his health; in fact, I had felt so for several months and often talked with him about it. But he was so cheery and hopeful, and seemed so full of vitality, that I believed he would return to us as strong and vigorous as ever.

You know I was greatly attached to Senator Wolcott and he was to me. It was a mutual friendship in every way, and we seemed to understand one another, for in all the thirteen years of our intercourse, we never had an unpleasant incident of any kind. I realized his great natural ability and his cultivated, resourceful mind, and all the winning qualities that go with so unusual a man; and yet I knew his faults and we often discussed them together, for he despised hypocrisy and never pretended to be one bit better than he really was. He made no pretence of any kind; he was outspoken, and frank, and manly, and when moved to folly of any kind, spoke of it in an open, straightforward way. But you know all these characteristics of him, and a great many more, just as well as I do, and some day when we are together again, we can sit down and discuss them and keep his memory warm in our hearts, for he was deeply attached to both of us. I can't quite tell you how I feel about the matter, for I am not yet adjusted to his sudden death.

I have read many of the laudatory articles written about him by those who were formerly his critics and enemies, and I am glad to see that all, regardless of parties, or factions, or political controversies, characterize him as Colorado's greatest statesman in the Republican party.

From C. E. Perkins, President of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Company:

I was greatly surprised and shocked to hear of the death of Edward Wolcott. I have heard no particulars whatever about his death, and not knowing Henry Wolcott's address abroad I have not communicated with him. I wish, when you can, you would tell me about it, and also send me Henry's address. Had Edward been to Carlsbad? I have always felt, and often told him, that I feared he would overdo it in going there some time. Edward Wolcott has been a very near and dear friend of mine for a great many years, as you know, and I shall miss him very much. I shall thank you sincerely if you can give me some particulars, and if you will tell me about his property, and how it is left. What will become of that most attractive house at Wolhurst?

From Mr. Wolcott's former law partner, John G. Milburn, Esq., of New York :

I cannot tell you how deeply shocked I was when I heard of Wolcott's death. The last time I saw him he was looking so well, so happy, so full of life and energy that it is difficult to realize what has happened. Though I have not seen much of him for years, there was never any diminution of my attachment to him or my affection for him. He was a man of extraordinary ability and of the most lovable qualities. From the first and always afterward, I felt toward him as I have felt toward few men in my life. Since I came here I have hoped to see more of him, and now I feel a great personal loss.

From W. H. Rossington, Esq., Topeka, Kansas :

I met poor Ed in Chicago when he was on his way to New York and to Europe, and spent a very pleasant evening in his company, and it is hard for me to conceive of him as having joined the majority. He was so full of life and its experiences and all high enterprises, political and otherwise, that it is almost impossible to believe that his career has been so suddenly and untimely arrested.

From Ben. B. Lindsey, Judge of the County Court of Arapahoe County and originator of the Juvenile Court :

I have always been a deep admirer of the noble qualities of Senator Wolcott. Everyone knew and appreciated his magnificent attainments as a lawyer and as a statesman, but I never

felt so deeply touched as when a year or two ago one morning I received in my mail a personal letter from Senator Wolcott. It was full of praise and kindly encouragement, for what he was pleased to term a creditable work in the children's court. When I went East recently, I took this letter with me as one of my valuable possessions, and while I always set a high value on this possession, I cannot express to you how much I prize this letter now—even more than I ever did, because it will always recall to me the noble heart of a noble man, expressing as it does his love for the welfare of the children of Colorado, and encouraging me beyond all I can estimate to keep up a work in which I have tried to do some good, but in which I fear I have sometimes been misunderstood, and therefore needed sympathy and encouragement. It came from him—God bless him!—at a time when it was most needed, unsought and unexpected, and coming as the sincere expression of his great heart, I am sure I would be false to my feelings if I did not recall to you for the first time this incident among my pleasant memories of a good man.

Many letters were received from abroad, of which the following from Gilbert C. Clarke, of London, must suffice:

I am truly sorry to learn of the great loss you have sustained in the removal by death of Senator Wolcott. It is now nearly sixteen years since you and he were so kind to me in Denver, but its remembrance is as true and keen as though it were a matter of last year. Though I then met men in great variety of position and with every variety of political opinion, I never heard anything but the highest praise of your firm and personal admiration and respect of its members. The Senator indeed seemed one of those charmed and charming men that inspire affection even in those with whom they have but slight contact.

Over here in England it is perhaps impossible to follow the internal affairs of your country, though we certainly should be better informed than we are. But with foreign relationship our Press does go more into detail, and, on more than one occasion, as I read a report of a speech by your colleague in the Senate, I have been warmed through and through by its breadth of view and boldness of aim. America is the better for his life, and England with other Nations also has benefited in ways both seen and unsuspected.

He bore without reproach  
The grand old name of gentleman.

You must please excuse my thus writing on a subject and at a time that should forbid the intrusion of stranger hands; but I cannot refrain from showing that the loss is not yours solely.

BY BAR AND COURT

Soon after the death of Senator Wolcott the Bar Association of Denver met to take appropriate action. A committee was appointed, and it prepared resolutions commemorative of the life and character of the Senator to be presented to the various courts, Federal and State, before which Mr. Wolcott had practised. The committee consisted of Messrs. A. M. Stevenson, H. M. Orahood, L. M. Cuthbert, Clinton Reed, and E. M. Cranston. After being adopted by the Bar Association, these resolutions were presented to all the important courts sitting in Denver and by them ordered spread upon their records.

In addition, the committee adopted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That as an expression of our sympathy with those who, bound by closer ties to the late Edward Oliver Wolcott, have the heavier burden of affliction to bear in his death, a suitable engrossed copy of this memorial be forwarded to the Hon. Henry R. Wolcott (the best beloved, the most unselfish of brothers, and the staunchest of friends), with the request that it be preserved in the archives of the family as a testimonial to the enduring worth of the deceased from those among whom and for whom he labored during the best years of his eventful and honorable career.

The Bar Association expressed itself as follows:

IN MEMORIAM

EDWARD OLIVER WOLCOTT

“A mighty memory has gone  
From the full volume of the hour,

The less a majesty passed on  
Than something measureless of pow'r;  
A spirit missing from the page  
That yet incarnateth the song;  
A presence parted from the stage,  
Though moves the drama still along."

A masterful force, a mighty intellect, an indomitable spirit, "something measureless of pow'r" has passed on.

Entering upon the active duties of his profession, holding his first public office, and first coming into public notice coincidentally with the admission of Colorado as a State into the Union, the development and growth of Edward Oliver Wolcott kept pace with the advancement of the State, and the fortunes and misfortunes, the successes and reverses, the welfare and the troubles of the man and the State have been so intermingled and commingled that the life of the one is the history of the other.

He brought to the discharge of the duties imposed upon him as lawyer, statesman, and diplomat commanding talents such as few are blessed with, and a rigid, resolute devotion to principle which was his by nature, by inheritance, and by training.

In every walk of life he was an indefatigable, untiring worker. As a student he so absorbed and assimilated the wisdom and knowledge of the sages that he passed rapidly from the class of learners to that of teacher, scholar, and leader. Ambitious to achieve, he excelled by virtue of his own personality, genius, and talents. His motto was ever "*Spes sibi quisque.*"

As a lawyer he had the rare gift of adapting fundamental principles to the elucidation of points in issue, and could establish precedents with greater effect than less gifted men could follow them. He was no less successful in convincing judges than in persuading juries.

As a statesman he brought to his aid a thorough training in polemical and political science and a far-seeing, almost prophetic insight into the effect of political events, inspired by a patriotic love of his country and his State.

As a diplomat in negotiations with the representatives of foreign powers, who for generations have been trained in all the subtle arts of diplomacy, he more than held his own, met guile with frankness, overcame prejudice by the charming grace and courtesy of his demeanor, and displayed a knowledge of the resources and politics of foreign countries as novel as it was surprising.



His whole career, social, political, and professional, was illumined by his strong and marked individuality. Controlled by the courage of his convictions he was always aggressive and never on the defensive. Often upon the losing side, he was ever unconquered. A leader of parties, neither the declarations of principles nor the will of even a majority could induce him to abandon what he thought his rightful position. Whether it were a victorious army or a forlorn hope that responded to his call, he was ever in the front.

With it all, he was master of an attractive and engaging manner and delivery that was captivating even when it was resented; of a sparkling wit that was not tempered with bitterness; of an occasional shaft of sarcasm that was not tipped with envy or malice, and of a wonderful gift of eloquence which made him *facile princeps* among the orators of his day. *Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*, with equal facility he won the affections of his allies and compelled the admiration of his enemies.

In every relation he was a great force. By birth, instinct, and education, under all circumstances, he was a leader of thought, a commander of success, a ruler of men.

His character was complex and his abilities extraordinary. He hated shams and despised hypocrisy. He cherished his friends and defied his enemies. Perfect he was not, but those who knew him best, knew his great worth and were proud of his friendship.

The memory of his attractiveness and his magnetic qualities may die with those of us who have come within the circle of their influence, but the forces which he has set in motion will actuate and influence the conduct of heroes yet unborn, of leaders now undreamed of.

May we reverentially have confident belief that by virtue of the divine spirit of immortality, the wonderful gifts which distinguished Edward Oliver Wolcott from all others are not lost, but that in another and better realm they are still used for noble purposes.

“He passes silent to his peers  
In that still chamber dim and vast  
Where sit, invincible of years,  
The uncrowned monarchs of the past;  
A grander embassy to know,  
In that far country overhead,

Than soul inheriteth here below,—  
The white-robed senate of the dead.”

Respectfully submitted,

A. M. STEVENSON,

H. M. ORAHOOD,

L. M. CUTHBERT,

CLINTON REED,

E. M. CRANSTON,

Committee.

The resolutions were presented to the United States District Court, Judge Moses Hallett presiding, November 25, 1905, by Hon. Earl M. Cranston, United States District Attorney. In bringing them to the attention of the court, Mr. Cranston said:

There are many in this State to whom Senator Wolcott was more than a merely valuable citizen, more than a distinguished member of the bar, more than a political leader to be followed, and more even than a great statesman to be honored. He was to us a friend beloved always. And if we seek the reason for his pre-eminence in all these things we cannot find it, I think, in his great intellectual powers alone, although these moved as rapidly and as brilliantly as the flash of the lightning. Nor can we find it, I think, in his wit, which was as nimble and as warm as a sunbeam. And not even in his intense personal magnetism, which held men to him as irresistibly as gravitation draws all things to the centre of the earth. I believe the secret of his great success lay in his intense manliness and his courage. And if this courage sometimes angered or temporarily embittered those whom he opposed, it is equally true that always, always, it stood as a bulwark of defence for his friends, whom he never dishonored or betrayed in any way. The loyalty of our friend to old associations was most marked. It leaped over all the years across the miles of distance, to the old New England hearthstone, where the Puritan father and mother sat in the bright light of his affection as long as they lived. And so we say that the strong points in the character of Senator Wolcott were his perfect manliness, his devotion to his friends, his courage, his filial affection, and a personal winsomeness that warmed and charmed every circle in which he ever sat. Intellectually accurate and honest in all his methods, he never paltered and he never quibbled, and he was impatient with anybody who did

so. He had his faults, perhaps, as all of us have in common, but he had many virtues. And so we say, Peace to his ashes and all honor to his memory.

Judge Hallett responded :

I believe that Mr. Wolcott in his lifetime enjoyed the esteem and commendation of his associates at the bar, and it is gratifying on this occasion to have their sentiments reiterated in respect to his ability and character as a statesman and as a lawyer. It is appropriate that this record should be made in this forum, where he was often seen and heard. I respond to the sentiments of the bar in the fullest degree. The resolution as presented by Mr. Cranston will be entered of record in the Circuit Court.

Memorial services were not held in the Supreme Court of the State until February 6, 1906, almost a year after Mr. Wolcott's death, when there was another pronounced outpouring of affection for the man and of admiration for his qualities of head and heart. The committee resolutions were presented by Mr. Cuthbert, and were adopted and ordered to be spread on the minutes of the court. Mr. Cuthbert's address was a careful study of Mr. Wolcott as a lawyer, and deserves preservation in its entirety. He said :

In the death of Edward Oliver Wolcott the bar of this State has lost one of its most brilliant lights.

Favored by nature with marked abilities, he added to those gifts the experience of a life which, though ending in its very prime, was full of energy and intellectual vigor.

With all the promises for the future which talent and genius could give, how sad was this death, in a foreign land, and before the completion of his life-work! What thoughts of life and its possibilities must have coursed through his rapid-thinking mind, as he lay upon that lonely deathbed in the south of France!

“ Oh, what hadst thou to do with cruel death,  
Who wast so full of life, or death with thee,  
That thou shouldst die before thou hadst grown old? ”

It was as a lawyer, engaged in active and engrossing practice, that most of us first knew him and learned to appreciate and admire his masterful qualities; and while his later years

were spent in the broader fields of national affairs, his training and education at the bar were always the governing influence of his life. He acquired the admirable art of presenting a case with such clearness and exactness as to carry conviction in the mere statement; thereby illustrating the remark of a great lawyer, "that a case is won, not so much by labored and elaborate argument and eloquence, as by the clearness with which it is put by counsel before the court or jury."

His preparation of a case was always thorough and effective, and he possessed, in a high degree, the faculty of discrimination, and of knowing how to utilize the labor of his assistants. By reversing an ancient and time-honored maxim, and "never doing himself what he could get some one else to do equally well," he was enabled to accomplish more in the way of work than most men could, under similar circumstances; whereby he was enabled to concentrate his energies, with splendid success, upon the vital features of the case in hand.

There was in his manner, in the quickness of his perception, in his grasp of a situation, a subtle and indescribable element which distinguished him from other men. There was a wit peculiarly his own; a rapidity of retort; a promptitude to meet every adverse situation or proposition, which he alone possessed, and added to these indefinable qualities there was a sincerity and force which never failed to impress the individual or tribunal to which he addressed himself.

There has certainly been no man at this bar whose personal characteristics counted for as much as his. His power of eloquence won for him a national reputation. He could sway, with irresistible force, an audience of thousands—exciting sympathy or evoking ridicule, or making those rapid transitions from seriousness to gayety which are so effective in a public speaker; but always carrying conviction, and winning the enthusiastic admiration of his hearers.

His power of sarcasm was withering; but it took strong provocation to call it forth. His dominant characteristic was his magnetic force and effectiveness, whether in addressing an individual or an audience. And combined with all these there was, deep in his heart, a strong and abiding sympathy with his fellow-men, affection for his friends, and loyalty and patriotic devotion to his State and country.

No man could attain the eminence which he reached in the professional and political world, without being subjected to criticism, and even, at times, to bitter partisan attack and hostility;

and his vigorous and aggressive character secured for him a full and, perhaps, undeserved measure of such treatment.

This is no occasion for a discussion of the merits or demerits of personal criticism. The shadow of death has cast its mantle over this great career, and the voice of censure is hushed in the presence of that messenger who, sooner or later, summons us all to a bar where justice and right, in the truest sense, are administered.

It is the natural disposition of men to speak well of those who are dead. This inclination is often conducive to unwarranted, and, at times, exaggerated, flattery; and the critic of the living often becomes the eulogist of the dead. What is more pathetic than

“To hear the world applaud the hollow ghost,  
Which blamed the living man,”

as Matthew Arnold expresses it? This spirit of appreciation—the desire to see and remember only what was good and true and beautiful in one whose career is ended—is, however, to my mind, a virtuous trait, and a tribute to the kindly instinct of man.

In the career of him, toward whom our thoughts are at this time directed, are found qualities of the most remarkable and admirable character; qualities which not only made him the great and representative man that he was, but which have stamped his record and memory indelibly upon the history of his time. His usefulness and effectiveness were not confined to the limits of his State, or even to those of the United States Senate, where his influence was felt to a marked degree. His abilities and accomplishments secured for him an international recognition—through which there was reflected upon his State and his country the greatest credit and honor.

As a lawyer his career was eminently brilliant and successful; as a statesman he won laurels both at home and abroad; and as a citizen his aims and efforts were always for the welfare and betterment of his fellow-men and his country.

Personally he possessed a wonderful magnetism, which drew men to him, irresistibly and firmly; and, when cemented by that kindly spirit and generosity which were his great characteristics, the friendships of his life became strong and abiding.

The later years of his life were saddened by a feeling that his efforts and aims had not always been justly or fairly



estimated or appreciated by the people of the State which he loved so dearly, and whose welfare he so conscientiously and persistently considered. But to many who were close to him, it was apparent that there had come to him, with those sentiments—depressing as they were—a softening of character, a broadening of sympathy and consideration, and a deeper respect for the views and opinions of those from whom he differed. His later years were certainly

“Mellowed and soften’d as with sunset glow,  
A golden day’s decline.”

I am grateful for the opportunity of presenting to this court the memorial of the Bar Association, and of paying this tribute to the memory of a man who has done so much to elevate the profession of which he was such a distinguished member.

Chief Justice Gabbert replied for the court:

By those who knew Edward Oliver Wolcott well, or are familiar with the history of our State, his life-work as a citizen, lawyer, and statesman will at once be recognized in the summary of his career epitomized in the memorial of the Bar Association. He came to Colorado in his early manhood and shortly thereafter actively engaged in the practice of his profession. He moulded his own career; he did not wait for opportunity to come to him, but created it himself. He did not wait for his ship to come in, but when he discovered its sails hovering on the horizon of his life, uncertain and wavering in its course, he reached out, grasped, and securely moored it to the shore of success. He was trained in his profession, but no man becomes a great lawyer by training alone. In addition he must possess some of those peculiar characteristics of intellect which enable him, by discipline, to grasp and solve legal problems. Nature was kind to Edward Oliver Wolcott in this respect. He was wonderfully successful as a lawyer, but in a great measure this success was due to the fact that he thoroughly mastered and understood his cases, and thus he was enabled to make others comprehend them also. With the advent of his adopted State into the Union his public career began, and continued almost without interruption for a quarter of a century. It was marked with a degree of success at home and abroad seldom achieved by any man.

Except to gratify a laudable ambition he had no need to become a United States Senator in order to realize further success. His pre-eminence was then established. In the law, in business, as a leader, as a citizen, he stood prominent. His sphere of usefulness would have been extended without the Senatorial toga. But the additional honor thus conferred was fully reciprocated by the services he rendered his State and the nation.

The lifelong friends of the departed are his best judges. They knew his good qualities and were acquainted with his frailties. The chance acquaintance, the world at large, were more apt to give heed to the latter; but when intimate friends who understood the motives which prompted his action and who clung to him at all times, testify to his many admirable qualities, we can rest assured and can truly say he possessed many noble attributes of character.

#### IN MASS MEETING

Probably the most general expression of the grief of the people of Denver was heard in a meeting held at the Broadway Theatre on the anniversary of Mr. Wolcott's birth, March 26, 1905. This ceremony was under the auspices of the Colorado Club, but there was no effort to confine attendance to members of the organization. The proceedings were non-partisan in most respects. John W. Springer presided. The programme was as follows:

"In Heavenly Love Abiding" *Mendelssohn*

DOUBLE QUARTETTE

Invocation

REV. FRANK T. BAYLEY, D.D.

Hymn—"Christ for the World we Sing"

DOUBLE QUARTETTE AND AUDIENCE

"The Citizen"

JUDGE JOHN CAMPBELL

Solo—"One Sweetly Solemn Thought"

*Ambrose*

MRS. W. J. WHITEMAN

"The Lawyer"

HON. JOEL F. VAILE

Trio—"Lift Thine Eyes"

*(from the Elijah)*

MISSES DAVIS, WHITEMAN, AND ROST

"The Statesman"

HON. A. M. STEVENSON

Solo—"God Shall Wipe Away All Tears

*Sullivan*

MRS. OTIS B. SPENCER

"In Memoriam"

HON. JOHN W. SPRINGER

Hymn—"Lead, Kindly Light"

DOUBLE QUARTETTE

Hymn—"My Country 'Tis of Thee"

DOUBLE QUARTETTE AND AUDIENCE

Benediction

REV. THOMAS NELSON HASKELL

How appropriate it was that the hymn "Christ for the World" was included in the services will be better appreciated after it is explained that it is the production of Mr. Wolcott's father, Dr. Samuel Wolcott. This fact was of course understood at the time, although but few in the audience could have known the interest Mr. Wolcott had always felt in his father's poetical creations. The hymn is one of Dr. Wolcott's best, and the account of the services would be incomplete without it. It follows:

#### CHRIST FOR THE WORLD

Christ for the world we sing;  
The world to Christ we bring,  
With loving zeal;  
The poor, and them that mourn,  
The faint and overborne,  
Sin-sick and sorrow-worn,  
Whom Christ doth heal.

Christ for the world we sing;  
The world to Christ we bring,  
With fervent prayer;  
The wayward and the lost,  
By restless passions tossed,  
Redeemed at countless cost,  
From dark despair.

Christ for the world we sing;  
The world to Christ we bring,  
With one accord;  
With us the work to share,

With us reproach to dare,  
With us the cross to bear,  
For Christ our Lord.

Christ for the world we sing!  
The world to Christ we bring,  
With joyful song;  
The new-born souls, whose days,  
Reclaimed from error's ways,  
Inspired with hope and praise,  
To Christ belong.

At the right of the stage was placed a picture of Mr. Wolcott appropriately draped. The boxes were occupied by the members of the Wolcott family, including Rev. William E. Wolcott, Herbert W. Wolcott, Miss Anna L. Wolcott, and Mrs. Frederick O. Vaille, brothers and sisters of the dead Senator, and several nephews and nieces. Governor McDonald and the Legislature as a body were present. The theatre was crowded from pit to gallery.

Justice John Campbell, of the State Supreme Court, delivered the first address, speaking of Mr. Wolcott as "The Citizen." It formed an extended commentary upon his life, furnishing a character study of value. Excerpts follow:

When the people of Colorado, by their chosen representatives, twice elected to the United States Senate Edward Oliver Wolcott, they honored themselves quite as much as they did him. That he was not continuously kept there must not be interpreted as a lack of appreciation by his constituents, or that he had not faithfully represented their interests. For all concede that with distinguished ability and rare fidelity he discharged the duties, and maintained the dignity, of his high office.

It is but natural and seemly to speak kindly of the dead. In the presence of death, human passions are stilled, jealousies buried, rivalries forgotten, bitterness and vituperations cease.

If the masterful man whose life went out in a foreign land, and whose ashes have just been deposited in his native soil, had fashioned the programme for his own memorial services and supervised the addresses that are to be made, the editorial blue pencil would be ruthlessly drawn across every word and sentence

that savored of fulsome flattery or sycophancy, and the award of virtues to which he made no claim would be more distasteful to his honest and discriminating mind than to be accused of offences of which he was not guilty.

The prime quality of a good citizen is integrity. In the fiercest controversies in which Mr. Wolcott engaged, in the bitterest political battles that centred around him, in legal and business dealings, no whisper against his personal integrity ever reached my ears, and I do not now recall that his enemies—of whom all great leaders usually have a full quota—ever publicly challenged his honesty. They might, and did, disagree with his policies, question the wisdom of his political doctrines, and dissent from his judgment, but his personal integrity was conceded by his most virulent foe.

He would be the last man to defend or commend for the imitation of young men, some of the things he did, and other things he was accused of doing, but which he did not do. He was no Pharisee, and the halo of saintship had never been authoritatively conferred upon him, or claimed by him. But the friends who knew him best—and now that the hot passions aroused by political controversies have cooled, enemies also—will testify to his intellectual honesty, his unbending integrity in the various affairs of life.

I do not intend to criticise, or rebuke, or introduce a discordant note, or assume to pass judgment on any one's motives, but I cannot withhold reference to the superb moral heroism displayed by Mr. Wolcott in 1896, when apparently his entire party and his State were about to cut loose from the national political organization to which he belonged. It is so easy to drift with the current, but Mr. Wolcott made up his mind to stick to his party. This determination meant much to him. The breaking of long existing and pleasant social and political friendships was involved, and the almost certain loss of office was one of the minor penalties that stared him in the face. But he did not hesitate.

Having decided what his duty to State and nation was, he threw his whole soul into the fight for principle, never turned back, never apologized, never asked for, or gave, quarter. Because of its relation to a national election in which the paramount issue was a policy of international importance, this act of Mr. Wolcott's centred upon him the eyes of the entire country and made him a national character.

Henry Clay, though a great compromiser; Blaine, the target



of abuse and party hatred; Randall, charged with misrepresenting a selfish policy of his immediate constituents; Jackson, the typical spoilsman, each and all were courageous men. The people trusted them, and though all did not achieve the object of their great ambition, each one was a statesman, and all are dear to the hearts of their countrymen. In this list of courageous men, Senator Wolcott's name belongs.

Sincerity, the very antithesis of demagoguism, was one of his dominant characteristics. No one who heard him in public or conversed with him in private could doubt the sincerity of his convictions. It rang out in all his utterances because it permeated every fibre of his brain and saturated every tissue of his heart. The arts and insincerity, the hesitation and caution, of the "gum shoe" politician, constituted no part of his equipment. Fragile glass could not sustain the weight of his convictions on questions of governmental policy. His feet were planted on solid rock, and he made no attempt to muffle the sound of his footsteps.

Our friend did not escape the common experience of a great leader. He had his complement of fair-weather friends, and felt the sting of ingratitude that is so hard even for the strong and self-reliant to bear.

But while the relation of true friendship lasted, how royally did he reward his friends with charming confidences and material aid, and how valiantly he protected and stood by them against every attack! That he was imposed upon, as President Grant was, and sometimes shielded bad men, after the world knew their real character, is true, but so long as his own belief in the friendship endured, nothing could induce him to withdraw his protecting arm.

Pious cant he abhorred, and meaningless generalities avoided. The good things he did he would have us remember, and only those; for, though he never paraded his religious beliefs, his godly father's religion was for him the eternal verity.

Hon. Joel F. Vaile, the former law partner of Senator Wolcott, spoke of him as "The Lawyer." He told of the dead Senator's career at the bar; of his unimpeachable integrity; of his brilliancy and wonderful oratorical powers, and read selections from his speeches. In part, Mr. Vaile said:

There are those in this audience whose acquaintance with

Senator Wolcott long antedates mine. Graduating in 1871 from the law school of Harvard University, he came at once to Colorado. And his whole professional career has had its centre of action here. When I first met him, twenty-three years ago, he was already, at the age of thirty-four, a commanding figure at the bar of Colorado and of the West. He was then participating in most of the important cases tried in the State and Federal courts, in this jurisdiction. He was then performing the duties of general counsel of the Denver & Rio Grande Railway Company, and soon after was appointed general counsel, and held that position to the end of his days. He was then the representative of the Burlington Railway System in Colorado, and so continued throughout his life. Such positions and responsibilities are obtained, and retained, not by favor, but by worth. It is because for value received, full value is given in efficient service.

Mr. Wolcott was a man of phenomenal intellectual powers. Facile and sure in his mental operations, I have never known any other man who could so quickly grasp all the features of a complicated problem; who could so readily unravel all the tangled threads of a difficult subject and weave them into a fabric displaying their logical relations and significance. He had the power of rapid and accurate generalization. This quality made him not only powerful in argument, but invaluable as a counsellor. To use an expression of Huxley's, his intellect was ready, like a steam engine, for any kind of work, to spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind.

That Mr. Wolcott had, in an unusual degree, the power of moving eloquence, is a fact probably well known to you all. This faculty was manifested alike in the judicial forum, on the floor of the Senate, and on the political hustings. But I conceive that the real basis of that eloquence has not been sufficiently appreciated. It is to be found expressed in the words of old John Milton:

"True eloquence," says Milton, "I find to be none but the serious and hearty love of truth, and that whose mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others; when such a one would speak, his words, like to many nimble and airy servitors, trip about him at command, and in well ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places."

Mr. Wolcott's addresses, legal, Senatorial, political, or gen-

eral, were marked by this impress of truth. He always spoke from conviction. He was never in the slightest degree a time-server. He spoke the truth as he saw it. It is here you will find the main structure of his power in address, a structure indeed embellished by a playful fancy, a ready wit, and a magnetic presence.

In considering Mr. Wolcott as a lawyer there is one characteristic of the man that must rank above all others, and that is the high standard of professional duty and honor, which he always upheld. The temptations to lower such standard come often with great force to the lawyer representing numerous and large and varied interests, and especially in running the strenuous pace set by this money-making age. Yet in these twenty years of close professional association with Mr. Wolcott I have never heard a suggestion, affirmative or by consent, of any act which would fall below the highest plane of professional integrity.

Hon. A. M. Stevenson dealt with Senator Wolcott as a statesman, saying in part:

It is difficult for one who enjoyed Senator Wolcott's friendship and was proud of it, to speak of him only as a statesman. There is something so impersonal in the subject assigned me that I hope to be excused if I wander away from it somewhat in the little that I may say on this occasion. I had, in fact, hoped that these exercises might have been delayed until we could secure the attendance here of one or more of his colleagues in the Senate, who would best be able to speak of his career as a statesman.

It was in the closer personal relations of life that I knew him best, and it is of the charm, grace, and attractiveness of the man and his personality that I should prefer to speak.

Now that he is gone, those who never agreed with him in life will admit that he deserved the high place which he attained and always held. He was the peer of any Senator. His friends and intimates at Washington were the best and greatest of our statesmen. When he addressed the Senate every member was in his seat, and the public galleries and those of the diplomatic corps and of official Washington were always filled.

We cannot on this occasion follow in detail his work as a legislator. He accomplished much for his State and was untiring in his devotion to its interests. He went to Washington thoroughly imbued with the ideas and sentiments of the people

of the West, and especially those of his own State, upon economic questions, and at once became a leader both in counsel and in debate upon all subjects connected with the monetary system of his country. He believed then that the free and unrestricted coinage of silver by the independent action of the United States was possible. His speeches in the Senate advocating this monetary policy will always be classed among the most convincing arguments in behalf of the double standard.

Senator Wolcott was always a partisan, but he never allowed his partisanship to betray him into unwarranted and unjustifiable attacks upon those who had carried the banner of the Confederacy. He recognized the bravery and chivalry of the men of the South and when the war was over, it was, in fact, over with him. He recognized that we are all Americans and his efforts were ever directed toward bringing about a better feeling between the sections. He wished to see our country again united and all the people of all States striving for a common destiny.

During President Harrison's administration there was introduced in Congress a bill commonly known as the Force Bill. . . Mr. Wolcott believed the bill injurious to the South and therefore unjust to the country. He opposed it and brought all his wonderful powers of oratory and organization to bear to accomplish its defeat. The good feeling between the sections was thus cemented. Those days of distrust and hatred have passed away and we are once more a harmonious and united country.

Senator Wolcott was a partisan, but he was a partisan for what he thought the right, and the will of even a majority of his party could not make him abandon what he considered his rightful position.

It is only minds like his that can see beyond the passion of the hour, and courage like his that can stand, alone if need be, for the right.

He was a Protectionist. In all contests for Free Trade or for Tariff for Revenue, he stood for Protection. He looked beyond the infant days of Colorado to the time when her great resources should need the aid of Protection to insure their development. He believed that the policy of Protection was the best for all the people of the country.

In all his public career he retained the friendship and affection of those highest in the counsels of the nation. President McKinley loved and trusted him; he was the intimate personal friend of our great Secretary of State. He knew the men of



affairs and statecraft in the leading nations of Europe and they respected and believed in him.

Honors were heaped upon him wherever he went, but no honors were his that did not honor his State—the State that he loved and whose people now, too late, all honor and respect his memory and appreciate his virtues.

He was a manly man; he hated shams and fought in the open. He was a loyal friend and he has left us a legacy of kind and generous deeds.

The State mourns the loss of her most brilliant statesman; his associates mourn the loss of his wise counsels and generous and hearty sympathy, and I am bereft of a friend.

John W. Springer, as President of the Club, delivered the memorial address proper, saying:

“The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,  
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,  
Await alike the inevitable hour,—  
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.”

In the hush of the eventide, March 1, 1905, a message was flashed over the fields of France, and under the waves of the Atlantic, and on over the Alleghanies—to the sunny peaks of the Rockies:

“Edward Oliver Wolcott died this day in Monte Carlo.”

What sorrowful news for all Colorado! There is not a man, woman, or child within the confines of this commonwealth, but knew this masterful man—the Alexander Hamilton of the West.

His scholastic attainments, his intrepid and fearless courage, his lofty patriotism, coupled with an irresistible personality, supplemented by his bewitching oratorical ability, made him the peer of any man during that Senatorial period; and Colorado became famous as Edward Oliver Wolcott went up and down the land, swaying tens of thousands with his matchless powers of oratory, and brilliancy of diplomatic address.

I shall never forget my introduction to Senator Wolcott, in 1896, in Colorado. As I look back, those truly were strenuous times. The old party was rent in twain, and any man who would not cheer for “16 to 1” was not only considered disloyal to his State, but an enemy of his country. How well do I remember my feelings when I saw this American statesman de-



served by thousands of his lifetime friends and partisans, almost single-handed and alone, go up and down the Rocky Mountain region, surrounded by what has fittingly been called the "Old Guard," pleading with the people to fearlessly cling to that magnificent Republican (our martyred President), William McKinley.

I followed, as a stranger, this great Colorado champion of the old Republican party. I heard him denounce this "will-o'-the-wisp" fantasy of cheap money. I saw him fall, a victim of this State's delusion. And when I look back and remember the tens of thousands of dollars of his own earnings he poured out with a lavish hand; to say nothing of the weeks, months, and years, he labored like a dray-horse for the "Old Party" and its undying principles, I thank God that it was my choice and my pleasure to stand by him in every succeeding fight, and to do my best to aid him, in 1903, to return to the Senate of the United States, which was owing to him more certainly than to any man within the borders of the Centennial State.

Edward Oliver Wolcott's record is made up, and his life-work closed. We loved him in life, and we mourn his untimely death. Truly, it is a trite saying that "death loves a shining mark." With only a few years over half a century in his life's journey, with many a task uncompleted, many a hope crushed, and many bitter memories, his proud spirit reluctantly gave up the unequal contest, and had he lived to-day would have marked the fifty-fourth mile-post in life's journey.

May all the good influences of his active life dwell with us and linger in our hearts, as we go hence. And may we take one special lesson from his life and death, and that is—when a public servant does his duty fearlessly, tell him you appreciate it, while he is living. A smile, a word of appreciation, a hearty handshake, an earthly reward for service well rendered, is worth all the eulogiums, the monuments, and the tears shed by multitudes, after one is dead. A man needs help while he is alive—not praise after the cold hand of death has been laid upon him. Adopt the principle of speaking well of a man, or of saying nothing, and learn by heart the words of Will Carleton:

"Boys flying kites, haul in their white-winged birds.

You can't do that way, when you're flying words.

Thoughts unexpressed may sometimes fall back dead,

But God Himself can't stop them when they're said."

His political vindication was his just desert. It was denied him here; it will be meted out over there. As we take a parting look at his ennobling features, portrayed upon the canvas beside us, we shall but mirror his great and good deeds upon the tablets of our memory, which shall abide with us. Peace to his ashes, and rest to his soul!

On the 19th of April following, the Board of Directors of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company adopted the following:

WHEREAS, death has taken from us Mr. Edward Oliver Wolcott, who since the organization of this company has been a member of its board of directors and its general counsel, and prior thereto, throughout nearly all of his professional career, was connected with the legal department of the railroad, and

WHEREAS, Mr. Wolcott served his country with much distinction, and this company with unwavering devotion to duty, and his friends with loyalty and affection, this Board, whose members individually feel the personal loss of a friend, as well as an official associate, desires to give expression, though inadequate, to the high place held by Mr. Wolcott in its esteem, and the deep sense of the loss occasioned by his death. Now, therefore,

*Resolved*, that the directors of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company do hereby express their great sorrow at the death of the Honorable Edward Oliver Wolcott, who departed this life on the first day of March, 1905.

Mr. Wolcott was for many years a valued member of this Board. He assisted in the organization of the company and since its creation has been its general counsel. He has served the company with exceptional ability for the past nineteen years, and we desire to express our sincere appreciation of his admirable qualities as a man, his great efficiency as the counsel of the company and the head of its legal department, and his valuable aid given to the company in many directions during his long association with it.

The services which he rendered to his State and his country while holding the office of United States Senator make his loss a national one, while his lovable qualities as a man make that loss peculiarly poignant to his relatives and friends.

This memorial is placed of record in the minutes of this Board as a slight tribute to his memory, and the secretary of

this company is directed to send an engrossed copy of this resolution to the Honorable Henry R. Wolcott with assurances to him and his brothers and sisters of our deep sympathy in their day of affliction.

E. T. JEFFERY, *President.*

As further evidence of the good feeling for Mr. Wolcott existing among the officials of the Denver and Rio Grande, the following letter of April 21, 1909, from Traffic Manager A. S. Hughes, is quoted:

My acquaintance with Senator Wolcott runs back a great many years, to early in the seventies, when he was a young lawyer at Georgetown, later District Attorney, and afterward Senator from Clear Creek district. This was followed by a very pleasant association upon his removal to Denver, through our long connection with the Denver and Rio Grande, which began with both of us in 1880 or 1881. The Senator's brilliant attainments, his fame as an orator, and his distinguished career at the bar, are too well known to require comment from me. While I was not of his political faith, at the same time, in common with many others similarly situated, I—all of us, indeed, were pleased when he was made United States Senator for Colorado, as we knew in advance that he would attain the prominence which was accorded him in the Senate.

#### LOOKING TO THE END

Many of Mr. Wolcott's friends believe that when he left Denver the last time in November, 1904, he realized that probably he never would return. During his stay there he took a street-car ride to Fairmont Cemetery, and after looking it over and making a general inspection of the surroundings he struck out across country and walked back to the city three or four miles away. Arrived at his home, he spoke much about the burial-place and told his friends that he desired to be interred there when he died. "Give me the blue skies for my canopy and the old Rockies for my monument!" he exclaimed with exuberance. Apparently he spoke in jest, but his listeners now believe that he foresaw the approaching end. Later, he told other friends that he desired that his body should rest near New York, and there his ashes lie.



SENATOR WOLCOTT'S MONUMENT IN WOODLAWN CEMETERY,  
NEW YORK.





There are other evidences that at that period his mind was occupied largely with the possibility of early dissolution. His intimate friend A. M. Stevenson relates that on one occasion during this visit Mr. Wolcott went into the Denver Club just as he (Stevenson) was about to depart. He asked Stevenson to remain, and when the latter pleaded an engagement he urged him so persistently that ultimately he consented. "I want to talk with you," said Mr. Wolcott. He and Mr. Stevenson then sat down and went over many matters together. Toward the close of the interview Mr. Wolcott said, addressing his friend familiarly: "Now, Stevey, I am going away, and I doubt very much whether I ever shall come back. Henry and I are going abroad for the benefit of his health, but the truth is that I am the sicker man of the two. I feel that present conditions cannot long continue, and, as I have said, I don't believe I shall ever see you again."

Mr. Stevenson remonstrated with him, but with little effect, for later in the same day, at his own residence, as Mr. Stevenson relates the story, Mr. Wolcott brought up the subject again. Mr. Chisholm was then present, and Mr. Wolcott was making preparations to get away. He had been going over his will, and he tossed the document over to Chisholm, asking him to put it away. He then told Mr. Chisholm that he had not forgotten him in the will and suggested that he should read it. This Chisholm declined to do and the document was sealed up.

Already two memorials have been erected to the memory of Mr. Wolcott, one of them a monument in Woodlawn Cemetery in New York, where his ashes are interred, and the other in Denver. The location of the burial-place is a solemnly attractive one, and the monument erected there by the loving hands of his brother is an elaborate and beautiful piece of marble, attesting at once the durability of the dead man's name and the splendor of his fame. The inscription on the head-stone is a bare notation of name and date of birth, as follows:

EDWARD OLIVER WOLCOTT,  
BORN MARCH 26, 1848—DIED MARCH 1, 1905.

The foot-stone contains the following:

“ Warm summer sun shine kindly here,  
Warm southern wind blow softly here,  
Green sod above lie light, lie light;—  
Good-night,—dear heart—good-night,—  
Good-night.”

The other memorial, the one in Denver, is a life-size portrait in a stained glass window in the Colorado State Capitol. It portrays Mr. Wolcott seated in reposeful attitude in his library, and is a very pleasing picture. The window is in the rear of the Lieutenant-Governor's seat in the Senate Chamber, and is 5 x 9½ feet in size. It was prepared on an order from the State, given very soon after the Senator's death, and was placed in position in March, 1906, just a year after that event.



WOLCOTT STAINED-GLASS WINDOW IN THE STATE  
CAPITOL AT DENVER.



## Characteristics





## WOLCOTT THE MAN

THE most striking characteristic of Mr. Wolcott was bigness. Tall and well rounded out, he rose physically above the average man, and, whether taller or otherwise bigger of body, his eyes were more expressive; his grip was stronger; his step was more energetic; his language readier and more to the point; his grasp of events quicker and more comprehensive; his generosity greater; his follies more extreme. Whatever he did, good or bad, he did on an unusual scale. There was no "half-way house" on his road. He must needs be a leader, never a follower. He must mingle and compete with the best and strongest, and surpass them. His contest was altogether with the sturdy; he found no pleasure in outrunning the slow, in outfighting the weak, in outwitting the dullard. He won fame as a lawyer; he assumed the leadership of a great State; he forced his way into the Senate and there soon ranked with the foremost in that body of established leaders; he compelled a partially unwilling National Administration to keep the promise of its party in the interest of International Bimetallism, and he came near to revolutionizing the world by forcing the double monetary standard upon it. He controlled men and dictated policies. He was a man of achievement, not the mere man of words that the popular speaker generally is. He possessed moral courage far beyond the ordinary. His intellectual processes were swift, independent, and accurate; his mental vision broad and keen—penetrating, comprehensive. He always thought and acted on a large scale; he seemed to see all sides and all phases of a subject at the same time and at the first glance.

Baseness and meanness were foreign to his nature—pettiness quite antipodal. He possessed such magnetism that involuntarily men were drawn to him. He was impulsive, but tenacious; intuitive, but exact; quick, but strong and determined. In many respects he was what men call a genius. And if he possessed the good qualities of the genius he possessed also some of the bad. Was ever there a genius who had not eaten of the tree of knowledge of both good and evil?

It is not intended that this shall be a record of the man's deeds only along the lines of the world's approval. At times he diverged from those lines, and the story of his life would not be correctly told without recognition of these delinquencies; he would not himself have it so.

What, then, were his faults?

Their enumeration will not require great space. They were largely social, and were of a character which in another age and another land would scarcely have been considered such. He drank with his friends, and occasionally drank more than he should; he smoked excessively at times, and he was fond of a game of chance. He swore upon occasion. In addition, it must be said that there were some phases of manner and temper which had their disagreeable aspect. Often he was petulant and brusque, and generally he was arbitrary in disposition. While ordinarily polite and agreeable under right conditions, he could be very exacting. He did not drink regularly, and he drank excessively only at rare intervals. He would continue for months without the use of either liquor or tobacco. Frequently he would say that he would not smoke or drink for a given time, and he would invariably refrain for the specified time, notwithstanding it frequently covered many months. His excessive betting was also spasmodic and infrequent.

Whether all these characteristics or habits were serious faults or necessarily faults at all must depend upon the point of view from which they are observed. His brusqueness of manner, for instance, unquestionably was the result of preoccupation and impatience due to the fact that the minds of others did not keep pace with his own. If he

appeared arbitrary it was because of his conviction of right in any position he might take on a subject. To some his brusqueness and autocratic course might easily appear as natural consequences of his busy life and preoccupied mind. To others, to subordinates working under his direction, or to his equals engaged on the same task but differing from him, they seemed unreasonable and unnecessary.

But all must agree on the one point that, whatever his shortcomings or derelictions, they may be traced to his temperament, which, nervous in high degree, caused him to appear varying, when in reality he was steadfast, and led him to do many things merely for the purpose of relieving a strained mental or physical state.

It is no more the purpose to excuse these derelictions, so far as they were such, than to conceal them. Nor is there any intention of parading them in an attractive way for the enticement of others. It is not to be contended that they were any part of the man's greatness. Their necessary effect was to lessen his capacity and detract from his prestige. If he accomplished all that he did while indulging these propensities, he would have done more if he had kept them in complete subjugation.

Indeed, what could not Ed Wolcott have been but for the social pastimes which stole away his time? But, on the other hand, does not such a nature demand relaxation, and did he not do wonders despite his excesses?

And would he have been Ed Wolcott if he had been different from what he was?

He was a man of the world. He lived the life of the man of the world. He played his part both night and day, and he led the game all the time.

A man of the world? A man of many worlds—of the political, the official, the business, the literary, the art, the travel, the social, the club world, and of the "about-town" world. He was a part of all these worlds, and he knew them all. His experience was wide, his life crowded.

It is undeniable that Mr. Wolcott spent money freely when engaged in actual political combat, but it should be stated that he always strongly reprobated the corruption of the ballot. Never a niggard, never ungrateful, Mr.

Wolcott gave liberally for all legitimate purposes, and it is possible that inquiry as to legitimacy was not always as scrutinizing as it might have been. He paid the expenses of his campaigns, and, whether during a campaign or at any other time, he did not permit a political supporter to suffer.

Frequent comment has been made upon the fact that Mr. Wolcott was not a man of detail and would not delve as laboriously into the intricacies of a lawsuit or of a piece of legislation as would others. It was not in him to do so, and, indeed, it may be seriously doubted whether, if he had attempted such a course, he would have been as successful as he was. It is not always the man of detail who accomplishes most in life. The proverb tells us that "the penny soul never comes to twopence." There is ever a possibility of holding a small object so near the eye as to shut out all other objects, large or small. Most men have only a limited stock of energy, and if it be exhausted in one direction it will not be found available in another. He utilized the labor of other people, where that course could be pursued as well as not; but not to the disadvantage of client or constituent, for he found no difficulty in adapting the work of others, and he had few equals in discovering the salient points in a given case and in marshalling them for effective presentation. His was a policy of conservation. He did not wear himself out on small matters or on work that was uncongenial, and hence was prepared to deal with large problems when they presented themselves. On the other hand, no one labored more tirelessly over a task that could not be delegated to others. The preparation of his speeches is an example. No toil was too severe, no detail too trifling, for him in that work. Fortunately, he had the capacity for the larger work, and in "passing up" the drudgery of small things he did not thus deprive himself of all opportunity, as has many another who has had the aspirations without the ability of our subject.

To those who knew him only casually, Mr. Wolcott seemed a man without a care. He seldom appeared in public when not in jovial good humor. But, while such was his pre-



vailing disposition, he was not always cheerful nor always in good humor. On the contrary, he not only occasionally was resentful, but often was despondent.

His anger scarcely deserved the name. It generally took the shape of irritation due to impatience with conditions which were not such as his orderly mind demanded. At such times he could be and often was disagreeable to the delinquent. But the storm did not continue long. He did not hold resentment, and when he offended he usually was quick to show contrition, and even to make apology, if the offence called for such a course. In case of prolonged conflict, he would fight on day after day and year after year, but not with personal hatred.

Not so short-lived, but more deep-seated, were his periods of depression. When he became despondent, he would retire from the world, seeing as few people as circumstances would permit, and getting rid of those he did see as expeditiously as he could.

To this tendency to melancholy some of Mr. Wolcott's more intimate friends attribute many of his most pronounced faults and greatest excesses. They say that to such moods invariably could be traced his resort to liquor in unusual quantity. And, pursuing the baneful influence further, they declare that it always was while controlled by liquor that he risked his money foolishly and in excessive sums in the gambling resorts. Following the drinking, there generally was a reaction, and it was then that, with nerves unstrung and everything distorted, he would permit his irritability to get the better of him, causing him to do and say unjust and unkind things. Thus, not only the gambling tendency, but the irascibility and even the drinking itself were due to a mental characteristic such as is not always easily controlled.

At times his periods of despondency seemed irresistible. Possessed of an unusually impressionable nature, he was quick to feel the influence of surrounding conditions. If these were agreeable, he was genial and merry beyond most men. He was easily bored and would not remain in uncongenial company or an unpleasant social atmosphere if he could get away. He was far more quickly discouraged by

adverse conditions than was popularly supposed, and when apparently the situation was beyond control, for a time he would give way to despondency. At other times the mood would take possession of him without apparent reason. But, be the origin of the depression what it might, he occasionally resorted to the use of intoxicants for relief from it, at times going farther than was dictated by prudence. It was on such occasions that he made his record as a "plunger."

This despondent tendency became noticeable to Mr. Wolcott himself when a very young man, and he regarded it as hereditary. We find him mentioning it in his letters from Cambridge while in the law school there, and his Norwich cousin, Mr. A. P. Carroll, who was closely associated with him as a young man, noted the trait when, after obtaining his law degree at Harvard, Ed was preparing to start to Colorado and to enter upon his career. Mr. Carroll says that Ed's grandfather Pope had advanced \$500 to him and that it seemed such a paltry sum with which to begin life that, when he was leaving Norwich, he was greatly depressed. "I went with him to the station," says Carroll, "and as we sat outside the depot, overlooking the river, I shall never forget the deep cast-down tone in which he said: 'I feel far more inclined to plunge into the water yonder and end it all than to board the coming train, and face what is before me.'"

Another notable instance of the manifestation of this disposition was observable when in 1896 Mr. Wolcott retired to Wolhurst, practically refusing for days to see any one, because of the state of mind superinduced by the complicated political conditions of the period. He also was much more deeply depressed over the failure of the Bimetallic Commission than the world ever knew. He never recovered from the treatment he received from his fellow-Republicans in 1902-3, when he was ostracized by a large faction and his return to the Senate prevented.

But, while unquestionably it is true that Mr. Wolcott's depressed periods had a vast influence in causing his departure from the beaten paths, they were not entirely re-

sponsible for this course. His was a unique and a varied character, and by no means all of his habits were traceable to any one trait. Excitement seemed essential to him. His love of change was unquenchable. Of an intense nature, his mind must be occupied. He must be looking at or hearing something new; he could not and would not endure the humdrum of the ordinary. The fact that the path was beaten was in itself sufficient to drive him from it in matters of entertainment. Routine was well enough for others, but would not do for him. If he smoked or drank, or played pool, or bought "futures," or poked the enemy in the ribs, he did so largely because there was coming to be too much sameness in life. If awake, he must be doing something, and he never slept so long as there was "something doing." It has been said, and truly, that every moment of his life was lived intensely. He did everything with zeal and with all his soul. He devoured books. If he spoke, he gave utterance to the best in him. If he worked, he worked hard; if he played, he played zealously. He was most loyal to his friends; his enemies he let alone—intensely. If he was for you, he was strongly for you; if against you, he would exert himself to the utmost; he "nailed his enemies to the cross." Success was a passion with him. He always played to win, and in a way all phases of life were a game to him. If he gambled, he "went the limit." When a boy he often attended three church services in one day; after he grew to manhood, he would "take in" three or four theatres in an evening. One has said of him that he had "the intemperate temperament."

Necessarily there must be another side to so tense a nature. Periods of depression were as inevitable as that the pendulum of the clock which swings one way must alternately swing in the other direction.

But, as a rule, the depressed period was comparatively brief. Generally, he was cheerful, frequently jolly. Good nature was his predominating state of mind. Ordinarily, he was the inspiring spirit of any company, and any social occasion in which he long was a participant was sure to be gay. No one enjoyed a jest more than he, and much of his ordinary conversation was in the lighter vein. At home

he was the life of the household, and without him no gathering of his friends was complete.

With all his frailties and all his talents, Ed Wolcott was the most generous, the most magnanimous, the most appreciative, of mortals. He never forsook a friend, and he seldom punished an enemy. He gave lavishly to the unfortunate, and his pity for those in distress knew no bounds. He was frankness itself.

There was no limit to his gratitude. Benefits conferred were never forgot and never unrequited. Indeed, he did not permit any opportunity for manifesting appreciation to pass without availing himself of it. Proof of this statement is found in his attitude toward his father and his brother Henry—indeed in his attitude toward all of his family. He never tired of aiding the younger members of the household, and he joined generously with Henry in providing for the comfort of their father and mother in their declining years.

As with members of the family, so with friends. None of them served him in vain. When convinced of the loyalty of a political follower, no amount of abuse—nothing short of conviction of personal dishonesty—could impair his attachment or diminish his support. This characteristic was tested to the utmost in the trying days of the renaissance of the Republican party of Colorado from 1900 to 1905. Most of the calumny of him in that time of triumph and tribulation was based upon his retention of certain of his followers in the Federal offices. But he did not let them out. "How can I?" he would ask, and then by way of explanation would add, almost pathetically: "They stood with me in '96, you know."

No person ever was franker in speaking of bad habits than Mr. Wolcott, and none could or did more thoroughly appreciate their baneful effect. His letters to his parents teem with references to his faults and show that he made many efforts to permanently break away from them, as he often temporarily did. He repeatedly told his friends that he especially wished he could refrain entirely from the use of intoxicating liquors. "I know that when under their influence I am not the man I am at other times," he said over



and again. When told of some friend who was falling into the drinking habit, he would say: "Tell him to cut it out—it will get the best of him; he ought not to drink if he can't stop short of getting full."

But if he drank he did not try to conceal the fact from any one. Indeed, he was more apt to exaggerate the fault and make more of it than conditions warranted. Deprecating his use of liquor to any excess, and distressed when it caused him to depart from conventional paths, he did not shrink from discussing the circumstances in a given case. If occasion required, he would speak of them to his minister-father or his pious mother as freely as to any one else. He was not given to secret sins.

No one ever came more honestly by a characteristic than did Mr. Wolcott by his frankness. It was one of the many likable traits derived from his father. Writing as far back as 1836, a classmate of Dr. Wolcott's at Andover speaks of that gentleman's candor as one of his "faults." Fault it may not have been in either the father or the son, but one may imagine that it could be easily so regarded by a fellow-student, even in a theological school. But, whether the characteristic was abnormal or not, it was inherent in both the elder and the younger Wolcott. They concealed nothing for fear of the ill effect of publicity upon themselves.

A friend of both Senator Wolcott and his father has admirably portrayed the quality in the following:

"I should say that with both Dr. Wolcott and his son frankness was neither a fault nor, perhaps, a virtue, but an instinct—a native endowment, like the leopard's spots—an inalienable inheritance—together with the wide-open blue eyes which gave it expression. They loved frankness, and there was not one particle of guile in either of them."

Senator Wolcott had no secrets except those the telling of which might affect injuriously other people.

He would never deny or shirk a slur if it was based on the truth, and often the very boldness of his candor disarmed criticism. When charged with the possession of habits, any one of which would break an ordinary man, instead of challenging the assertion he would concede it and add that it was worse than represented. In consequence



of this trait, the fact became impressed upon his associates that in spite of vices there was one individual who could command respect by reason of the abnormal strength of his personality and the possession of a host of compensating virtues. On account of these characteristics, Mr. Wolcott has been compared to Alcibiades, who, as a boy and as he approached manhood, led the gilded youth of Greece in all their follies, but as a grown man abandoned all such excesses and became the leader of the armies of Athens and the restorer of her liberty.

The fact that Mr. Wolcott spoke so freely of his shortcomings, seeking neither to conceal nor extenuate, should be kept constantly in mind in considering his self-depreciatory expressions. He did not pretend to be better than he was. Indeed, he was a much better man mentally and morally than he claimed to be. His bad side was more often exposed to view than his good side. Many of his meritorious acts of charity and kindness were known only to himself and those to whom they brought benefit, relief, and encouragement. He did not discuss his charities, and an intimate knowledge of his character and daily life, making all due allowance for shortcomings of which the public was made only too well aware, only added to the esteem in which he was held by those who really knew him.

But he was the soul of honor, and though he did not attempt to hide his own transgressions, he said little or nothing of those of others, and he never discussed to their injury the secret affairs of his friends. In business transactions, he was scrupulously punctilious and most careful of his good name.

These pages teem with instances of the man's independence, courage, and sincerity. If his conscience or his judgment was opposed to a given course in politics or in business he did not permit his own policy to be dictated by numbers; and when he decided upon a line of action it was ever controlled by honesty of purpose. His method of proceeding always was such as to supply the best evidence of his lack of fear. When his conscience and conviction were aroused he did not count the consequences to himself.

Mr. Wolcott's tenacity has been remarked upon. He would not "let go." This trait of character was as noticeable when he was a boy as it was after he grew older. Members of his family still recall that when in 1864 he started to the war, he proudly refused to accept aid in carrying his accoutrement as he marched with his regiment through Euclid Avenue in Cleveland. He was a strapping fellow, large for his age; but he was very young, and, quite unseasoned as he was to severe physical exertion, the ordeal was a severe tax upon his powers of endurance. Much "winded" though he was, he bore up to the end, declining proffered assistance from first to last. He had enlisted to be a soldier, and he meant from the first to show that he possessed the physical requisites for the service. The same fixedness of purpose characterized his entire life; but, of course, in his more mature years his zeal was tempered with a greater degree of wisdom. When he set out to accomplish something he did not desist until he had triumphed or until success was plainly out of the question.

He could not listen placidly to useless and pointless talk. When waiting for a situation to develop or when in committee meetings or other consultation, he generally wore an air of impatience. On such occasions his manner depended entirely on the course of events. If matters were running to his liking, his eyes were atwinkle, and he frequently would interrupt the proceeding with some witty remark or pertinent story. If the problem to be solved was a knotty one, or if there was unreasonable or unexpected opposition, his displeasure was made manifest by physical movement rather than by verbal expression. If the situation was displeasing, he was a veritable caged lion. He would stride from one end of the room to the other, stop suddenly to look at a picture or other object, and start impatiently, his hands jammed deep into his pockets, face and figure showing in every lineament and outline that conditions were of such a nature that he feign would get away from them. He never, however, overlooked a fact nor failed to make a point when it occurred to him. On such occasions he did not enter into long arguments, but spoke sententiously and with telling effect. If he was largely responsible, as when chair-

man of a committee, he was insistent, often to the point of being considered arbitrary. If not especially answerable, or if clearly in the minority, he would enter his protest, give his reasons in a few clear-cut sentences, and subside, continuing his pace until the close of the meeting. If presiding, he of course retained his seat;—but then he kept himself so occupied mentally as to obviate the necessity for physical exercise.

In support of these general statements, a number of anecdotes and personal reminiscences have been collected. It is believed that they will afford a better idea of the character of the man than could any dissertation, however accurate or extended. Most of them are from intimate friends, and either relate real incidents in Mr. Wolcott's life or give the personal views of those who were close to him and had an opportunity to study him at first hand.

But even with these aids it is difficult to portray the actual man. This is true because of his varying character. Presenting one characteristic, you are liable to discover traits that would seem to call for a diametrically different portrayal. The solution is found in the fact that he was not always the same man, or, rather, that he did not at all times present the same phases of character. When he worked he worked with might and main, and yet he did not work for the love of labor. Apparently a man of leisure, he turned out more work than others. He was a business man and yet was fond of society. He allowed others to do much of his investigating, but no one was more thorough in his mastery of a lawsuit or a piece of legislation. Reading was a passion with him, but he was easily lured from his books. He would borrow from one friend to give to another. He was austere, yet kind; aristocratic in bearing, but easily moved by the recital of any tale of woe. Strong and firm in essentials, he was weak and yielding in minor matters. Merry and of good cheer generally, he could be moody and despondent at times. He appeared the boldest of men; we shall see that he was the timidest. He moralized, almost preached, and still disobeyed some of the Commandments. He was not the same man to different persons, because he

was seen under different auspices. What wonder, in view of these facts, if some of the characterizations appear contradictory and some of the anecdotes seem not to fit!

#### ESTIMATES OF SOME WHO KNEW HIM

We have heard from Justices Harlan and Brewer; from Senators Teller, Hale, Aldrich, Lodge, and Penrose; from his former law partners, John G. Milburn and Joel F. Vaile, and from such political associates in Colorado as A. M. Stevenson, Judge John Campbell of the Colorado Supreme Court, and United States Marshal Dewey C. Bailey.

Justice Brewer has supplied something more than the testimonial printed as a part of the foreword. In an extended interview granted the writer, he said:

I knew Senator Wolcott well. I became acquainted with him while I was United States Circuit Judge in the Ninth Circuit. Colorado is in that Circuit, and I met him first in Denver in 1884. The acquaintance continued until the Senator's death in 1905, and we were thrown together at frequent intervals. I liked and admired him for his many excellent qualities. He was a good lawyer in that he never piled up a lot of useless matter. It was his habit in presenting his cases to pick out two or three strong points. He was an analyzer, and he did not waste either his time or the time of the Court. He selected the points decisive of the cases he cited, and he did not read many authorities. He would argue briefly the principal questions at issue, and let the rest go. Thus he avoided confusing the Court and made sure that every point counted.

Independence was a strong characteristic with the man, and he was as courageous as he was independent. He was perfectly honest with himself. He followed his own reasoning and his own conclusions. He stood by his convictions. He did not surrender to the popular view, nor did he consider that it was anything out of the way for him not to do so. He did not feel that he was doing a brave thing in holding out for his own ideas, for to do so was natural with him. He spoke his own opinions and did so naturally. The water flowed from the rock, and it was the pure water of his own thought. It didn't make a bit of difference what others thought. Some men who talk bravely think they are courageous simply because they so talk; but he



did n't have that feeling at all. He unconsciously "talked it out," and he voiced his convictions regardless of the consequences to himself. He would oppose your views without hesitation. If he did not agree with you, "out it came." I believe that if I had said something on the Bench which did not appeal to him, he would have opposed me. Of course he would not have said anything indecorous, but he would have met me as man to man after I had left the Bench. He had opinions on everything that was within the reach of ordinary intelligence, and he expressed them whenever he felt called upon to do so. He did not care a cent for anybody's opinion if convinced in his own mind. I was in Denver when he was expecting to run for the Senate. There was a Republican meeting, and as usual there were sharp divisions on local questions. He went to the meeting and made a speech in which he sharply criticised some of the persons who were supporting him. He did not name them, but assailed their principles, and left no doubt as to who was meant. I remember hearing his friends say he was a fool to attack men to whom he was looking for support. But they were mistaken as to the effect, for the speech did n't hurt him.

I heard Mr. Wolcott frequently in Court, and I also heard him deliver his speech at the Minneapolis Convention in 1892, placing Blaine in nomination for the Presidency. His man was not successful, but he made a magnificent plea for him. Blaine was the kind of man that would appeal to him, and his splendid voice and thrilling language created a fine effect. He did not talk for more than twenty minutes, but, as usual, he struck to the centre.

Wolcott was not only an able man, but he was a lovable man. We all knew his weaknesses; but we loved him for his perfect sincerity and for his generous nature. He did a great many humane acts. While he was general counsel for W. S. Jackson (Helen Hunt's husband), when Jackson was Receiver for the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, there was a strike on the line in which a little blood was shed. Some of the strikers were arrested and were to be tried in the United States Court sitting in Denver. Judge Hallett did not want to sit in the case, and I was sent for. Only few knew that I was to be there to act. After I arrived, and before I went on the Bench, Ed came to me in the packed court-room, and urged that as the wife of one of the men was ill, he should be let off "as easy as possible." I had a private talk with the man, who confessed that he had been one of the offenders. I asked him if he thought



he had done right, to which question he replied that he only went into it to be with the rest. I told him we did not want to deal harshly with him, and, receiving his promise that he would make no more trouble, I released him. He went back to work and kept his promise.

But while he was generous, Wolcott was not always discreet in his charity. He would give to a beggar on the street without making any inquiry, and he always gave liberally. He did everything in a big way. He was the luckiest fellow you ever saw. In those days I was very fond of whist and was invited around to the Denver Club to play when in Denver. No betting was allowed between players in the public room, but the making of bets by onlookers was not covered by the rules. When Ed came in he would go around among the players and bet on half the games, and he would win four times out of five. On one occasion he came to my table and asked, "How do you stand, Judge?"

"They have one game on the rubber and four points out of five on the second, while we have n't any," I answered.

"I will bet five dollars you win," he said without a moment's hesitation.

I replied: "Ed, what are you talking about? We have no chance at all."

Some one put up the money against him, and he won.

He seemed to have an instinct for winning. He would run all through the room, and, looking at one after another of the players' hands, would make bets here and there as he went. Intuition seemed to guide him, and the mere fact that he would lay a wager on a player seemed to increase the man's chances.

Wolcott was a man of tremendous vitality. Starting early in the morning he would go until late at night, and he was on the jump all the time. I knew in those days a man who had gone from Leavenworth to Georgetown, where Wolcott lived before going to Denver, and he told me about Wolcott's powers of endurance. This man was one of the characters of the frontier. He had been a scout in the Union Army in the Southwest, and was a fine fellow. He was capable of "going some" himself, and he told me that Wolcott was equal to any demands in a test of endurance. Every little while they would go down to Denver together, and twenty-four or thirty-six hours was nothing to them; they never stopped while away from home.

To sum up: Mr. Wolcott was a man of engaging personality; a lawyer of splendid insight; an orator of convincing power.

His success in life was marked, but it was not beyond his deserts. He was absolutely honest in his views, and we have had few public men who were so courageous in expressing their real convictions. Whether in private or public life he thought for himself, and he was never swerved from a purpose by self-interest or public clamor. I was familiar with his career for twenty years, and I had sincere admiration and real attachment for him.

With Justice Brewer's estimate of Mr. Wolcott's power of analysis agrees perfectly that of Mr. Morrison, Mr. Wolcott's old-time Georgetown-Denver friend.

The especial quality that expressed this force and made a leader of Mr. Wolcott [says Mr. Morrison], was the faculty to generalize the facts of a complicated lawsuit or of a political campaign so as to take in at one glance and to state in specific terms the decisive point in such suit or campaign. The weak spot being seen, all aid was hurried to that point—just as a general sees the wavering bend in a line of battle and hurries his troops to that place, knowing that if the repulse is there complete all other parts of the line will right themselves. Such capacity makes the leader not the laborer, not the soldier but the captain.

Let us next hear from Hon. Chas. S. Thomas, former Governor of Colorado, who was Henry Wolcott's successful rival for gubernatorial honors in the Centennial State in 1898, and Senator Wolcott's Democratic antagonist in many stubbornly contested political fields. He writes:

Mr. Wolcott was very strong in his likes and dislikes. Indeed, he was built upon a large scale. There was nothing meagre about his mental qualities, whether good or bad; what he did he did with all his might. It was difficult for him to be negative in anything.

His worst enemy never could accuse him either of hypocrisy or deceit. He was not only outspoken in opposition, but aggressively so. He could not criticise an enemy unless he did it in so pointed and personal a manner as to deprive his statements of the least suspicion of insinuation. He loved a fight, and seemed at times to be never so happy as when engaged in one that involved practically all the members of his immediate com-

munity. This was true whether the quarrel were personal, social, or political, or whether, if political, the quarrel involved his adversaries in his own or the opposite party.

Mr. Wolcott enjoyed and suffered very keenly. Yet his love of approbation never weighed a feather in the scale against his determination once formed to do or to say things which were sure to encounter opposition. On the other hand, the certainty of censure and abuse, with its inevitable pain, was equally unavailing. What he determined to do, that he did, and what he determined to say he said, seemingly unmindful of the consequences to himself. Hence, his public life alternated in quick successions of pleasure and torment.

His temperament was intensely nervous. When excited, or when interested, or impatient, he paced the room with swift footsteps, only halting to make some statement or suggestion. I saw him on one occasion, while smarting under the jibes and cartoons of a Denver morning paper. He was furious with indignation, but said he tried to comfort himself with the reflection that no man in America had ever been hanged for killing an editor.

He was generous to prodigality. I never knew a man who cared so little for money except as a means to satisfy his wants or desires. His contributions to the various charitable enterprises, and to others of less deserving nature, were generally so large as to demoralize other contributors in the profession when confronted with his donations. On the other hand, he never seemed to need money, as his practice was very large and his clients abundantly appreciative of his good work.

His refusal to leave the Republican party in 1896 unquestionably cost him his popularity and standing in Colorado. At that time the question of bimetallism was more than acute. It became synonymous with State loyalty, and no man in public life could even seem to be lukewarm in its behalf and remain in public office. But it was characteristic of Wolcott, after determining upon his course, to adhere to it regardless of results to himself, his friends, or his party. Of course, I could not approve of it personally, or commend it politically; yet I could not but admire the sublime courage which such a course demanded, and which he at all times displayed in breasting the waves of opposition and calumny, standing almost alone, denounced in public and in private, and virtually ostracized by the overwhelming public sentiment of the day. It was an epoch in his life, and the bitterness of his subsequent defeat doubtless shortened his

days. Yet he lived long enough to perceive, as well as to enjoy, a decided moderation of public sentiment. There is no doubt that his efforts in 1897 and 1898 to obtain some international agreement in behalf of silver were sincere and earnest, and they would doubtless have been successful, if the Administration had vigorously supported him, and given him that official countenance which his political importance and that of his mission demanded.

Senator Wolcott was not a popular man as the term itself is generally understood. He held himself aloof from the general mass, and while he always advocated the public welfare and the rights of the individual, he seldom mingled with the mass or resorted to the usual arts of the politician. He was neither cold nor reserved in his intercourse with men and audiences, but, on the other hand, he never pretended to that intimacy and familiarity which is universally observable in candidates during campaigns. Yet I do not think that he ever weakened himself or his party by this attitude. It was impossible for him to pretend an intimacy and familiarity which he did not feel, and his very attitude was an indication of his honesty of plan and purpose.

He had but few close and intimate friends. His companionships were therefore limited to an unusual degree for the public man. With these he sometimes had serious differences, but in general he retained their respect and confidence, albeit he sometimes severed his close relations with them. His life was a success socially, professionally, and politically, and his memory should at all times be cherished as that of one of Colorado's greatest citizens.

Former Chief Justice John Campbell of the Colorado Supreme Court has supplied the following estimate of some phases of Mr. Wolcott's character:

To those who saw him only on the platform, heard the impetuous flow of eloquence, the biting sarcasm, the provoking irony, the fearless attack upon the powerful, the dauntless assault on the intrenched, his jaunty bearing, the boldness of his argument, his wonderful ease of manner, and felt the charm and yielded to the fascinating spell of his mellifluous voice—it must have seemed that timidity had no place in Mr. Wolcott's mental equipment. The early friends, however, know that he was naturally disinclined to public speaking, and when he made his



first political campaign for district attorney, stage fright almost demoralized him. Once, in a conversation with him, in response to an assertion that he was not a good mixer, he admitted it to be so, and said that natural shyness incapacitated him for that rôle. I remember well the word he used, because it impressed me at that time as expressing the exact truth.

He was not a vain or egotistical man. Rather was he modest and as far as possible removed from boasting. Well he knew his own powers and limitations, and, with that knowledge in mind, he was careful to confine his activities within the range of the former, and equally scrupulous to observe the laws of the latter.

It might be a difficult task to convince those who knew him only at second hand that he had patience, and could, when occasion required, exercise a rare self-restraint. The impetuosity of his attacks, the fierceness of his onslaughts on traducers of his character, the apparent zest with which he girded on his armor for battle, might cause one to conclude that he coveted opposition and solicited controversy out of sheer love of fighting. These qualities seem, at first blush, inconsistent with self-repression. But under as trying an ordeal of abuse and vituperation as a public man ever encounters, under false charges of personal misconduct that caused him infinite pain, stung to the very quick by the grossest perversions of his attitude toward great questions of state, he at times exhibited a patience and practised a self-control which were the admiration of friends and the consternation and refutation of enemies. Do not infer that he did not often strike back with blows that annihilated his adversary; but, as he would say, life was too short, and there was too much of earnest, useful work to do, to stop for reply to every carping critic who, by slandering others, sought to attract attention to himself.

Mr. Wolcott's friend Voorhies, who knew him from the early days in Georgetown to the time of his death, says of his general character:

I believe I can truly say that in all these years, wherever the atmosphere was congenial—at dinners, in the ballroom, or the court-room, or in general conversation—I have never met any one anywhere who was Ed Wolcott's equal for fine presence and bright sayings. He possessed a magnetism and charm that were well-nigh irresistible and indescribable. At all times, even when



suffering from pain, he could think of and say something in quite his own way that would drive away gloom as sunlight does the mist.

He was the boy grown up. His exuberance of spirit, his trust in his friends, his petulance, and short-lived irritability were those of a boy. On the other hand, he was capable of really serious moods, and he could give the closest attention to any matter that was up for discussion. His power of appeal and invective was tremendous.

At the Memorial Services held in Denver immediately after the death of Senator Wolcott, his former law partner, Joel F. Vaile, who knew whereof he spoke, used this language:

Mr. Wolcott was a man of phenomenal intellectual powers. Facile and sure in his mental operations, I have never known any other man who could so quickly grasp all the features of a complicated problem; who could so readily unravel all the tangled threads of a difficult subject and weave them into a fabric displaying their logical relations and significance. He had the power of rapid and accurate generalization. This quality made him not only powerful in argument, but invaluable as a counsellor.

Cy Warman, the Colorado-Canadian poet, contributes the following, showing characteristics of the man:

Senator Wolcott was one of the best friends I had in Colorado. When I undertook the establishment of a daily paper in Creede, I "touched" the Senator gently because I knew that he knew that I was a Democrat—blown in the bottle—but I had only hinted that I was forming a little stock company to establish a daily in the silver camp, when he shut me off by saying, "Splendid! Good idea!"

Here my conscience began to cramp me, and I said: "But you know, Senator, I am a Democrat."

"Yes, but before everything else you are Cy Warman, and you are my friend."

Well, I got the Last Chance check, and that was the last chance they had to say good-bye to it. The repeal of the Sherman Law put Creede out of business. Bob Ford was killed, Slanting Annie contracted pneumonia and went away, Soapy

Smith left town, the daily *Chronicle* gave a few convulsive gasps, stiffened, and succumbed, and so Senator Wolcott's contribution, along with those of D. H. Moffat and other "angels," went to the melting pot.

Senator Wolcott never forgot his friends, though sometimes he got them mixed. I called to see him merely to say, "Howdy" at the Senate in 1895. He greeted me warmly enough, if I had not known the Western hand-shake that he handed out at Denver and Creede.

"I am glad you came in," said he. "I want to thank you for the way you fitted up these rooms for me," and he glanced up and about, and went on telling me how I had just hit off his choice.

When he slowed down and stopped, I said to him: "Senator, have you any idea who I am, and what I am here for?"

He looked perplexed and asked, "Are you not the gentleman who decorated these rooms?"

Then I broke the real news to him. I had been abroad for a couple of years and had not seen him for four or five years. He took both of my hands now, and backing away brought me to a window and looked me over. "Now," said he, "I hope you won't hold this against me, Cy, and I am awfully glad you came in. Charlie Thomas quoted a poem of yours against me in Denver the other night, and I want you to know that I know that poem was not written for me, but for another party altogether."

"Well, Senator," said I, "that is just one of the things I came here to say to you—that that tin was tied to another dog's tail and not to yours at all."

And so we parted with a new understanding and with our friendship unmarred, and we never met again.

#### SOME INSTANCES

The magnetism of Mr. Wolcott has been remarked by almost all of his commentators. It was one of the secrets of his success, and it was manifested early in life in a persuasiveness that was almost beyond resistance. We have seen how that as a child Wolcott's parents and grandparents recognized his commanding presence. Both as boy and man he was the centre of any group in which he chanced to be; he was ever the grand seigneur. His eldest brother, Samuel Wolcott, relates that when he and Ed were boys of about

the high-school age, they took a boat-ride down New York harbor, probably to Staten Island, and went to a resort which consisted of a large room. They found there a crowd of men, at a fishing club, and he says that within half an hour Ed was the centre of the entire assembly, although he was only a boy, and the others were men and strangers. The same thing happened many years afterward at a Yale alumni dinner in Denver, as his brother Herbert reports: "Ed," he says, "came in late, after the guests had gathered around the speaker's table. He took a seat at the foot of the table, and in a remarkably short time all shifted their seats and grouped around him. In that case, as generally happened where he was, 'the head of the table was where McGregor sat.'"

When Mr. Wolcott was in the Colorado State Senate, Mr. Tabor, as Lieutenant-Governor, presided, and seemed by the manner of announcing the votes to recognize Wolcott's pre-eminence. He would look toward him as he would announce the result in a hotly contested matter, and say: "*You've got it,*" or "*You've lost it*"; "20 to 7," or whatever the vote might be, apparently never stopping to think that any one else might be concerned.

An observing visitor to the gallery of the United States Senate once said after departing: "Most of the Senators come in with an air of apology; but that man Wolcott acts as if he owned the place. He assumes the part of host, and the others appear to recognize him as such."

His Norwich cousin, Mr. A. P. Carroll, relates the following instance of the effect of his persuasive powers even when a boy:

A gold mine was being promoted on Wauwecus Hill near this city. It was listed on the New York Exchange in the '60's, though never an ounce of gold was ever extracted. Ed and I drove out to it one day—beyond doubt the first mine he ever visited. A typical hermit guarded the entrance, far back from the highway, in a deep ravine, who upon our approach was as set and mum as possible. Yet Ed soon coddled him in such a way that he laid bare all of his fairy expectations.

A younger brother recalls that in boyhood days, when

garnered pennies were few and the members of the family were many, the narrator started off one Saturday morning with a sum of money, the amount exactly known to all the family, but hardly exceeding a dollar, and spent the day in buying Christmas presents for the household. After he was in bed that night, Ed came to his room and asked him what he had bought for the various other members of the family. The junior guilelessly told him what the presents were, and what was the cost of each, whereupon Ed, computing the total and deducting it from the amount at the beginning, and bearing in mind his fondness at that time for minstrel shows, drew his inference, and said, "You bought me a dime song-book," which was the fact.

As illustrating Mr. Wolcott's capacity for concentration and his determination to remain undisturbed when engaged in mental effort, as well as his liberal inclination, one of his former private secretaries relates an interesting incident. It occurred during Mr. Wolcott's Senatorial career, and he was engaged in dictating a speech. As the amanuensis relates the circumstance, the Senator was pacing up and down the room in his usual impatient manner, holding tightly grasped between his teeth a cigar, at which at intervals he puffed with the vigor of a locomotive, while he snapped out his usual telling sentences in short, crisp, and forcible words,—when there came a rap upon the door. He stopped suddenly in both his walk and his talk and opened the door. A young man with whom the Senator was barely acquainted entered. The visitor received a rather cold greeting, but, regardless of this fact, he began to unfold what the private secretary designates a "hard-luck" story. He scarcely had begun the narrative when the Senator thrust his right hand into his pocket and drew out a roll of money. Without stopping to look what he was doing, he peeled off the outside bill, and, thrusting it into the man's hand, said: "There; go!"

The gentleman who narrates the incident caught a glimpse of the money as it passed from one hand to the other, and ascertained that it was a twenty-dollar bill, but he says he is confident that Mr. Wolcott never knew how much he had given his visitor.

Without any comment upon the incident, with no expression of regret nor even of impatience, Mr. Wolcott resumed his walk up and down the floor and proceeded with the dictation of his speech as if he had not been interrupted.

#### HABITS OF STUDY AND WORK

Coming down to particulars in our characterization, we find that Mr. Wolcott was not inclined to close application either as man or boy—as lawyer, legislator, or student. The mere drudgery of learning did not appeal to him. And yet he could “bone” if necessity required that he should. We find him working hard over his Greek and Latin at Hudson. But he was preparing for Yale. He was ambitious for a collegiate education, and he knew that admission to that institution could be obtained only through thorough preparation. But, once in the college, his lethargy asserted itself. He did his best work under the pressure of emergency, but, unlike most men of this disposition, he was easily aroused; he was one of the readiest of men. He must, however, have some especial incentive to cause him to do work not naturally pleasing to him. He once wrote to his mother, “It is hard for me to understand how a man can work unless he is spurred by necessity.”

His willingness to toil for a purpose is shown in his law studies, as it was at Hudson. He applied himself satisfactorily when in the office of the Russell Brothers in Boston, and he completed the law course at Harvard in less time than do most students there. But then—beyond lay—not Italy, but the diploma, and the world—the world which he was to conquer.

As it had been in his studies, so it was in his law practice and in his service in the Senate—he would only work when expediency required. During his term as District Attorney, notwithstanding his own purse was woefully depleted, he required his assistant, Mr. Orahood, to prepare most of the papers and gave him the fees, which constituted the major portion of the emoluments of the office. The same policy was followed after his practice had become more extensive; assistants were employed to gather



the details and even to present them in court, if the case was an ordinary one. Unless the occasion was worth while and the achievement of sufficient consequence to afford an incentive to the exercise of his own master hand, he would remain out of the case entirely. It is not intended to convey the impression that he enjoyed an opportunity for mere "show." Nothing was more foreign to his nature. He liked to do big things, and he did not like to do little things. He loved to exercise his talents, but not to exercise them unnecessarily.

The same policy prevailed in his work in the Senate. Ordinarily he depended upon others to do the routine. But there were exceptions. If his duties demanded, no line of labor was too arduous for him; but he did not give close general attention to questions with which he did not expect to deal.

We have heard much of his advocacy of the silver cause. His speeches, in the Senate and out, on that subject were among the most effective made while the question was before the country, but one would search in vain for an elaborate array of figures in support of his assertions. He left statistics to his co-laborers. His was the part of the cavalry charger; others must prepare against assaults or cover retreats. He would not go into the subject in a humdrum or plodding way.

But when he did work, Wolcott applied himself with his whole heart. A man of vast, though erratic, energy, he did not cease in a task until he had accomplished it. But so quick was his perception, that a subject once taken up was soon mastered. He grasped every situation almost intuitively. Once an investigation was undertaken, he continued the inquiry with avidity. He read everything he could get and utilized all other means of gathering information on the subject. When so inclined, he could attend to the details as effectually as any one. While he was at Georgetown, he acquired such a name for drawing up contracts and other legal papers that people came from a distance to have him do this service for them, and would defer their business for days, if need be, until he would be at his office to wait on them.

## LIFE AT WASHINGTON

Mr. Wolcott's life as a Senator served to develop some of his most pronounced characteristics, and of them a volume might be written. In many ways he was the most extraordinary man in the Senate. His personality asserted itself not alone in his speeches, but in his manner of life and his intercourse with others. During the greater part of his two Senatorial terms he was the possessor of a large income. His practice was lucrative, his mining interests remunerative, and his other investments profitable. He therefore could afford to live well, and he did so.

Residing for most of his term in a rented house at 1221 Connecticut Avenue, he bought the adjoining lot, and built on the rear portion of it a library. Above the basement was one big apartment, connected with his dwelling by a corridor. A large fireplace, book-shelves, and pictures used up the wall space, while rugs and reading-tables and easy-chairs scattered about the room made it an ideal place for loafing or working or entertaining his friends. Here he liked to assemble his intimates for the interchange of ideas, and here conversation covered all possible topics. As will appear, Mr. Wolcott was extremely practical and "current" in his public speaking, but in the communion of his own fireside his discussion took a wide range. He liked to talk of art and literature and of the theatre and of sports; to discuss philosophical and speculative themes; to dilate upon the leading events in history and the participants in them. He was especially apt in his characterization of current happenings. No man in public life had a clearer view or a better understanding of the occurrences of the day, and none could discuss them more intelligently. He had politics, local and general, at his tongue's end, and in a few sentences he could summarize the proceedings of Congress for a week.

He went much into society and he frequented the theatre. He entertained a great deal, and his hospitality was proverbial. The style of living was in consonance with his wealth and his liberal disposition. Indeed, wherever he lived, whether in Washington, Denver, New York, or abroad,

whether at home or at club or hotel, he lived well; some would say extravagantly. He was a money-maker and a money spender. He did not affect "the simple life." It is not meant to convey the idea that there was a loud or a pretentious display. Mr. Wolcott was not given to that course. He had a passion for the elegant, but he was not capable of vulgarity. He never cared for wealth for the mere display of wealth. He never sought money for the impression it enabled him to make on others. In addition to his many charities, he used his means for the gratification of his own excellent tastes, and no man knew better how to maintain a state of quiet magnificence. His manner ever suggested the newly rich. On the contrary, he created the impression of one who had been born to wealth and position. Indeed, no man had a better natural sense of the proper use of large means.

He often said that it cost him \$150,000 a year to remain in the Senate. Probably, however, he would have spent almost as much in any other station of life.

As in his home, so with his person, Mr. Wolcott was an example of taste and elegance. Every suit of clothes must be pressed afresh before he wore it a second time. The florist had a yearly contract to have a fresh bouquet on his desk every morning. With little exact knowledge of botany and with little personal experience of gardening, he had a great fondness for flowers. Waiting once in Boston while a legal snarl straightened itself out, he walked around to the Granary Burying Ground half a dozen times a day to look at the hollyhocks growing there.

It has been said of him that he was the best-dressed man in public life. There was in his time no man in either House of Congress who wore as many varieties of clothes and such fashionable and becoming ones as he. He was a veritable Beau Brummel, and his manner could be as pleasing as his dress was elegant. He kept standing orders with Fifth Avenue tailors and with the shirt- and hat-makers of Paris, who would send him whatever they thought he ought to have. Thus his fine figure always was attired in the height of style.

He insisted on the best of everything. Regarding his

food he was fastidious to a degree. The choicest cuts must be his. The table linen must be immaculate, and the waiters must be on the alert. Indeed, his demands upon the Senate café were such that the management was compelled to station a scout at the door who would signal his approach. Instantly a waiter was at his side, his service was immediate, and his viands the best that human agency could place before him. A New York friend said that no one knew so well how to order a dinner as did Wolcott. Toward waiters he was at once merciless and generous. Once after he had entertained a friend at a café he said to the man who had served them: "Here's fifty cents for you; I'd give you more if you were a good waiter;—but you are not."

Mr. Wolcott loved to be a pioneer. He was original and never would "trail in" on anything. Next to Senator Chandler, he was the first public man to ride a bicycle in Washington, and, when the fad was at its height, he was a conspicuous figure on the streets of the city and of the suburbs of the Capital. He rode the finest wheel that could be found in the foreign or domestic market, and as he was among the first to use, so was he the first to abandon, the wheel. The Colorado Senator was also one of the first ever seen riding in an automobile on the streets of Washington. He was the observed of all observers as he dashed around in his little electric runabout, and he was very fond of asking some colleague to ride home with him after adjournment. He would shoot down Capitol Hill, and, probably because of clumsiness, would narrowly miss many a formidable obstruction. Without conceding his own awkwardness, he would laugh like a boy at the fears of his companion. Few colleagues were known to ride twice in Mr. Wolcott's electric if they could avoid so doing.

For street-cars he had an abhorrence. He would ride in almost any kind of an individual vehicle rather than sit in a traction car. He loved horses with long pedigrees, and his private equipages were equal to the best. His business sense showed itself, however, in his employment of an expert in his purchase of horseflesh.

He loathed the sight of worn and ragged money or even of bills that had been crumpled. Nothing would suit him



but crisp money fresh out of the Treasury, and woe be to him who dared fold the bills. He did not like to have money counted out to him.

On my first trip to the bank for him I returned with \$10,000 [said one of his secretaries]. I started to count the bills, but he shoved the bunch into his pocket. The next time I counted the bills, amounting to \$3000, outside the door with Old Man Friday [a nickname for the Senator's messenger], who saw that the count was O. K. Then I laid the package on the desk and began counting, when Mr. Wolcott reached for it.

I said, "There may not be \$3000 there!"

"Well," he replied, "suppose there is n't?"

I responded, "You might pay out two hundred and think you had paid out only one hundred or so, and then you would not have the right amount!"

Wolcott looked at me, and said, "You are afraid of money, are n't you?"

I said, "I'm afraid of other people's money, and think it should be counted; it only takes a minute. I might have lost some!"

"Suppose you did," he replied; "that is all there is to it, is n't it? Counting it would not bring it back."

But just the same [added the confidential man], I always counted the bills outside the door with some one, and then handed them directly to Wolcott.

Mr. O. O. Stealey, in his *Twenty Years in the Press Gallery*, says of him:

"Senator Wolcott was an exceedingly popular man with all classes. He had a charming personality, was very handsome, and always dressed in the best style. He was a lion in Washington society, and was the observed of all observers at the notable receptions."

Yet, with all his elegance, Senator Wolcott loved to recur to the simple life of the early days, and no associations ever were so dear to him as those of that period. He had seen much of the world and he knew that it did not give peace of mind. He never cared for mere display. He liked the best because it was the best; he did not look down upon others who did not possess all in the way of comfort or luxury that he enjoyed.



## USE OF PRIVATE SECRETARY

Mr. Wolcott was more than thirty years of age before he enjoyed the luxury of an amanuensis. He was not in position to employ one until after he removed from Georgetown to Denver, and while he dictated with freedom, even after the change he generally conducted his private correspondence in his own penmanship. Of all the many family letters from him, covering a period of more than forty years, which have come into the hands of the author, only one was written by another person, and help was employed in that instance only because of accident. Even when busily engaged with his Senatorial duties or in the work of the Bimetallic Commission, he used his own hand in family correspondence, and he wrote many long letters even during those intensely occupied periods of his life. Most of his personal letters to friends also were written by himself. If compelled by any circumstance to call in help, he apologized for doing so.

An account of his first employment of a clerk has been left by Mr. Wolcott. It took place soon after the establishment of his office in Denver, and his father was duly notified, as it was considered an important transaction. Afterward as business increased, the clerical force of his law-office grew rapidly, lawyers as well as stenographers, typewriters, and other assistants being given places.

While in the Senate, he was supplied by the Government with a private secretary and with such other clerical assistance as was needed in his labors for the public, and the Washington force was entirely distinct from the Denver staff. With his Senatorial secretaries Mr. Wolcott had trouble. His duties were many, and he was inclined to lean heavily upon his assistant for details. The work of the secretary often was greater than any one man should have been expected to perform. This was the fault of the Government, but the consequences were suffered by the Senator and his assistant. While he occupied the office he made many changes, and he created the impression of being over exacting and irritable. Possibly this was true at times, but Mr. Wolcott's whims were not the only cause of the secretaries'

troubles. He thought with the rapidity of a lightning flash, and it must be an expert man who could anticipate his wants or even keep pace with them. Often the appearance of unreasonableness was due to the wide difference in viewpoint. Much of his brusqueness was traceable to his absorption by the subject in hand.

When these conditions led to a severance of relations the separation generally resulted in no disturbance of personal regard on either side. Knowing his own exacting disposition, Mr. Wolcott did not condemn as useless the man who could not maintain his pace or appreciate his abruptness. Most of the Senatorial secretaries were exceptionally competent men, and it is only just to say that as a rule the change of relationship was due to no fault except that of not being able to meet all the exacting requirements of their employer. It also should be stated that none of them left Mr. Wolcott's employ without profound respect for his ability. Many of the most appreciative expressions concerning him have come to the writer from men who formerly served him as private secretary.

The Senatorial secretary was Mr. Wolcott's confidential man in all things. He trusted him implicitly, and he expected much of him in many directions. Not only was he required to give attention to political and official affairs, but to domestic and social details as well. To him the Senator entrusted much of his private business. The secretary signed many of his employer's checks, and to one of them he gave *carte blanche* in the matter of the purchase and sale of stocks.

In Washington the private secretary attended to the great bulk of the Senator's routine work for his constituents, while the latter contented himself with general information as to what was done without acquainting himself with the minute proceedings. He was, however, always sufficiently informed regarding any given matter to deal with it intelligently, and he had a way of asking questions at a critical time which would have been very embarrassing to a subordinate who was neglecting his work.

The secretary called at the Senator's house in Washington each morning, including Sundays. There he received and

went over the mail, and had the programme laid out for the day. The mail was very large. The Senator had the distribution of patronage, and it involved an immense amount of correspondence. He was Chairman of the important Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads, and took an active interest in every detail concerning its work, in which the secretary necessarily was his right-hand man. He aimed to meet every business caller, especially constituents, and to give consideration to each request. When away from Washington, he was advised by wire daily of the proceedings in the Senate and of any other important political or official matter arising. In brief, he was especially scrupulous in his duties, and insisted that all features of any given matter should have all the care that the circumstances demanded. He pursued that course with the work reserved for himself, and he expected his assistants to be just as punctilious as he was. He did not permit any one, constituent or other, to impose upon him or monopolize his time simply because he was a public official.

He would not allow people to bore him, and he would not abandon important duties to meet mere tuft-hunters, or to greet even constituents, who wanted to see him without reference to business. By this course he occasionally gave offence, but as a rule the indignation did not continue long at a time; it would disappear with the Senator's next triumph in the Senate or with his next act of generosity, the object of which was as liable as not to be the offended one. On one occasion, when he had been especially beset by idle visitors, he gave one of his clerks a formula to follow: "If," he said, "a visitor merely calls to shake hands, you shake with him, and then sometime I will shake with you; that ought to satisfy any one on such an errand!"

Of all the men employed as clerks either in Denver or Washington, C. A. Chisholm, of the Denver office, was the only one who held a position with Mr. Wolcott for a long term of years. Beginning in 1884, soon after the young lawyer had risen to the dignity of employing assistance, Mr. Chisholm soon rose to be the head of the clerical force of the office, and he continued to occupy a responsible relationship toward Mr. Wolcott so long as the latter lived.

He remained in Denver during Senator Wolcott's stay in Washington, giving his attention largely to affairs outside the National Capital except in an emergency.

Mr. Wolcott's course in engaging Mr. Chisholm was characteristic of him. A Scotchman by birth, Chisholm had just arrived in Denver, when, unIntroduced and unannounced, he called at Wolcott's office to seek employment. He at first was told that there was nothing for him to do, and was about to retire when Mr. Wolcott called him back.

"Do you write a good hand?" asked the lawyer. It was in the days when typewriters were scarce, and the handwriting of clerks was more important than latterly.

Picking up a piece of paper, Mr. Chisholm wrote, repeating the question, "Do you write a good hand?" and passed the paper over to the attorney.

Whether Wolcott was pleased with the handwriting or impressed with the young man's originality, does not appear. He merely said: "Come back to-morrow, and go to work."

Having obtained the place, Mr. Chisholm had the discretion not to become offended by the manner of his employer. Methodical, industrious, and intelligent, he soon made himself invaluable. Mr. Wolcott became greatly attached to him, and when he died the young Scotch clerk, who had grown almost gray in the service of Mr. Wolcott and his firm, was made the only beneficiary of his will outside the family. He trusted Chisholm implicitly, and he once said, "Chisholm has handled millions for me, and I never have insulted him by asking him for a bond."

There can be no better place than here to acknowledge the present writer's indebtedness to Mr. Chisholm. But for his methodical foresight in the preservation of material, his affectionate regard for Mr. Wolcott's memory, and his intelligent attention to detail, the labor of compiling this memoir would have been doubled. The assistance of others of the former Senator's clerks also has been freely given and is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

#### WRITING, READING, DICTATION

Letters relating to official or business matters were gen-



erally dictated, but as we have seen, most of Mr. Wolcott's private correspondence was penned by himself. He wrote with great rapidity, seldom finding it necessary to erase a word or change an expression.

Mr. Wolcott was ambidextrous, and a stranger could not easily determine whether any given piece of his manuscript was from the right hand or the left. He used the two hands indiscriminately in signing checks, and the banks accepted those signed by one hand as readily as those signed by the other. When a boy at school, he would write on the black-board with both hands simultaneously to the astonishment, not to say, the envy, of his fellow-pupils. After he grew to manhood he wrote habitually with the left hand, but often rested it by using the right. He thus was enabled to turn off a large quantity of work at a sitting. When first elected to the Senate he felt that he must make acknowledgment of all letters of congratulation in his own handwriting, and he wrote ninety notes of this sort in a single afternoon.

To those who were intimately connected with him while he was in the Senate the use of the "off" hand was ominous. When "the skies were clear" and "the weather calm" he always wrote with his left hand; but when there was a storm on, when conditions were not agreeable, he resorted to the use of the right hand, as they tell the story.

A private secretary puts it thus:

When Wolcott wrote with his right hand, something was wrong, and it was a good time to have important business elsewhere for a few hours at least. Whenever his confidential man Friday, or his secretary, walked into the room and saw Wolcott writing at a desk and using his right hand, a quick exit followed. As one said, "What's the use of hanging around near a piece of dynamite?" I imagine [added the secretary] that there are some of Senator Wolcott's right-hand notes still in existence among the politicians of Colorado, but I doubt whether the receivers of them would be willing to put them at your disposal.

He wrote "a good hand"—legible, clear, even, the letters being small, square, and distinct. His writing was entirely different from what would have been expected of



one of such characteristics, and it was a serious puzzle to those who professed to find in chirography an index to character. The Senator was persuaded once to send a sample page to such an "expert." The result was ridiculous. The character reader replied by letter that the Senator was "even-tempered, deliberate, cool, slow to anger; indeed, phlegmatic"!

Mr. Wolcott read with astonishing rapidity, and contrary to the general experience of rapid readers, he took in the meaning of the text as he proceeded. He always knew "what it was about."

No man [said one of his private secretaries] could read a book or a newspaper or a piece of manuscript as could Wolcott. He could read more rapidly and more comprehensively than any one I ever saw. The secret was that he read a page at a time. Instead of reading only a word or two, as most people do, or a line or two, as others do, he, like Macaulay, read the page as a picture. I proved this one day. I had written a very important letter to one of his political enemies and I wanted Wolcott to say it was O. K. so that there might be no flareback thereafter.

I gave him the letter and he handed it back again. I said: "I wanted you to read it." He replied, "I have read it." "Why, you did not have time enough to read the date line." "I tell you I read the letter." "Well, just tell me what the letter says." He did; he had read it all right.

Another instance of Mr. Wolcott's capacity in this respect is related by the same gentleman. He says that on one occasion he accompanied the Senator to Denver. They went straightway from the railroad station to the Senator's law-offices. After Mr. Wolcott had greeted his partners and some callers, he sent for a young attorney who was employed in the office, and asked him if he had prepared a brief in a certain case which the office had in hand, and which, before leaving for Washington some months before, he had instructed him to get up. The young man went out, and in a few minutes returned bearing a voluminous typewritten document, which he handed to Mr. Wolcott with no little show of pride. He had worked on the brief for

months and apparently was quite satisfied with his accomplishment.

Standing in the middle of the room, Mr. Wolcott took the document, laid it on a high table near him, turned over one page after another almost as rapidly as he could do so, glancing at each as it went, and within less than five minutes' time turned upon the young man, saying, "You have missed the one point which I told you must be covered; it will be necessary to do the work over, and quite as necessary that it should be done by some one else."

"He had read that brief as carefully as another man would have read it in two hours," said the secretary, "and he knew more of its contents than the ordinary man would have known if he had read it several times."

"Indeed," added the secretary, "I was so impressed with his wonderful capacity in this respect that I once spoke to him about it, asking him if he had been born that way. He laughed the question off, and did not seem to think the gift a peculiarly remarkable one."

It is related that on one occasion Wolcott went into the office of a prominent official of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company and found that gentleman in apparent embarrassment. "You are just the man I want to see," said the railroad man; "here is a case in which we must have your judgment, and we want it as soon as we can get it. Can't you take the papers to your hotel and give us your opinion some time to-morrow?"

"Let me have them," said Wolcott. Retiring to a corner he immediately began a rapid perusal of the record. He returned in less than an hour with a brief written statement of his views, advising a course of action, which being followed, led to a successful solution of the problem.

When, after years of productive individual prosperity, the Last Chance and Commodore mines at Creede came into conflict and a great law-suit became imminent, Mr. Wolcott was consulted. He and his friends were heavily interested in the Last Chance, and his legal services were called into exercise in behalf of the mine. He had not participated in the preparation of the case, but when the papers were in readiness he looked them over with care, though rapidly.

The survey completed, he pronounced a verdict without a moment of hesitation.

"Compromise it," he said, and a mutual agreement was reached outside the courts.

Possibly a long law-suit might have brought success, but Mr. Wolcott's friends thought enough of his judgment to accept it.

#### QUICKNESS OF SPEECH

It is quite impossible to repeat all the "good things" spoken by Mr. Wolcott during the twelve years he occupied a seat in the Senate and during his twenty-five years of political speaking in Colorado. He had a nimble wit, and he liked to use it.

Whether on his feet making a speech or sitting with friends at the Club or by his own fireside, Mr. Wolcott never hesitated for apt expression. He delighted in repartee, and his utterances were not commonplace. Often they were cutting and severe, but a study of the man's character will convince one that in many instances they were so only in appearance and not because of a cruel disposition. He liked to tantalize, and his best friends often were the subjects of his sharpest thrusts. He enjoyed the intellectual exercise found in an exchange of witticisms, and was as willing to "take" as he was to "give." If, however, the occasion called for severity he was capable of manifesting that trait, and when so disposed he could be most sarcastic and exasperating—all the more so because of his ability to express his thoughts in terse and telling sentences. Whether talking to or about people, he characterized them in the aptest language, and would say in a few words what others would amplify into columns. He never entered a company that he did not add to its brilliancy, and his friends agree that quick and apt wit was one of the strongest characteristics of his conversation. They also say that while others were generally the subject of his reflections, he did not spare himself, if greater point could be given a remark by making himself the butt of it. "I have often wished," says his friend Voorhies, "that a 'shorthand' could have been pres-

ent to take his sayings as repeated by his coterie since his death. All of them recall much in that way, but none can remember all. To my mind only another Boswell could do justice to his memory in this respect."

In the Senate Mr. Wolcott's speeches were given the closest attention, and the galleries were crowded whenever it became known that he was to take the floor. It was notorious that he was opposed to every form of graft as he was to every sort of sham, and he was in the habit of saying so to the edification of the public. As Chairman of the Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads, he was one of the first to give warning of the Post-office Department scandals, which afterward attracted the attention and the interest of the country. Almost every speech, whether political or otherwise, contained some witticism that would be worthy of note.

Probably the most famous of Mr. Wolcott's bon-mots in the Senate was that delivered at the expense of a Western colleague whose State had just been admitted and who was comparatively new to the Senate. It had been supposed by the Western Senators that, when this gentleman should take his seat, he would assist them in their fight for free-silver coinage. But he did not, and Wolcott regarded his course unfavorably. The retort came toward the end of a day of sharp controversy over the money question. Senator Wolcott made a sarcastic attack upon the other Senator for being a gold man when, as he contended, the new Senator's section of the country was for free silver, and in his reply his antagonist was foolish enough to resort to the cheap method of ridiculing Mr. Wolcott's habit of wearing good clothes. Wolcott's reply was brief but crushing. Declaring that the gentleman came from that part of the country where it seemed to be an offence for a man to wear a clean shirt, he began as if about to make a long and detailed attack upon him. Apparently thinking better of it, he threw up his hands, and, as if the subject were worth nothing more, exclaimed:

"But, Mr. President, in dealing with this subject I am reminded of the old Spanish proverb: 'It's a waste of lather to shave an ass.'"

The Senate was thrilled by the boldness and brevity of



the response, and the subject of it did not rally from its effect for many years.

As characteristic an expression as ever was uttered by Senator Wolcott was voiced by him on January 28, 1896, in response to an address on the Monroe Doctrine by Senator John M. Thurston, of Nebraska. The speech was made soon after Mr. Wolcott's remarks on the same subject and, in a measure, was in reply to the Colorado Senator. Mr. Wolcott had taken advanced ground of friendship toward Great Britain, and the Nebraska Senator was just as pronounced in his assertion of ultra-Americanism. He declared that the English press already had seized upon the utterances of the Colorado Senator as an indication that the people of this country were ready to abandon their position of responsibility toward the South American Republics. Asserting that both the British newspapers and the Colorado Senator were mistaken in their view of conditions, he announced in florid language his determination to support a resolution that had been brought in, declaring adherence by the United States to the Monroe Doctrine:

I shall [he exclaimed, with much fervor] vote for the resolution in this time of profound tranquillity, convinced that peace with honor can be preserved. I would vote for it if we were already standing in the awful shadow of declared war. I would vote for it were all the navies of Europe thundering at our harbors. I would vote for it were the shells of British battle-ships bursting above the dome of the United States Capitol. I would vote for it and maintain it at all hazards and at any cost, with the last dollar, with the last man; yea, though it might presage the coming of a mighty conflict whose conclusion would leave me without a son as the last great conflict left me without a sire!

Mr. Wolcott had remained near his Nebraska associate during the delivery of his speech, but, instead of making any general or generally audible response, he simply turned to the Senator sitting next to him and asked, "Did you observe that Thurston skipped a generation in his patriotism?"

Discussing the silver question in a speech made in the Senate on October 9, 1893, Mr. Wolcott said:



“Senators have differed widely as to the causes of the existing monetary troubles, and as to the remedy that will cure them, but on one point there is a perfect accord. We are all friends of silver; the only distinction seems to be that some of us are bimetallists and the rest of the chamber are ‘by-and-by’ metallists.”

That he was quite as apt in his political and after-dinner speeches as in his addresses in the Senate, reference to those speeches will show. Take, for instance, a thrust made at an opponent at a political meeting at Pueblo. This occurred in the days of Populism, and Mr. Wolcott had been preceded there some days before by one of the most popular and most effective of the orators of the Populist party—a man of small stature, but an excellent speaker. During the course of a long speech in discussion of the issues of the day, he attacked Mr. Wolcott violently as the arch enemy of Populism, as in reality he was. “Now, my friends,” he exclaimed, after paying his respects to several smaller lights in the two old parties, “now, we come to Mr. Wolcott. Some people appear to be afraid of him. I am not, and to show you that I am not, I am going to get into his hair.”

Much more the gentleman said, but further quotation is unnecessary for present purposes.

I have heard [said Mr. Wolcott, in meeting the attack of his opponent] that Mr. Blank has told you that he means to “get into my hair.” I would not have you think for a moment that I underrate the seriousness of the threat. I fully appreciate it, and to reassure you on that point I will impart to you the information that immediately upon learning of his intentions, I proceeded to arm myself with a fine-tooth comb.

He made no further reply to Mr. Blank.

Hon. Charles Page Bryan supplies an incident illustrative of Mr. Wolcott’s effective use of sarcasm in his speeches. The speech in question was made in 1879, when Wolcott was just beginning his career, and had for its purpose the prevention of the defacement of the magnificent scenery of the Rocky Mountains by advertisements. Mr. Bryan tells the story thus:

Georgetown was long the largest silver-producing camp in America. It is reached by the Colorado Southern, then the Colorado Central Railway, which winds through the stupendous cañon of Clear Creek in Colorado. This was the first road that gave the tourist the opportunity to view the marvels of a Rocky Mountain gorge from a comfortable seat on a train. In the earlier days that sublime scenery was marred by huge patent-medicine advertisements daubed on the rocks, and by other natural sign-boards. Mr. Wolcott fathered a bill in the State Senate to prohibit, under heavy penalties, this abomination. He put forth his best efforts in a speech advocating the measure. In the peroration he delighted his audience with flights loftier than the snow-capped peaks, which he described in language as brilliant as the Alpine glow—a glow, by the way, rarely seen in the Rocky Mountains.

The torrent of Clear Creek rushing in sparkling beauty through the sombre chasm which it had forged in the long æons; the “everlasting hills,” with their fringe of pines silvered in the morning sun against an azure sky; the Golconda treasure-vaults beneath, honeycombed with veins of precious metals, and the slopes gilded like an Oriental dream; the hunter in buckskin scouring the forest primeval for the elk-monarch; the disciple of dear Sir Isaac alone amid the solemn grandeur of a storm in the Rocky Mountains; all these familiar visions the orator pictured with a splendor of treatment worthy of Doré, who has in various works illustrated Colorado scenery with a naturalness marvellous in its chance resemblance.

Mr. Wolcott concluded, in substance, thus: “Mr. President, the climax is worthy of the approach. In charming contrast to the awful sublimity of the cañon is a lovely valley in which nestles the pretty town of Georgetown, yept the ‘Silver Queen,’ which is environed by natural battlements of granite towering heaven-high. Thereon, amid all-surrounding grandeur, you read, emblazoned in letters that can be deciphered miles away: ‘Have you got worms?’”

Writing of Mr. Wolcott soon after his first election to the Senate, Mr. Bryan related an incident which will serve to show how readily Wolcott could turn even an awkward mishap to himself to the discomfiture of his opponents.

His speeches [says Mr. Bryan] are always apt and to the point. Whether in mass-meeting, at banquets, before juries, in

conventions or legislatures, he is ready and forcible, with freshness of matter and individuality of manner calculated to arouse enthusiasm. In 1880, the struggle in Colorado between the Grant men and the anti-third-termers was intense. The former prevailed, and in the convention outnumbered their opponents three to one. Wolcott was conspicuous in the minority, which made a fine fight for recognition. When Blaine's name was first spoken a great shout went up from his followers, and through his vehemence Wolcott's chair gave way under his stalwart frame. Of course, the Grant enthusiasts laughed; but Wolcott, unabashed, stamped on the remains of his seat, and, kicking them aside, exclaimed: 'So, gentlemen, will we crush your machine!''

A fellow-speaker at a public meeting during the administration of President Cleveland had indulged in criticism of the acts of some of the Democratic office-holders. Referring to the criticism, Wolcott asked, "What can you expect but a muddy stream when you have a muddy spring?"

He was the subject of much bitter attack by the newspapers in connection with the campaign of 1896. Alluding to this circumstance in his speech in the Denver Auditorium of that year, Mr. Wolcott said he hesitated to attempt a reply. "It is," he said, "like throwing mud at a man who drives a garbage-cart every day and has it full all the time."

Speaking in the same speech of Hon. W. J. Bryan, of Nebraska, who that year was the candidate of the Democracy for President, Mr. Wolcott contrasted him with Buffalo Bill (W. F. Cody), also a Nebraskan, and then proprietor of the Wild West Circus. "Nebraska has produced two great men, and both of them are named Bill," he said. "There is, however, this marked difference between them: 'Buffalo Bill' has 'a show,' and Bill Bryan has n't any 'show.'"

In his introduction to the "Anecdotes" volume of *Modern Eloquence*, Champ Clark, the Democratic Congressman from Missouri, who in 1909 succeeded John Sharp Williams as the minority leader of the national House of Representatives, supplies the following as illustrative of Mr. Wolcott's capacity for extricating himself from an awkward dilemma by the use of his wits:

During his twelve years of Senatorial service the Coloradoan has won for himself the honor of being about the most eloquent Republican in the Senate. In addition to his oratorical talent, he is wonderfully clever at campaign repartee. This gift was well demonstrated before he became nationally known, when he was sent to a Southern State to advocate Republicanism. At a certain place he was politely informed that the "rally" would begin and end about the same time, and that not since 1883 had any Republican been permitted to finish a speech there. Wolcott was determined, however, and upon learning that the citizens, as a rule, were kind enough to permit the speakers to get out of town and fill their next appointment, he concluded to make his speech as billed. The chairman was instructed to dispense with the music and introduce him to the audience in as few words as possible. The advice was followed a little too literally. He simply pointed at the audience and then at the speaker, and disappeared behind the scenes.

Wolcott began his speech with one of his best stories. The audience was separated, the colored folk all being in the gallery, and only white people below. In about five minutes Wolcott's discretion was overcome by his Republicanism, and he made a pointed thrust at the opponent party, whereupon a body of young men in the centre of the theatre shouted in concert, "Rats!" Wolcott paused for a moment, and then, waving his hand at the gallery, said, "Waiter, come down and take the Chinamen's orders!" The effect was electrical and effectual. In laughingly referring to the incident afterward, the Senator said: "You should have seen that dusky hillside of faces in the gallery break into ledges of pearl!"

As a specimen of his capacity for presenting an ugly fact in a delicate way and at the same time making a joke of it, the following from his first New England Society dinner speech is worth presenting. He was speaking of the assimilation by Colorado of its Mexican population and said:

Where we have a chance to work without precedent [he said], we can point with pride of a certain sort to methods at least peaceful. When Mexico was conquered, we found ourselves with many thousand Mexicans on hand. I don't know how they managed it elsewhere, but in Colorado we not only took them by the hand and taught them our ways, but both political parties inaugurated a beautiful and generous custom, since more honored



in the breach than in the observance, which gave these vanquished people an insight into and an interest in the workings of republican institutions which was marvellous: a custom of presenting to each head of a household, being a voter, on election day, from one to five dollars in our native silver.

Out of Mr. Wolcott's brief experience as a stereopticon lecturer while engaged in his law studies at Boston, have come many anecdotes. His cousin, A. P. Carroll, was present at one of his Providence lectures, and Ed appears to have added somewhat to his discourse on this occasion for the benefit of his kinsman. Relating the incident, Mr. Carroll says:

I accompanied him to the large hall which was packed to its capacity and was seated on the platform close by his side, where he could interlude the drollest side remarks and where I was not seen by the audience. He held the audience spellbound from start to finish, almost threw me into convulsions of merriment, and drove the managers frantic over the wild statements made, but which were as captivating to his hearers as they were wide of accuracy. It was such a pronounced success that he received double the pay originally promised and the local papers gave most flattering notices of his lecture.

The views pictured the Arctic regions, and Ed described them in vivid language, manifesting as great familiarity with the land of snow and ice as he could have possessed if he had beaten Peary to the Pole. One of the stories of this lecture relates that while Ed was descanting upon a glacier, some one in the audience asked: "How fast does it move?" Ed did not know, but an answer must be given, and he quickly replied, "A mile a minute."

"Why, Ed," whispered the man behind the curtain, "it only moves an inch in ten years."

But Wolcott was equal to the occasion, and pretending not to have understood the question, he asked to have it repeated.

"Oh," replied the lecturer, "that glacier only moves an inch in ten years. I thought the gentleman was asking about the velocity of the winds in that section. The winds blow



around the glacier at the enormous velocity of a mile a minute. Hereafter I wish those asking questions would speak so plainly and distinctly that I can readily hear them."

Quoting Mr. Carroll further:

The next morning, flush with his unexpected earnings, Ed hired a pair of horses for a drive about the city, and included a visit to his old home where his family had lived while his father presided over a church in Providence. It was not the house itself that appealed to him, but he drove into the alley at the rear of the yard and asked me to hold the reins, while he jumped out and climbed over the tall fence, just as he had done when a mere lad. It seemed to give him more enjoyment than all the rest of the drive.

Governor Thomas relates the following:

On an occasion, a somewhat prolix attorney, whom I will call Smith, was droning through an interminable argument upon a demurrer, with Wolcott as his opponent. The latter was impatient at his detention and paced the room with nervous strides. Smith finally referred to a case decided in the forties in Massachusetts, remarking that the successful attorneys were Webster and Smith.

"Was that you, Mr. Smith?" asked Mr. Wolcott.

"No," replied Smith, "you know very well it was n't."

"Oh! I beg your pardon," said Wolcott. "I ought to have known it was a son of yours."

The effect of this sally upon the Court naturally abbreviated the argument, and as Wolcott made none he was soon relieved of his detention.

When at a time that there was a sharp controversy on in the Senate between a Republican Senator and a Democratic colleague, a discussion arose in the Republican cloak-room as to the relative personal qualities of the men. Neither of them was especially popular, and the Senators found much amusement in the speculation as to which of the two men was preferable. Some gave one reason and some another for a choice, none apparently satisfactory, until Wolcott was

heard from. "I like the Democrat best," said the Colorado Senator; "he sits farther away from me."

After the caucus had voted almost unanimously for his election of the United States Senate the first time, Ed went to the Denver Club, where the chosen of his friends were waiting to celebrate. In all that crowd, and the rooms were packed, only one faintly discordant voice was heard and that only so in comparison. George W. Cook, then a railroad man, since a Congressman, admired Henry Wolcott more than he did Ed, which comparison was always objected to by both brothers. Cook spoke so many times that even- ing to Ed of his preference for the brother that finally Ed took George by the hand and shook it cordially, saying: "George, that shows your good feeling toward my brother, and I am glad. Now, if you had a brother, I should feel the same way toward him."

At another time in a small group, a man's name and business methods were mentioned in a way to provoke Ed to a terrific review of both, a review which before a jury would have meant a heavy sentence.

Henry finally remonstrated, asking: "What's the use?" and added, "You nor any one else can collect what he owes."

Ed replied: "Henry, have I put it too strong?"

Henry responded: "Not at all, but what good does it do?"

To this Ed at once retorted: "By false pretences and a confidence game he got money from me; now, when I express my full and unreserved opinion, I credit him on account, and if I can only think of him a few times more and say a few more things of him, I will wipe out the score."

When Ed purchased his country place, Wolhurst, he was urged to buy more land across the road for protection at an excessive price. When he refused, he was threatened with the establishment of a "road-house" on the land, with all the objectionable features of such a place. This threat aroused all his ire, and he said to the man who "held the option," a well-known real-estate dealer: "Let me tell you for once and all, I will not buy that tract of land even if *you* should build a house and live there."

Governor Shafroth, of Colorado, was at one time pitted against Mr. Wolcott in the trial of a suit against the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad for damages. The complainant was an accomplished and handsome widow, and she was asking for reparation for the death of her husband on the road. Mr. Wolcott represented the company, and when the lady entered and took her seat, he leaned over to Mr. Shafroth, and said, "John, I would give five hundred dollars if she wasn't so darned good-looking." The result of the trial showed that he had not miscalculated the effect of the lady's personal appearance upon the jury, for the award in her interest was exceptionally large.

Naturally, Senator Wolcott was not in a very amiable frame of mind after his defeat for the Senate in 1903. He felt especially badly over the fact that some of his former friends had joined in a conspiracy against him. For many of them he had done innumerable favors, and the suggestion of ingratitude was very strong. A few of his remarks showing his frame of mind have been handed down. Some one came to him with a statement that Mr. So-and-so was abusing him roundly.

"Abusing me?" asked Wolcott. "I cannot imagine why he should be abusing me; I do not recall that I ever did him a favor."

Soon after the Senatorial election he was driving from Denver to Wolhurst with Judge Carlton M. Bliss. It was a magnificent winter-day. The snow sparkled upon the trees and the country stretched out in a beautiful glistening blanket to the mountains, which were only a few miles away. Mr. Bliss was struck with the scenery and he said:

"Senator, isn't this a beautiful day? Aren't the mountains a wonderful sight to see?" Then, warming to his theme, he added: "Who can comprehend their wealth-producing possibilities? Who can estimate the innumerable prospects yet to be opened up and developed into mines?"

"Yes," responded Mr. Wolcott, adapting Bishop Heber's lines, "This is a country 'where every prospect pleases, and only man is vile.'"

After Senator Wolcott had made his Venezuelan speech, a Western colleague, who was unfriendly in his attitude

toward the Colorado Senator, approached him, and instead of congratulating him as many other Senators had done, said to him, "Well, Wolcott, you have ruined your reputation." The response was sharp and quick. He said: "That is more than you could possibly have done, seeing that you have no reputation to ruin."

Mr. Wolcott's capacity for caustic and ready speech was never displayed more markedly than in connection with an interview with President Harrison over an appointment to a Federal office in Colorado. He did not like the President, and the insistence of the Executive in making appointments in Mr. Wolcott's State without giving due heed to the latter's representations was the cause of still greater variance between the two. On the occasion in question the Senator called to make protest over a nomination contemplated by the President. Finding the latter obdurate, Mr. Wolcott insisted upon knowing his reason for the selection. The reply was nettling. The President said: "It should be sufficient reason that the gentleman is my friend." "Oh, well," responded the Senator, "if you have a friend in Colorado appoint him by all means." The retort gained publicity, but was attributed to John J. Ingalls, who also was at loggerheads with the President. It would have done credit to the talented Kansan; but, having heard Mr. Wolcott relate the incident immediately after his return from the White House visit, the narrator feels that he takes no risk in attributing the remark to the Coloradoan as against the claims of his Kansas colleague.

The *New York Herald* of January 26, 1891, supplies the following:

There was a little interchange of words between Senator Wolcott of Colorado and Senator Sanders of Montana in the Senate on Friday, the true inwardness of which escaped most people. When the Montana Senatorial contest was up in the Senate last session, Senators Wolcott and Plumb refused to vote to seat the Republicans, Sanders and Power. The latter naturally have not felt over-kindly disposed toward Wolcott and Plumb. On Friday Senator Sanders thought he saw a chance to get in a quiet whack at Wolcott. Senator Gray in the course of a speech asked if ex-Senator N. P. Hill of Colorado, who

was recently nominated by the President as a member of the International Monetary Conference, did not own a newspaper which opposed the Force Bill. Senator Wolcott said he did, and that he would be confirmed in the office for which the President had nominated him.

Now there is a bitter personal feeling between Senator Wolcott and ex-Senator Hill, and Senator Sanders, knowing this, thought this was his chance to rub it in a little on Wolcott. So Sanders asked if Hill was a good man for the place for which he had been nominated. Senator Wolcott looked calmly at Sanders for a moment and then answered: "I desire to say that he [Hill] has been a member of this body, and that he did not get his seat after a contest, either." Senator Sanders turned very red at this pointed reply and did not pursue the subject further.

In this connection it can but add interest to the incident to relate that Mr. Sanders had been the leader of the Helena Vigilantes who in the "sixties" had hanged and driven out of that city several scores of "bad" men.

Although a showy man and much in the limelight, and notwithstanding he possessed a sharp tongue, Senator Wolcott was at heart modest and of an extremely kindly nature. He did not knowingly "fool" people, and it was a difficult thing for any one to "fool" him. He understood his own limitations and always knew whether he was getting all that was coming to him. Illustrative of this characteristic the following is related:

A Washington newspaper friend once asked him for some information about the proceedings of the Finance Committee. The Senator replied that he had no knowledge whatever on the subject; that he was as ignorant as anybody else of what the Committee was doing.

"But aren't you a member of it?" the Senator was asked.

"Yes, I am a member of it," he said, with a characteristic shrug of the shoulders, "but I don't *run* it. You don't suppose that those who *do* let *me* know what they are doing, do you?"

In this remark he did himself an injustice, for no one knew better what was going on. He did not want to tell.



This same newspaper man was once consulting with the Senator about the advisability of asking some public men of their mutual acquaintance to take an interest in a private business matter of importance to him, and said:

"Of course, Senator, I don't want to ask to have this thing done simply on the strength of my newspaper connections?"

"Why, you young blockhead," said the Senator, in his honest and impetuous way, "you don't think for a minute they would do anything for you if you were *not* on a newspaper, do you?"

Another newspaper correspondent who was on intimate terms with Mr. Wolcott received a telegram from his paper one night telling him that the Senator was in possession of the facts in an important matter, and asked for a complete story. The correspondent called at the Senator's house, but he was not there and nobody knew where he was. He hunted the town high and low but without result.

The next day a rival paper had the whole story. The correspondent also discovered that day that the Senator was stopping at the Arlington Hotel. He sent up his card, was invited in, and there in a room big enough for a whole family sat the Senator all alone. A number of books, comprising the latest novels, were strewn about, and cigar ashes and empty cigarette-boxes indicated that he had been having a hard time to entertain himself. The correspondent began to tell the Senator how disappointed he had been at not being able to find him the day before, when Mr. Wolcott blurted out:

"Oh, of course you are just like everybody else. When there is nothing to do you are always around, but here I have been sitting for forty-eight hours crazy to give somebody a good newspaper scoop. You never know anything about it until some fellow over in New York tells you."

The Senator really looked disappointed.

That he did not worry over disaster which might have befallen, but which did n't, is illustrated by the following:

He had taken a position on a matter before the Senate, and while he had come out all right the result had seemed doubtful for a time.

"You skated on mighty thin ice," said a friend who was inclined to remonstrate with him.

"Well, I did n't break through," responded the Senator nonchalantly, and apparently dismissed the subject.

Once a lady residing at Colorado Springs wrote her sister in Denver asking her to forward a corset to her and at the same time requesting her to have Mr. Wolcott send her a pass over the Denver and Rio Grande, which as the general solicitor of the road he of course could do. The Denver sister forwarded the entire letter to Mr. Wolcott and in due time received this reply:

"I take pleasure in enclosing pass for your sister, but regret to say that, owing to the fact that I have forgotten the number of her corset, I cannot supply her want in that respect."

#### THE GENEROUS SIDE

If all the facts were known, a volume might be written concerning the generous side of Mr. Wolcott's nature. Many instances of his broad charity and gentle kindness are related. No one knew so much about the details of his deeds of this character as his long-time secretary, Mr. Chisholm, and he writes:

Of his great, tender heart, his broad charity, and instant, unflinching sympathy, too much cannot be said. In the long years of my association with him I cannot recall a case when a story of misfortune, illness, or an empty cupboard, did not meet with prompt and generous response. His weakness was known and occasionally preyed upon. Of ingratitude he had some experience; but nothing soured or embittered, and the next appeal found him as sympathetic and susceptible as ever: he could not turn a deaf ear to misery or want. The very last commission entrusted to me before he left Denver in November, 1904, was to pay off a mortgage on the home of an old friend. "I want to do it," he said; "it will bring such peace of mind to one who was kind to me in the early days." And in another direction his sympathy and desire to help found expression: many a man in Colorado and elsewhere could speak of school and college expenses paid; of advances made to start in business, or of a helping hand extended at a critical time. In such

cases, however, he held that the advance should be regarded as a loan, to be repaid at the borrower's convenience, not that he gave grudgingly or coveted the return, but because he believed that such aid given or accepted on any other conditions would fail of its purpose and would undermine the recipient's self-reliance and self-respect.

There was nothing of ostentation in his aid or charity; indeed he shrank from publicity, from even the thanks of beneficiaries: cheerfully and freely he gave, content to feel that he had helped to comfort or relieve.

I speak as one, perhaps the only one, who knows, and it can be truly said of him that his left hand knew not what his right hand did—his profit-and-loss account alone bearing silent testimony year after year to his tenderness and charity.

When he was just beginning to get on his feet financially at Georgetown, Wolcott confided to a member of his family his horror of the spirit of avarice which came over some men as they acquired money, and he expressed the hope that he should never develop such a propensity. His subsequent tendency was so strongly in the opposite direction that it seems almost as though he adopted as a deliberate philosophy of life the theory that the way to prosper was to spend. Be that as it may, he seemed never to attach any value to money as such. He not only spent his money lavishly, but gave it away freely—if not always wisely.

He found great pleasure in his acts of generosity, and while generally he shrank from any reference to them, occasionally he would speak of his course to friends, but only to defend it against their remonstrances. "It makes me feel good to help a poor devil," he would say. "If I did only one good deed in the course of a year, I would feel the better for it, and the more I do the better I feel. Reward? Return? The reward is in the doing." Frequently at the end of a day there would be a brief period of moralizing, and he would say: "Well, I've got through the day without consciously doing harm to any one, while I know I have done some good."

A minute afterward he might deny some applicant's request for a political office or engage in a game of cards with fellow Senators in which he would exert himself to the ut-

most to win. But that was a different kind of a game—not the “giving” game.

In more than one of his early letters from Georgetown, Mr. Wolcott spoke of the great kindness done him by the Central City banker, Mr. T. H. Potter, who had assisted him in locating in Georgetown in the practice of law, and he evidenced the most sincere gratitude to that gentleman for his aid. That Mr. Potter did not think so much of what he had done and that he did appreciate Mr. Wolcott's tendencies in the same direction, the following from him, under date of June 7, 1909, shows:

“My help to him at that time was of small consequence. In a very short time he was on his own resources and always thereafter was eminently capable of taking care of himself and helping many impecunious friends. His fun and jollity cheered up many a poor tramp, who afterward borrowed from him.”

Governor Thomas relates this instance of public spirit which illustrates the man's immensely magnanimous nature:

When in September, 1899, the first regiment of Colorado volunteers returned to San Francisco from the Philippines, it became my duty as Governor to meet and welcome them at the Golden Gate. It was then proposed to pay their fare from San Francisco to Denver by public subscription, and I hastened back to Denver to raise, if possible, the funds needed for that purpose. Thirty thousand dollars was required. I at once saw Senator Wolcott and obtained his endorsement of the plan. On asking him for his subscription he said: “I will be one of thirty to give a thousand dollars, or fifteen to give two thousand dollars, or of six to give five thousand dollars, or of three to give ten thousand dollars, and, if necessary, I will be one of two to subscribe fifteen thousand dollars each.” I implored him not to let his suggestions be known, since they might result in compelling him to pay half of the entire expense of the proposed plan. In this he acquiesced, but requested me to do the best I could and let him know how much remained to be paid in after my efforts were exhausted. I did this and received his check, as I now remember, for three thousand dollars, with the assurance that if the estimated amount were insufficient, to draw on him for the excess. At the same time he requested me to

say as little about the matter as possible. Such action was characteristic of the Senator.

Wolcott's qualities as a generous political contributor were the amazement of his political friends. In one campaign a committee called on another public man soliciting contributions and received a check for a considerable sum. The committee started for Wolcott's office, commenting on the prospect. They agreed that Mr. Wolcott probably would be liberal, but they were not prepared for such a sum as they were promised.

"How much do you want, gentlemen?" asked Wolcott, when the committee called.

"Whatever you feel like giving," was the reply.

Wolcott took his check-book and wrote a check for \$2500 without another word.

Mr. Nathan S. Hurd, an old-time Georgetown friend, also bears testimony to Mr. Wolcott's prodigal generosity. Writing to the author, Mr. Hurd says:

He was big-hearted and kind, and would give his last dollar to a friend in need, and then borrow from the next friend he met the amount he had given. He never forgot an obligation, and if you were his friend he would go any length to assist you. There never was a man in Colorado who was such a friend to me for six years as he was. He helped to keep me in the Insurance Department of the State against the strongest adverse influence.

Hon. Thomas Cornish, another Georgetown friend, not only testifies to Wolcott's delicate tenderness of heart, but supplies instances of it. He says:

They talk of Wolcott becoming big-headed and exclusive after he went to the Senate. They forget that he had simply broadened out, that he had become a man among men; that which had formerly satisfied him became utterly distasteful.

I talked to him about it once. "Ed," I said, "come back and mix with the crowd. Walk up Sixteenth Street and shake your friends by the hand. Go up to Georgetown and sit on a box in Spooner's store, as you used to, and eat cheese and tell jokes. You can get back all of this popularity if you will. The



old fellows are still with you, and you will find all the young ones behind them. Why, I was talking to So-and-So the other day. You know the votes he controls. He said he would like to be with you, but you were too uppish. What he wanted was a man who would go across the street to shake hands with a man, while you would saunter past him, never even turning your head to nod."

"Oh, yes, I remember that fellow," answered Wolcott. "He came to me two years ago and told how a chattel mortgage on his furniture was to be foreclosed and that his sick wife and children would be thrown into the street if he did not raise \$250. I gave it to him, and he promised to give it back in ten days. He has not paid it yet, and I hate to talk to the fellow much or see him any oftener than I can help; I'm afraid he will think I want to dun him. I don't want the money. I was only chary of his feelings."

That's the kind of a man Wolcott was. When the great artist Herkimer died in New York a few years ago, Mr. Wolcott happened to be there. He saw the artist's easel. It is probably the finest in the world. And he promptly bought it and shipped it to me. I have it now; and I value it more highly than anything else I have.

Mr. Wolcott was always doing things like that; always trying to help a friend or to make life easier for him. He would go out of his way and to the greatest trouble to please a man he liked.

Innumerable instances of his generosity to persons in distress could be related. One of the first cases occurred when he was studying law in Boston on an allowance of \$10 a week, when, if he had had the money, he easily could have spent \$10 a day on himself. Giving his father an account of his Christmas expenditures, he told him that he had given fifty cents to a woman begging in the street. He realized that because of his limited allowance he had been over-generous, and, apologizing to his father, said: "I knew *you* would have done it."

Once D. C. Bailey went to him with a request for help for a man who had suffered adversity, and asked the Senator if he would give him twenty dollars. "Of course I will," responded Mr. Wolcott; "I'd give any man twenty dollars."

He had his "ups and downs" in politics. The friend of yesterday was the enemy of to-day, but when such an enemy fell into misfortune Mr. Wolcott forgot the conditions of the present, and remembered only past favors. One notable case is recalled, and the name of the beneficiary might be given but for the possibility of wounding the sensibilities of surviving relatives. The man had stood with him at the beginning of his political career, but had been alienated in later years, antagonizing rather than supporting him. In the early days he had been a man of affluence, but latterly had lost his fortune. He was entirely bankrupt when he became ill and died. Wolcott paid all the expenses of his last illness and of his funeral, squared up his club dues, amounting to \$1100, and then gave the widow \$1000.

Once a lawyer of opposite political faith, who had settled in Denver after financial reverses in a Southern State, went to him for help.

"I have got to have some money," he told his more prosperous brother of the legal profession.

"How much do you need?" asked Wolcott.

"Four hundred dollars," was the response, with the added explanation that the time of repayment was uncertain and political support out of the question.

He got the money and died without repaying it. Mr. Wolcott cancelled the note, and turned it over to the debtor's executor with the especial request that the family of the man whom he had assisted should not be told of the obligation.

On another occasion a poor man with a large family went to Washington while Mr. Wolcott was Senator, in the hope of finding employment. Without succeeding, he fell ill and died. Wolcott scarcely knew him, but when the circumstances were explained he ordered that the burial expenses be paid, and that the family be temporarily taken care of and aided at his expense in getting to friends.

During the early years of his practice in Denver, Mr. Wolcott became interested in a promising young man who had become a cripple through disease. One day he met the young fellow on the street and, after inquiring solicitously about his condition, asked if there was any hope for the restoration of normal conditions. He replied that he feared

not. Mr. Wolcott thereupon expressed the opinion that aid could be found in surgery. "I am sure some of those eminent surgeons in New York could relieve the condition," he said. "Take my advice and see them. Give them a thorough trial. Do not hesitate on account of the lack of means; it will afford me sincere pleasure to supply any deficiency that may occur in that respect." The advice was followed, and, notwithstanding there was no occasion to accept the pecuniary aid, the gentleman to whom the proffer was made spoke of the incident a quarter of a century afterward in terms of tender gratitude.

His attention was once called to a fine landscape just finished by a Colorado artist, who, like so many of his craft, found it difficult to make both ends meet. Mr. Wolcott handed \$400, the price of the picture, to a friend who was just fitting up some rooms, and said: "You go and buy the picture as for yourself, and keep it in your room until I find some way to dispose of it. If I go to buy it, he will know that I do it solely for the purpose of helping him." The young man did as requested, and reported, after a while, that some one wanted the picture for what it had cost. He was told to sell it and to order another one painted to take its place. Mr. Wolcott finally gave the second picture to another friend.

A stage driver of the early days frequently carried Mr. Wolcott from Georgetown to Denver and back again. Wolcott took a fancy to the driver. Years after the stage line had been supplanted by the Colorado Central Railroad, Mr. Wolcott heard that his driver had lost a leg and was living in a distant part of the State in destitute circumstances. He made him a regular monthly allowance afterward as long as he lived.

Another instance was his remembrance of a boyhood acquaintance. While the Wolcott family were in Providence and Ed was from five to twelve years old, Henry and Ed spent several summers in Belchertown, on the farm of the father of a boy who lived at home and helped with the farming and always was "good" to them. So far as is known Ed had no communication with him during the intervening years, but while he was in the Senate he regularly

sent him many valuable publications, and once, when in Longmeadow, he took a two days' drive to Belchertown, and after hunting up the old-time friend gave him \$100.

When as a boy at Cleveland he had charge of the family cow, he gave her a double allowance on Thanksgiving. The exceptional feed made the animal sick,—but that is not a part of the story.

The farm at Wollhurst was stocked with the best horses and cattle. Some time after Mr. Wolcott located there, Henry Brady, a political supporter and personal friend, bought a farm near him. One day Wolcott took him through the stables and barnyard. Among his horses was a fine coach stallion. He insisted upon Brady's accepting the animal as a present, and, when he declined, seemed to think that his refusal was based upon the belief that the horse was of little value. To remove this objection, he entered upon a long explanation of the pedigree of the animal. Brady still refusing, he then tried to compel him to accept a blooded cow. "She is all right," he said over and again, "and you might as well have her as not."

Some Congressmen sell their quota of government publications and seeds to the junk dealers instead of sending them to their constituents, but Mr. Wolcott always was in the market for these and constantly flooded Colorado with them, every postmaster in the State sending him lists of names. So much did he buy that he practically put the dealers out of business. Some to whom the books and seeds were sent replied, thanking him for them. One wrote a letter criticising Wolcott and concluding with: "You don't need to think that you can buy my vote with an agricultural report three years old." Mr. Wolcott at once sent him a couple of sacks of the choicest books, but no further reply came from the disgruntled one.

While Mr. Wolcott was earnest in his political controversies and always fought to win, he was not personally vindictive toward his opponents. On one occasion when there seemed especial reason to feel resentful toward an elderly man who was opposing him, one of the Senator's followers remarked, "Ah, well, he will not be in the way



very long." Mr. Wolcott responded: "Possibly that is true, but it never pays to count on death as an ally; it may be inclined to favor the other fellow."

If he opposed a man for office he generally did so because of other than mere personal reasons. His intimates recall only one instance in which he was evidently actuated by resentment. In this case the applicant for office was an Ohio man, who asked for a consular appointment. He had made what Mr. Wolcott considered an unprovoked attack on him during the first McKinley campaign. He had politicians of Ohio and Colorado behind him, and his friends thought this influence would insure him the position. But Mr. Wolcott opposed him, and a Wolcott man received the appointment.

We have seen how Mr. Wolcott and Professor Hill, at first staunch friends, became estranged, and how, while Mr. Hill still was well and strong, Mr. Wolcott belabored him, and how when he became critically ill, all was forgotten. Speaking of Mr. Hill before the State convention at Denver in 1900, while the ex-Senator lay on his death-bed, Mr. Wolcott said:

I desire to voice what I know will be the unanimous feeling of this convention, when I express, on your behalf, our deep and genuine sympathy with that distinguished ex-Senator from Colorado, Nathaniel P. Hill, who is now suffering a serious illness. He represented our State as a member of the Republican party for six years. He rendered it distinguished and able and patriotic service. When he retired into private life, he differed with many of us and he differed with our party on many questions. It might be that he would yet, if he recovered; but he rendered us brave service, and whenever he differed with us, or found ground for criticism, he founded it upon what he believed to be a sense of public duty; and I know you join me in hoping that he may have a speedy and sure recovery.

The same generous spirit prompted him to select former Senator Tabor for the Denver postmastership. Tabor had always fought Wolcott politically, and there never had been any social, personal, or business friendship between them. How-



ever, Tabor had done much for Colorado mining, for Denver, where he had erected the first big buildings, and for the Republican party by his campaign contributions. He had lost his money and was poor again, and Wolcott gave him the postmastership, with its fat salary, only insisting on the selection of competent assistants that the service might be properly conducted. The tender was made on Mr. Wolcott's own motion. Mr. Tabor had not sought the place, nor had any of his friends for him. When the thought of giving him the position came to Mr. Wolcott it so commended itself to him that he went ahead with it without any inquiries as to how it would be regarded in Denver.

Captain Howland, Colorado's wild-animal painter, relates an instance of Mr. Wolcott's loyalty to his political friends. It was during the trying times succeeding the fight of 1896, when Wolcott had complete control of the Colorado patronage. He had given a responsible place to a veteran Republican partisan whose name is not essential to the story. The appointment was severely criticised. He told Howland his critics were demanding that he should get rid of the man in question. "But I can't do it," he said. "He stood by me and I've got to stick to him." "He did stick to the man," says Howland. The consequence was that the opposing element opened war on him, and within less than three months had with them the very man the trouble was all about. "Even then," adds Howland, "Wolcott was not vindictive."

As going to show the real manliness of the man, the following, also related by Captain Howland, goes a long way:

He never went under false colors. There was nothing of the hypocrite in him. For example, it isn't usually known that he was a soldier of the Civil War. He was only a boy when he joined the 150th Ohio volunteers in 1864, and was sent to Washington. He was kept there, and that was one great sorrow of his life. Time and again I've tried to get him to join the G. A. R., but he would always say: "No, Jack, I can't do it. I was never under fire, and such an organization as that should be sacred to the men who suffered for their country."

A pretty story is told of Mr. Wolcott while he lived in

Blackhawk. One evening in the early fall of 1871, a little half-orphan girl, at whose home there was not an overabundance of this world's goods and to whom actual money in her own right was an unknown quantity, discovered lying in the gutter in front of a store a new fifty-cent shinplaster of the kind in use during and for several years after the Civil War. It lay open and flat, but it had fallen in a shallow pool of water and a thin film of ice had formed over it. The girl was old enough to know that the piece of paper was money, and she wanted it. Her mind was filled with doubt, however. Would the money be hers if she could get it? Would her mother believe she had found it if she took it home? If not, would she punish her for bringing it? Above all, seeing that the valuable paper was covered with ice, how could she get it? It was when she was pondering these momentous problems that a young giant hove in sight—a Good Giant, of the kind that always help little fairy girls out of real difficulties. She did n't say anything, but she looked her perplexities.

“What is the trouble, little girl?” the Giant asked in sympathetic tones which lent assurance.

She told him all.

“Certainly it is yours; certainly your mother will believe you, and certainly we will get it,” said the Giant. “You stay here and stand guard until I return.”

The Giant disappeared into a nearby factory, but soon came back bearing a tin can full of boiling water. To thaw the ice was the work of only a few moments. He then picked up the limp and wet, but highly valued, piece of paper, and handed it to its new owner.

“Take it home to your mother and tell her that I said it was yours,” said the Giant, as he went away smiling—smiling notwithstanding that in those days the shinplaster would have been as welcome to him as it was to the little girl.

The Giant was Ed Wolcott. The mother received his assurance regarding the possession of the money, and the girl was allowed to go unpunished.

There also is another “little girl” story, which is quite as characteristic as the foregoing. After he had become a United States Senator, Mr. Wolcott found a child on Pennsyl-

vania Avenue in Washington, crying. At the same time he observed another small member of the sex scurrying around the corner. His heart was touched by the apparent utter desolation and despair of the nearby girl. He asked the cause of her grief. "Mamie" had taken her doll. That was enough for the Senator. He rushed off to the nearest shop, and returning, emptied a dozen dolls into the disconsolate child's lap, to her astonishment and delight.

Commenting on Mr. Wolcott's disposition to relieve distress, a Denver newspaper published the following the day after the Senator's death:

One instance was related around the lobby of the Brown Palace Hotel yesterday. It had to do with the succor of a newsboy and the discomfiture of an officious policeman. It happened on Seventeenth Street, near the Equitable Building.

The "newsie" was weeping bitterly when Wolcott stepped out of the entrance of the building.

"What's the matter, my boy," asked the big man. "Stuck?"

"Ye-e-s," whimpered the newsboy.

Just then a policeman loomed large around the corner. He saw the snivelling boy and smacked him sharply on the bare legs with his nightstick.

"Here, you, hustle out o' here," ordered the policeman.

"If you do that again I'll punch your face," said the Senator, hotly, to the policeman. Then he turned to the newsboy, dropped a big silver dollar in his hand and strode off up the street.

Yet he was not all smiles to any person, nor did he smile at all to some. He could be severe and unyielding if the occasion seemed to demand that course. He could get an undesirable caller out of his office with much tact, and he did not permit any one to remain if he did not have the time or the inclination to hear what the visitor had to say. On such occasions he would himself gradually move toward the door, taking the other person with him, until, well arrived at the portal, he would bow him out, and, whether ready to go or not, the caller found that the adieus had been said and either the door was closed upon him or Mr. Wolcott was already so deeply engrossed in other

matters as to render it quite impossible to again get his attention.

Tedious or uncongenial people were an abomination to him and were avoided. He would not even receive a disagreeable message if he could find a way out of doing so.

When the excitement over the A. P. A. (The American Protective Association) was at its height, the Denver branch of that organization appointed a committee to visit the Senator and remonstrate with him over the retention in his employ of two adherents of the Catholic faith. The two men heard in advance of the prospective visit. It was a time of political excitement, when all votes were needed and the A. P. A. was very potent. The intended victims were not so much concerned about their own fate as they were regarding the situation and the possible effect of such a presentation of the issue as was contemplated. They did not desire that at that time their chief should be required to take a positive position.

"They'll never mention it, boys," he said to the two men, when they carried to him the information of the coming call. "Rest easy," he repeated; "they will not get to it." And they did not. When the committee arrived he took the direction of the conversation in his own hands, and, before any of the members of the delegation could find an opening to bring up the object of the call, had bowed all of them out of his office.

Soon after he first went to Washington as a Senator, he encountered a Colorado lady who was seeking an official position. She was very tedious, and, as she could not pass the examination required to enter the government service, there was nothing he could do for her except to listen to her complainings. He had no disposition to give up his time to such a course, and, taking in the situation at a glance, he did not permit her to even state her case. She had no sooner addressed him than he broke in upon her.

I can do nothing for you, Mrs. Blank [he said in a torrent of words]. I know all about your case; you need not tell me. You cannot expect an appointment unless you fit yourself for it, and you can claim nothing because of residence in Colorado.

Most of your relatives have held office almost ever since they entered the State, and all obligation is from you to the State and not from the State to you. You should prepare yourself for the Civil Service Examination. I cannot aid you, and knowing I can do nothing, I shall not make pretence of trying to do something.

Certainly the lecture the woman received was most abrupt. But he was right in that he was powerless to help her. And he saved her the time and himself the annoyance of frequent interviews, which otherwise would have been inevitable.

#### FRANKNESS ABOUT FAULTS

Reference has been made both to Mr. Wolcott's use of intoxicants and to his frankness. On account of his candor concerning the drink habit he attained a reputation which he did not deserve. An instance is related by early Georgetown friends.

He had just returned from a camping out excursion with some congenial friends, in Middle Park, when his campaign for District Attorney, his first campaign, was in its incipency. The details of the tour are not at hand, but the members of the party were young and many of them convivial. It may be imagined that the mountain trout did not get all of all kinds of the "fish bait." Rumors to this effect preceded the party to Georgetown, so that when Mr. Wolcott returned he was met by a sober-minded, elderly citizen who seemed to feel called upon to remonstrate with the young man. Meeting Mr. Wolcott on the street a day or so after his return from the outing, he recounted to him the report concerning the party's conduct in the park. "And," he added, "I was surprised to hear that *you* were among those who were tipsy." In his reply Wolcott doubtless exaggerated the condition, but under such circumstances he would not hesitate to do so, even at his own expense. He said that all had been more than tipsy, and declared that he had been "the worst of the lot."

If the good man regretted the moral delinquency of his



young acquaintance, he must have received a lesson in candor which was not otherwise than beneficial.

A still more striking instance was his conduct during his first campaign for the United States Senate. It was just previous to this contest that Mr. Wolcott made his grand plunge at Daly's club-room at Long Branch, where he lost a large sum of money. His political friends and advisers were fearful that the episode might hurt his chances, and begged him to deny the story. He smiled at their fears, and said:

Whose business is it but mine? I am an unmarried man, and there is no one but myself upon whom any disgrace can fall. While it is true that I lost large sums of money at faro, it also is true that I had won a large sum during the day previous on the races. It would do no good to deny it if I were disposed to do so, and I am not.

What could be more candid than the following letter from Ed Wolcott to his father? It was written from Georgetown, January 17, 1875, and runs:

DEAR FATHER:

I guess you are right in most of the good advice you give me. I know you have always practised self-denial to some extent, but did you ever realize how much harder it is to follow good counsel than to give it? In regard to asking assistance from others, you don't quite understand my position. If I was not looking forward very anxiously to something definite in the future, and was not afraid that my debts would be the one thing in the way, I should rest perfectly easy, whether they were ever paid or not. My debts don't worry me, but the fear that they may stand in the way of success does.

You are exactly right, too, when you say that I have been too much in the habit of relying upon others, that it has been easier to borrow than to earn. Your telling me so did n't make the truth any more evident to me. A man always knows his weaknesses and wickedness better than anybody, even his father, can tell him. I am always interested, though, in tracing the causes of such proclivities. I lay it first to laziness, next to the fact that I was brought up in a minister's family where we were always looking forward to a donation party, or a Thanks-

giving turkey, or Mrs. Piper's five dollars; and lastly, because by persistent cultivation of the habit it has become almost a second nature with me, I fear.

But, after all, I hope it will all come out right, and some day after I have repaid my friends and relatives we can afford to smile at the number of the victimized.

Teach Bertie while he is yet young that beautiful hymn beginning, "I'll Never Use Tobacco, No," and when he gets older he'll not find it as hard work to stop chewing as I do.

Ed.

There was a generous reply from the parent; but more of the same good advice, with the result that on the following February 10th Ed again wrote his father. The second letter was quite as frank as the first. It follows:

Your remarks are timely and true, and, moreover, are kind, and evince, as your letters and life always have, a sympathy and kindness which my conduct has never justified. Even if I were so disposed I couldn't take the least exception to your letter. But did it ever occur to you that writing me good advice is like pouring water on a duck's back? I always see my faults very plainly, and moralize over them beautifully. Ministers always like to talk to me. It encourages them in their work. I always agree with them, and they leave me feeling that there is good in me, and that they have succeeded in arousing me to the necessity of bringing it out. But somehow the matter always ends right there, until they call again.

There is nothing new. I am behaving myself; am doing a fair business; have no ambition and much laziness. I lead, somehow, a dreamy sort of life. I don't remember much of it; my past, which I recall, is the past of several years ago, and I dream, always, like one who has eaten opium, of a future, gorgeous, happy, and impossible.

If he tried to quit the use of tobacco his conduct was halting as he himself testifies. Writing to his father from Georgetown again in February, 1875, he says:

"I did rather make up my mind to begin giving up tobacco, and haven't chewed any for a fortnight. There is no saving so far as expense goes, for I find I smoke all the more. I am going to try refraining altogether from its use, but don't anticipate much success."

He also battled manfully against his smoking habit. He was always "swearing off" and he wrote many letters home regarding his experience in this respect.

In December, 1883, he tells his father that he has "gone thirty-three days without tobacco in any form." "I am experimenting with myself carefully in regard to the effects of tobacco on my system," he said. Three weeks afterward he reported the result of the experiment. Apparently it was satisfactory. "So far," he said, "my experience is that I am better with tobacco than without it." He was inclined, however, to moralize a little, for he added: "Even if this be so, it only shows us how potent the devil is." He then asked, "Who runs the anti-tobacco tract business since Brother Trask died?" adding that he could use "a few." He was still getting on without the tobacco notwithstanding his conviction that he was better off with than without it. "Grandfather's heart would be made glad these days if he could see me eat my simple dish of oatmeal in the morning and spend the day without tobacco," he said.

How long this period of abstinence continued there is no record to show, but certain it is that he smoked vigorously most of the remainder of his life. He also was, as a rule, a liberal patron of the table, but occasionally in his later years he would order a simple bowl of bread and milk, and frequently he would pass long intervals without drinking.

His father appears to have been anxious lest he should let his use of intoxicants interfere with his work during the campaign of 1880, the first in which he participated outside his own county. Replying to evident solicitude on this point, he wrote from Denver on September 26th of that year, as follows:

I appreciate both mother's anxiety and yours respecting the necessity of keeping good hours, and taking care of one's health on the stump: but there is n't the least occasion for worry so far as I am concerned. I am living a perfectly regular life these days, and am indulging in no excesses either in the matter of late hours or appetite.

He went East shortly after he had begun his connection

with the railroads, and was elated over the fact that one road had retained him as counsel at \$15,000 a year. A younger brother remarked that that was just twenty-five times the salary of \$600 which he then was receiving. Ed replied: "I'd like to bet that you come nearer paying your bills at the end of the year than I mine."

Once he expressed his contriteness regarding certain of his habits under circumstances which brought out a witticism from his friend, Speaker Reed, at the expense of another friend, the lawyer and diplomat, Joseph H. Choate. The three men were dining together, Reed being the host. When the wine was served, Choate declined. He did the same when the cigars were handed around.

"I neither drink nor smoke," observed the New Yorker in explanation.

"I wish I could say that," remarked Wolcott, half apologetically.

"Why don't you?" asked Reed; "Choate said it."

"Did I tell you?" he wrote to his father from Georgetown, in 1875, "that I received a letter from —— the other day? I told Kittie a few years ago that I would write him, and I have done so. The Wolcotts always keep their word—sometimes."

And again in the same letter: "In a letter Mr. J. Huntington Wolcott mentions having seen Henry, and adds, 'he does credit to his ancestry.' If he had said if of me, and I had found it out, I should, probably, at once have negotiated a small loan from him."

That he was not overawed by the greatness of deceased forebears may be gathered from the following extract from a letter to his father dated December 2, 1884:

"I bought of a New York autograph collector the other day a letter of Roger Wolcott's. I had Bert decipher it. I send you a copy, thinking that it might be of interest to you, although Roger is long since dead."

In the course of a letter in 1884, he gave an account of his finances, and added: "I cannot and would not keep an account of my personal expenses. I would probably unconsciously begin 'doctoring' the account, and cheating myself."

In another letter to his father he speaks of a magazine article which had been sent him, doubtless for his edification. Acknowledging the receipt of the paper, he commended the writing, saying it was true, "every word of it, and more too." Then he added, referring to a part of the moral story: "The account of the little boy who paid his debts is touching; I wish he'd pay mine." But while he spoke lightly of his debts and did not lose sleep over them, he never failed to meet them squarely. Indeed, no man was more punctilious in this respect. But it was not like him to fret over a situation so long as it could not be relieved.

Mr. Morrison relates some characteristic incidents illustrative of Mr. Wolcott's character. He recalls that on one occasion after the return to Georgetown from a visit to an Eastern State, he said to Ed, "I always come back with a last dollar still in my pocket." "I never come back but that I leave the last dollar in some other man's pocket," responded Ed.

What fools these merchants are [said Ed one day to Mr. Morrison]. Why do they print their cards on the outside of their envelopes? Whenever I receive a letter from one of them, I know immediately that it is a bill. What do I do then but throw it aside and, after opening it at my leisure, reply to them with the statement that my delay is due to the tardiness of the mails! If they were not so kind as to apprise me of their identity I should have no such excuse.

Thomas Cornish gives this instance of Wolcott's open-mindedness in regard to his own faults:

I remember once, while a crowd of us were playing billiards in the Denver Club, a politician came in to see Mr. Wolcott. They whispered together at the end of the hall, but we could hear every word. Somebody, the politician said, had raked up an old scandal which was to be published. It was a bitter thing, and probably would have done harm.

Wolcott left the politician and came back to make his shot. Then he rejoined him and said, "What does the fellow want?" "Well, I think we can buy him off for \$1000," hesitatingly answered the politician. "You go back and tell him," replied Mr. Wolcott, "that I know so many worse things about myself



that I would not pay a cent to suppress what he has." And that was the last we ever heard about it.

#### THE GAME

As has been said, Mr. Wolcott had an innate love of speculation, and when engaged in any game of chance, he played it to the limit. A friend relates an instance of his early tendency in this direction. While engaged in the practice of the law in Georgetown, Wolcott frequently visited Denver. In those days his income was very limited, but this fact did not prevent his chancing all that he had when the impulse came upon him. At the time mentioned, he was on a brief visit to Denver, and he made a call at one of the well-known gaming-houses, of which at that time there were many in Denver. The dealer was a personal acquaintance and a strong admirer of the young lawyer. Ed soon lost all of the little stock of ready money that he carried, but when this was gone he importuned the dealer to let him have twenty dollars worth of chips on the watch he carried. At first the dealer refused to take the watch, saying that he could have the chips without any security. Mr. Wolcott declined these terms, and pleaded so persistently that ultimately the chips were handed to him and the watch accepted as collateral for the loan. The play proceeded furiously for a brief time, and, of course, terminated in the loss of the \$20. With this result, Mr. Wolcott disappeared from the establishment. Within half an hour, however, he broke into the room, rushed up to the dealer and asked to be allowed to take the watch. By way of explanation, he said, "It's Hen's," meaning that it was his brother Henry's. In his zeal he had pledged even his brother's watch, but the cool air outside the gambling-room had soon brought him to his senses. He then returned and, leaving his own word as security, carried the brother's watch away with him.

But we must go still farther back in tracing Mr. Wolcott's fondness for games of chance.

The first of his exploits as a plunger took place when he was a Freshman in Yale. There was an intercollegiate boat-race which was rowed on Lake Quinsigamond, a small

body of water near Worcester, Massachusetts. Eight or ten colleges, among them Yale, had crews entered. Two or three had exceptionally good crews, but Yale's was considered a wretched one and no one believed that it had any possible chance of winning. Ed became stakeholder for several students of other colleges who were betting on their respective teams. The boys from the other colleges taunted Ed a good deal about the Yale crew. When he could endure it no longer, he finally put up at proper odds on the Yale force, in addition to the few dollars he had of his own, the big sum which he was holding as a stake for others. Yale won, and Ed had so much money that he went to New York to spend it.

On his first visit to New York after he had become a citizen of Colorado, Mr. Wolcott made a visit to Wall Street and immediately became infatuated with that great centre of speculation. He said to a friend soon after his introduction there:

This is the place for me. I like the game. In ordinary gambling you take chances on losing your standing in society. Some of your best friends show an inclination to "cut" you after a night at poker; but here—why, here, here on Wall Street, a man can gamble to his heart's content and still be respectable. But it's gambling all the same. Wall Street for me hereafter.

He never lost his interest in the Street. He was at times a large dealer in stocks, and while not always successful, he dealt with such a knowledge of conditions that generally he kept "ahead of the game." He came later to regard Wall Street as more than a gambling centre, and he frequently defended its operators as among the most worthy specimens of American citizenship.

But whether in Wall Street, on the race track, or in the card-room, he played zealously. The excitement of the game appealed to his temperament. He loved to take the chances, and he did take them in everything. When anything became a certainty, it seemed to lose much of its charm for him. He always played to win, but never was there a more cheerful loser. He accepted adverse results as among the fortunes of war, and made no long faces over them.

Mr. J. H. P. Voorhies, of Denver, relates an experience with Mr. Wolcott at Long Branch. In addition to throwing much light on Mr. Wolcott's chance-taking propensities, the narrative supplies a fine glimpse of the Wolcott view of things in general. This is Mr. Voorhies's story:

In the summer of '88, Wolcott and I went to the Monmouth Park races for the opening day, stopping at the Elberon Hotel. The evening before, with E. A. Buck, then editor of *The Spirit of the Times*, we arranged a card to bet on the next day's races. Buck had considerable knowledge of past performances, and I, of a little of blood lines, pedigrees, and Kentucky owners and trainers. As it happened, of the seven events we guessed the first five winners, and had a "show" on the others. Ed was always a plunger on every game or sport,—that's what he loved. Buck's betting and mine was very modest in comparison, but the day was a great harvest. Ed and I drove out in an open victoria. The day was beautiful, the rig fine, the driver skilful and polite, and the way crowded with thousands.

From the moment the "books" were ready he was busy, and by the time the third race had been won, with the multiplied capital on hand, Ed had several "bookies" well-nigh exclusively working in taking and placing his bets. Each time, however, the gong would sound—"horses at the post"—the books would close, with Buck and I rushing for the stand or clubhouse porch to see the race, and leaving Ed behind in the betting ring. He would say to me: "Go ahead; I don't like that mad throng; I will stay here and see what is doing on the *next* race."

When the day was over and he and I, again in our victoria (the driver also a winner on our tips), slowly returning, I became enthused over our winning, the marvellous performance of the horses and the jockeys we had chosen, the wonderful scene of crowd and landscape. Indeed, everything was glorious to me, and I said so to Ed several times. As we neared the hotel, he said: "Jack, there was only one thing which marred my day's pleasure, and that was those d——d horse-races, when you and Buck left me alone."

Following Mr. Wolcott's successful attendance upon the Monmouth races, he made a visit to Daly's gambling establishment at Long Branch, where he lost his track earnings and a large sum in addition. His course on this occasion was characteristic. Putting in his hat the entire amount

of his winnings on the races, he insisted upon betting the lump sum on "the high." When remonstrated with by his friends, he declared that he did not want to keep the money, because it was "dirty."

The incident found its way into the newspapers, and gave Mr. Wolcott a reputation from which he did not soon recover. Many good people obtained an entirely wrong impression of him. He did not play any game for the love of money, but played all games for the love of sport. But, money getting aside, no one could be more daring than he. He would bet on anything on which there could be a difference of opinion. At Monte Carlo, only the day before he went to bed for the last time, he won over \$30,000 at a sitting. On this occasion he played with utter abandon, but everything ran his way. So remarkable was his success that most other players suspended operations on their own account to observe and assist in his game. Everybody wanted to help him in some way, lords and ladies being among those who were willing to fetch and carry for him. The day before, he had lost heavily, and after he left the gaming-hall, he said: "I wanted to show them that they could not win all the time; I am more than even now, and I won't go there any more."

Speaking of his proclivities for gaming, Mr. Stealey says: "Mr. Wolcott was a dead-game sport, and would stack up the blue chips on a poker lay-out as high as the ceiling, if the dealer would permit."

Once Mr. Wolcott visited Jackson City, which in his time was a gambling resort in Virginia, across the Potomac from Washington. The place figured much in the newspapers of the day, and he wanted to see for himself what it was. Being on the ground, he must play, and he had been so engaged for only a short time when he found that he was operating against a "brace" game—a game in which the dealer stacked the cards to his own satisfaction. After he had lost a considerable sum, Wolcott pulled the last note out of his pocket, and, throwing it on the table before the dealer, said: "What's the use of working so hard? I understand your system, but not so well as you do. I know you'll win the money in the end; but I hate to see you



labor. I therefore turn the money over without requiring you to go through the rigorous rôle of dealing so often." With the speech, he left the place, disdaining to pick up the note. Afterward he said he thought the house "needed the money."

He despised ordinary card "sharps" as few other men could. Illustrative of this disdain is the circumstance of his compelling one of them to desist from his operations during an entire voyage across the Atlantic. The fellow was a Denver gambler who had been run out of the Colorado metropolis on account of dishonest practices. Wolcott found him aboard a ship on which he was crossing to England. When discovered, the "sport" was engaged in a game with a party of respectable men. At the first opportunity Mr. Wolcott called him aside.

"How much have you won?" he asked.

The gambler admitted having pocketed \$3000.

"You'll contribute that amount to the Seaman's Fund and refrain from playing all the way across," said the Colorado Senator.

He knew so much of the man's record that the fellow could not refuse to obey. The Seaman's Fund received an unexpectedly large contribution the next morning, and doubtless many of the passengers were protected from a humiliating fleeing.

#### PRACTICAL JOKES

Not only was our subject given to verbal jest, but also to "practical jokes," in which action as well as speech was required. The miners of Georgetown tell many yarns of his funny performances.

Once he noticed a wagon-load of cordwood climbing the steepest hill of the little camp. He jumped up behind the pile, which hid him from the driver, and rolled off log by log until the cart was nearly empty. Those were days when men were shot for less offences. But the owner was pacified by double the price of his load,—and it was just like Wolcott, in his generous impulse, to leave the cords for the use of the poor of the wayside.



When Wolcott went to Yale he was made the subject of a hazing experience which was not to his liking. He immediately set out to get "even." He organized the Freshmen, and a few nights afterward the hazers found their leader securely chained to a tombstone in a far-away cemetery—the result of Wolcott's planning. Ever afterward he was a defender of the practice of hazing. He had found it a game that both parties could play at—fine sport.

"Laughing gas" was a new discovery in Mr. Wolcott's high-school days, and members of his chemistry class decided upon a demonstration of its properties before the school. Edward was chosen as the first one to experiment on; but he did not feel any effect from his supposed inhalation. However, he had no thought of disappointing his schoolmates, and he gave them a fine demonstration of what the gas should, if it did not, do. The incident occurred in the days of his minstrel enthusiasm, and he gave a "walk around" after the most approved fashion, accompanied by a song and ending with a dance, to the edification of the entire school. Temporarily the study of chemistry in Mr. Wolcott's room was much stimulated by the experiment, and the joke was not discovered until another "subject" was experimented upon. He failed to get results, and investigation developed the fact that all the gas had leaked out before the experiments began.

In a letter to his father of March, 1871, he tells the following relative to an experience with the gentleman at whose house he was staying:

I do not see the *Congregationalist*. It is a Republican sheet, and that damns it in ——'s sight. He is a tremendously bigoted old gentleman. The strongest kind of a Democrat—thinks slavery was a divine institution, and swallows the Bible bodily. I have had him tremendously worked up lately by suggesting that the passage in Job should read "for though after my skinworms destroy this body," etc., and giving him learned and valuable descriptions of the skinworm. He has been consulting innumerable Concordances, Notes, etc., to prove me in the wrong.

One phase of the man's disposition is illustrated by the following incident:

General Hamill took Mr. Wolcott riding one day in Denver, when both were comparatively young men. From Hamill's manner Wolcott conceived the idea that his friend was timid and said to him:

"Why, Bill, I think you are afraid of those horses."

"I am not afraid," replied Hamill.

"Well, we'll see whether you are or not." With these words Wolcott seized the lines, and throwing them on the backs of the horses laid on the whip.

The horses ran away and the two occupants of the carriage were thrown to the earth, but Wolcott seemed to think it a great joke when he proved that Hamill was not exactly afraid of the horses.

Once when Mr. Wolcott was dining with some friends at Delmonico's in New York, a Colorado man, who was noted at home for his vanity, entered the dining-hall and took a seat without observing the Wolcott party.

"Watch me have some fun," he said to his companions.

Sending for the manager, he pointed out the Coloradoan, and, taking him into his confidence, told him that he wanted to pay the visitor's bill.

When the gentleman had completed his meal and volunteered to make settlement, the manager intervened. "There is no charge, Colonel," he said. "Your reputation has preceded you, and the house feels so flattered at having you dine here that it desires you to accept its hospitality."

The deception was not suspected, and the air assumed by the visitor as he left the hall was fully enjoyed by the Senator and his friends. "It was worth the price," Wolcott said afterward.

As has been told, Mr. Wolcott was a sleep-walker. The habit came near getting him into trouble once when crossing the Atlantic; but his readiness of thought and quickness of speech saved him. It appears that after getting out of his berth and possibly trying in vain to find the door or to determine where he was, he shouted excitedly, "Where? Where?" To the ship's crew the cry sounded like "Fire! Fire!" and soon the fire department of the vessel was thundering so vigorously at his door that he became wide-awake. He took in the situation immediately, but he did

not want to attract disagreeable attention to himself by making an explanation. To be sure he had heard the sound; but he was certain it had come from the steerage. So he told the firemen, and they left him undisturbed while they proceeded in their unavailing search for the "fire."

While very quick in some matters, Senator Wolcott was slow in others. He did not always give attention to details. Once when, during the Harrison Administration, he found it desirable to obtain an official position for a retainer in Colorado, he sought the advice of Senator Teller, who then, like Mr. Wolcott, was acting with the Republican party. One of Wolcott's clerks entered his office while he and Teller were in close conference on the subject. They had the Blue Book open before them. This is an official publication giving the names of Government employees together with their salaries, and evidently they were scanning it in the hope of discovering a place to their liking. At last they raised their heads, but seemed to have obtained very little information as the result of their research. As Mr. Wolcott looked up he saw the clerk and asked him, "Do you know of some place we can get for this man?" explaining the circumstances which made it necessary to give him a position. After some conversation the employee reminded him that Congress had only recently passed what was known as the "Meat Inspection Bill," which provided for the appointment of several hundred inspectors at good salaries.

"When did that bill pass?" asked the junior Senator from Colorado.

"Oh," replied the secretary, "within the last two or three weeks, and both of you voted for it."

They then recalled the measure and each laughed heartily at the expense of the other as they walked off arm in arm, bent upon a visit to the Secretary of Agriculture in the hope of obtaining from him the coveted appointment, in which it may be stated, for the satisfaction of the curious, they were successful.

Generally preoccupied, Mr. Wolcott did not always recognize acquaintances on the street. This trait of character made many enemies, and it made some that were not de-

served. Remonstrated with frequently by his brother Henry for the failing, he would just as often promise to reform, and he made the effort every time. In one such attempt he made himself the subject of general jest on the part of the Denver Club. Meeting on the street one day a familiar figure, he recalled his promise to Henry and hailed the man with a hearty greeting that must have surprised him. The man was going in the direction of the Club building, and as the Club was Mr. Wolcott's destination he joined him and walked with him up to and into the building. When he separated from his companion he was told by his amused intimates that his new friend was the Club barber! The incident had in it no feature of annoyance for Mr. Wolcott, but the joke is still told with zest over the Club tables.

One of a number of artists whom Mr. Wolcott was entertaining at dinner toward the close of his Senatorial service engaged the Senator in serious conversation, naively asking him in the course of the interview whether he was a Republican or a Democrat. The inquiry greatly amused the host, and he often quoted it to illustrate a favorite contention that comparatively few people give heed to public affairs or care much about public men.

The fact of Ed's frequent confinement in the guard-house, while as a sixteen-year-old boy he served in the Army during the Civil War, has been detailed elsewhere. There is a good story going with one of these incarcerations. He was very fond of a spirited horse, and his captain was the owner of an animal which appealed to Ed's taste. One day he prevailed upon the hostler to let him ride the horse for a canter down the road. The road led to Washington, some five miles distant, and, well mounted as he was, young Wolcott decided to pay his first visit to the Capital of his country. He did so, and in style. Unfortunately, however, he met the owner of the horse face to face on Pennsylvania Avenue. Result: A dreary trudge back to Fort Saratoga, and an unusual term in the lock-up.

#### JESTING WITH THE FAMILY

That Mr. Wolcott did not spare his family in the per-



petration of his jokes is the best possible evidence that he really loved fun for fun's sake and that he did not employ his wit merely for the sake of being disagreeable.

Mr. Wolcott's father was the object of many of his sallies. He never tired of getting off jokes at the expense of his elder, and many of his best thrusts were made at him. That this tendency was due to a lack neither of affection nor respect, his many utterances and acts to the contrary demonstrate. The explanation comes along more agreeable channels. It is found primarily in the fact that the younger Wolcott enjoyed badinage more than most men do, and, like all men capable of saying a good thing, he did not like to speak without eliciting a response. The father was as capable in this line as the son; he gave as good as was sent; he was a foeman worthy of Edward's steel. Moreover, he was quick to appreciate an exhibition of intellect even at his own expense. Edward had full knowledge of all these facts. The witticisms directed at the father bear internal evidence of their inoffensiveness, and are fine examples of their author's capacity to say a bright thing without being bitter.

Already we have told of his suggestion that the father as a hymn-writer and a gentleman who was a composer should get together, with the result, as he put it, that in such event "they could make a great deal of money, *and on very little capital!*"

While a student he wrote his father on one occasion that being somewhat out of sorts he had been drinking "vichy" with beneficial result. His father replied that he could not recall any beverage by that name as being necessary when he himself was seeking his education, and he hoped it was not an intoxicant. His father, who was author of many church hymns, liked to submit them for his son's criticism, and in the same letter he enclosed his latest production. The reply he sent his father was short and characteristic. "Don't be alarmed," he wrote. "Vichy is wide from being an intoxicant—as wide as the lines you sent are from being worthy of publication."

And here, in a letter dated March 5, 1881, is an example of his forcible manner of calling his father's attention to the fact that he was growing negligent in letter-writing:



"I was very glad to get your letter, and to ascertain definitely that there was nothing wrong with your right arm. I had begun to be somewhat anxious as I had n't seen a line from you since last December."

We have heard of the piety and of the necessarily modest habits of life of Mr. Wolcott's father and mother, and we know that he came of a long line of Puritan ancestry on both sides. Hence, the point of the following: At a time when Wolcott was suffering from a severe attack of gout, one of his friends called upon him and was sympathizing with him. "It seems strange to me," said the Senator, "why I should be afflicted as I am. I have done everything I could think of to relieve the pain; my life has n't been such that I am entitled to suffer so; I have thought it all over, and the only conclusion that I can come to is that it must be hereditary."

While probably he would not agree that Mr. Wolcott's ills were due to any hereditary taint, Hon. Charles Page Bryan comes near finding a kindred explanation for his penchant for mischief. "I have," he says, "often thought that the exuberance of clergymen's sons is largely due to the pent-up animalism of a self-denying life finding vent in the children who possess, with virtues of the mind, excessive weakness of the flesh."

It was at about the Hudson school attendance period that one evening at a church sociable the elder Wolcott strolled into a room where several persons were standing and where his third son was leaning against the mantelpiece in what struck his father as a lounging attitude.

"Edward," said he, "could you not find anything else in the room to support you?"

The reply came at once, "Not in your absence, father."

Dr. Wolcott visited Cambridge while Ed was there and stayed at the son's boarding-place. Ed behaved himself circumspectly and kept regular hours for several days. But finally something detained him one night, and he did not reach the house until ever-so-much o'clock. He let himself in quietly, and was trying to creep noiselessly to his room, when, as he was passing his father's door, he heard the striking of a match, and he was called in. After his wont,

he made a frank avowal of the circumstances that had detained him, and then his father spoke. He also had the floor-walking habit, and he moved back and forward as he reviewed the various opportunities that his son had failed to improve, and deplored the present revelation of his way of life. Ed sat in silence until the complaint had been fully poured out, but in the pause that followed it seemed incumbent on him to make response.

"Father," said he, "can you tell what is the difference between the Prodigal Son and myself?"

"No," said the elder man, in nervous vexation; "I don't believe there is any difference."

"I will tell you," said Ed. "The Prodigal rose and went to his father; *my father rose and went for me.*"

"Edward," said Dr. Wolcott, "go to bed."

In 1868, when only twenty years old, we find him writing to his sire from his place of business in New York: "It is n't quite three weeks since I have heard from home, but it is pretty near it. I conclude you are locating Lot's wife or some other mythological landmark, and are too busy to write."

Writing to his mother in 1875 he said:

Father used to like to tell me how he had never given his father a moment's anxiety, and what a splendid feeling it was; I now appreciate it, and realize it in my parents. Father is travelling from Birmingham to Cow Corners, but I never retire at night without the happy consciousness that he is doing his duty, although, as an M. C. said the other day, it is a bad year for ministers.

Again, three years later, from school at Cambridge to his father:

"Your sermon in the *Christian Advance* was not one of your best. But I can give it the recommendation that fathers can introduce it into the bosom of their families without fear."

Writing to his mother in 1872, of his lack of funds, his extravagant habits, etc., he tells her of his friend Potter, who assisted him in getting started in Georgetown. "He has," says Ed, "attended father's preaching, which evidently

accounts for his good heart, etc.” In this letter he speaks of his birthday, 26th of March, and draws conclusions from the fact that it came so near the 1st of April, April Fools’ day. “I never thought of it before,” he says, “but it certainly is not my fault.”

That his disposition did not change with age and honors is evident from the following:

In 1881, after his term as a State Senator had expired, he received a letter from his father enclosing an obituary. The father had written of a neighbor who in life had not been highly esteemed. “By the way, as an Irishman would say,” wrote Ed in acknowledgment of the letter, “we never know how many good qualities we possess until after we are dead—do we?”

That he took the same liberty with other ministers that he did with his father is evidenced by the following from a letter to the father dated June 13, 1875:

“Those Presbyterian ministers came out, some forty of them, to Georgetown. I did n’t have the pleasure of meeting any of them, but they said here in town that when the yellow-legged chickens saw them coming they commenced climbing the mountains.”

When at school Ed’s allowance was quite inadequate to meet his wants. He would earn extra money if he could find a way to do so, and he would borrow—if he could find a way to do so. Once when his brother Henry called upon him while he was pursuing his studies, he “struck” that gentleman, not better supplied, but more economical, for a loan of ten dollars. At first declaring that he could not spare so much from his funds, Henry at last yielded on the promise that the money would be refunded through a letter when Ed should receive his next allowance at the end of the month. With the new month came the promised letter from Ed. “Dear Henry,” it ran, “find enclosed ten dollars—if you can.”

For reasons of his own, Mr. Wolcott was not an enthusiastic supporter of Mr. Blaine when he made his campaign for the Presidency in 1884, but he gave him his vote. He wrote his pious mother about his attitude, and referring to Mr. Cleveland’s election, without expressing regret, added:

"Fortunately partisanship did not warp our judgment sufficiently to prevent Henry and me from betting a little on the winning side. This is wicked, Mother, but after all it's a sort of balm."

These two extracts from letters are at the mother's expense:

From "Cambridge, 1871":

I mean sometime to read some commentary writings, after reading the writings themselves, for since once in Providence mother and I started to read the Bible through in a year, and got as far as Leviticus, I have sadly neglected the Scriptures; I hope mother has n't.

From Georgetown, 1872, referring to one of his sisters who was then visiting Colorado:

One thing more would make her about perfect, and that is a little spice of the D—v—l. But I don't mean to reproach you, Mother, for her early education, for that is not responsible for it, and inheriting your disposition, as she does, how could it appear in her?

Mr. Wolcott has himself told us how his Grandfather Pope helped him out of pecuniary difficulties on more than one occasion, but he did not always do so when importuned. Following is one of Ed's hints to him through a letter to his father from Blackhawk, in 1872:

"I may have to ask you for funds as you offered in your letter, but I hope I won't have to. I feel as if I could scrape through somehow. I know it is vain, but I can't help hoping that Grandfather will do as Jesus told Zacchæus to do when he (Z.) was 'up a tree,' *i. e.*, 'Come down.'"

That Mr. Wolcott was the life of the household when he was a boy there is little doubt, in view of the testimony of his brothers and sisters on this point. He generally was in a romp with some member of the family, and was a great tease. On one occasion, his father wrote to an absent member of the family: "It seems like Sunday; Ed is gone."

Mr. Carroll tells us that Ed and his friend Ed Selden once drove thirty miles to the Connecticut River to watch

the fishermen haul for shad. "I well remember a trip with him, six miles to a pond in the country, to bob through the ice for pickerel," says Mr. Carroll. "It was a severely cold day, the ice thick and holes difficult to make. Axes proving too slow, from the neighboring farmers two crowbars were secured, and both lost through the ice, that we had to settle roundly for. Not a fish was caught, but he inserted so much fun into every bitter experience that it was a day of rare enjoyment."



## AS ORATOR, LAWYER, AND LEGISLATOR

BEGINNING with his career in the Colorado State Senate, Mr. Wolcott's reputation as an orator soon travelled beyond the bounds of the State. His first call to outside effort came from the New England Society of New York, in 1887, and the address then delivered gave him immediate rank as one of the great orators of the country. It is published in the volume of *Modern Eloquence* which is devoted to "after-dinner" speeches, and together with the address delivered before the same Society ten years later, constitutes a splendid addition to English literature as expressed in American oratory. After the New England Society speech came many invitations to attend dinners, and to make political speeches; but comparatively few of them were accepted. The reputation as a national orator made at New York was enhanced by his Yale Alumni speech, by his speech nominating James G. Blaine for the Presidency in 1892, by his speech at Philadelphia in commemoration of Mr. Blaine's virtues after his death, and by campaign speeches in New York, Iowa, and other States.

Of all his speeches the most noteworthy was his address as Temporary Chairman of the Republican National Convention in 1900. He labored over this speech for weeks, and the result was an address that won general commendation not only because of its diction, but on account of its subject-matter. This may fittingly be given the first place in all of the Colorado orator's forensic efforts, and it is safe to say that it long will hold front rank as a keynote convention effort. His Venezuela speech in the Senate is an honorable second, and his Denver speech of 1896 does not trail far behind the other two, if at all.

The Colorado campaign speeches are full of "local color," but interspersed with matter of this character is much of high patriotism and many gems of eloquence that will long attract favorable remark from those who read the collection. Beginning with the first of the speeches, that of 1880, and running to the last, the notable address at the Coliseum Hall in Denver, in 1904, almost a quarter of a century afterward, the collection is interesting throughout. The contest of 1896 was the most trying of all his campaigns, and the three speeches made in Colorado that year are among the most unique in modern political history. For variety of expression; for the blending of sarcasm and persuasion; for fairmindedness and high ideals, as also for pugnacity and banter, the Denver speech of that year has few equals among campaign efforts. He had on his fighting clothes in those days, and his most effective speeches were always made when the enemy was in the field and when the odds were against him.

With but few exceptions, his speeches in the Senate were the most carefully prepared of his oratorical efforts, and many of them are models of expression. He thought more of his speech on the Monroe Doctrine as involved in the Venezuela boundary dispute than any other, but his preference probably was based on the circumstance that, with sentiment running strongly against his pro-English utterance, the delivery of the speech required a higher degree of moral courage than most of his addresses. For the same reason, his speech in opposition to the Force Bill commended itself to him. But those two speeches contained other excellences than daring. He knew that he was right, and to dare for the right was an enjoyment to him. The fact that he was making a righteous fight in both cases called out the best of all qualities in the man, and they are fine specimens of all-around oratory. All of Mr. Wolcott's speeches in defence of the Spanish War, as well as those on the subject of silver coinage, are worth reading as the most succinct and the clearest presentation of the reasons which actuated him in taking sides on these two important subjects. Probably he gave more care to the preparation of his review of the operations of the work of the International Bimetallic

Commission of 1897, of which he was Chairman, than to any other speech made by him in the Senate, and it was everywhere pronounced a wonderfully lucid explanation of the Commission's work and of the reasons which brought it into existence. Indeed, he proved equal to all the oratorical tests of the Senate, and well sustained there the splendid reputation he had made before entering that body.

Mr. Wolcott's first speech in the Senate, made after he had been a member for only a little more than a year, was in defence of the cause of silver, but it also had in view the exposure of the attitude of the Harrison Administration, and this was so skilfully and effectively accomplished that the Colorado Senator immediately was given front rank not only as a Senatorial orator but as a man who was to be reckoned with in shaping national affairs.

#### STRUGGLES AGAINST ODDS

Probably to Mr. Wolcott's admirers the most surprising revelation of this memoir will be the fact that he was not an orator in his early professional life. He spoke so readily, so fluently, and so forcibly, and with so much apparent self-confidence, that it is difficult to believe that he ever had any difficulty in facing an audience or expressing his views—that, indeed, there ever was a time when he was not an orator. But we already have seen that he was very backward in speaking, and we shall discover that his trouble was more pronounced than yet has been stated. And, while the timidity was largely overcome, there were times in the heyday of his career that it would assert itself. A Washington newspaper man relates that on the day in 1898 when Senator Allen of Nebraska made his attack in the Senate on the Bimetallic Commission, he found Senator Wolcott walking up and down one of the corridors of the Senate wing of the Capitol confessedly much perturbed and greatly embarrassed over the necessity of replying.

Nor was the trouble confined to the delivery of his speeches. He distrusted himself also in the preparation of the substance matter, especially in the earlier days of his career. Declaring himself deficient in information and ideas, we

find him appealing to his father for assistance even after he was well started upon his public life. This distrust was not due to the neglect of early training, but existed despite it. Indeed, there would appear to have been a sufficiency of confidence when at school and when preparing for his career as a lawyer. But be this as it may, the early days of practice in Colorado were characterized by a timidity which came near terminating his career almost before it was begun.

Fortunately we have abundant testimony from men still living regarding Mr. Wolcott's first oratorical efforts, and in view of the fact that his great reputation was based upon his success as a speaker it has been thought well to present the facts fully. Senator Teller has told us of Mr. Wolcott's lack of confidence in himself in his first appearance in a civil suit, and Hon. Clinton Reed, of his difficulties in the first criminal case he conducted as Prosecuting Attorney. While he won the civil suit, it was in the criminal proceeding that he lifted himself into fame. In addition to the statement of Mr. Reed, we have the testimony of two eminent witnesses relating to this event, which occurred in Boulder, the county seat of Boulder County, which was one of the six counties constituting the First Colorado Judicial District, in which he was public prosecutor from 1877 to 1879. One of these witnesses is Hon. Charles S. Thomas, former Governor of Colorado, and the other Mr. R. S. Morrison of Denver, a personal friend and a former resident of Georgetown, where Mr. Wolcott resided. Of him at this time Mr. Morrison says:

Employed in important cases he shirked no labor imposed upon him except the defence or attack by oral delivery, placing the burden of this entirely upon his associates and thus necessarily relegating himself to the less conspicuous portion of a lawyer's varied duties and neglecting the one item which more than all others combined advertises the talent of the attorney and brings him success, remuneration, and fame.

Mr. Thomas bases his statement on Mr. Wolcott's own impartations to him. In a paper prepared for this work, he tells of his first acquaintance with Mr. Wolcott while



the latter was practising law at Georgetown. "The estimate then entertained of Mr. Wolcott by the bar was somewhat unusual," he says, and then proceeds:

His abilities, although actual and evident, seemed to be entirely neutralized and rendered worthless by a reluctance to appear in court, which seemed to be the outgrowth of an almost unmanly lack of confidence in himself. He could not summon to his aid sufficient resolution to stand upon his feet in the court-room and address either court or jury. So patent was this condition that Wolcott almost became an object of contempt among his associates, who could not reconcile his strong and dominating personality in the ordinary affairs of life with such apparent pusillanimity in connection with the most useful and vigorous relations of the profession to the world at large. This peculiarity, I think, seriously affected Mr. Wolcott's standing at the bar, and unquestionably interfered with the attainment of that success which afterward became so great.

There were two men, however, who had the most abundant faith in Mr. Wolcott's capacity as an attorney, and who determined that he should not fail if they could prevent. One was his elder brother, the Hon. Henry R. Wolcott, then of Gilpin County, whose fraternal affection was at all times steadfast and unwavering, and whose devotion to his brother in my judgment proved the one great and enduring foundation for all that Edward O. Wolcott afterward accomplished. The other was the late Senator Nathaniel P. Hill, then of Blackhawk, a firm friend of the Wolcott family, and a great admirer of both the brothers.

These two gentlemen procured from the Republican District Convention in 1876 the nomination of Edward O. Wolcott for the office of District Attorney, to which he was elected in October of that year. He immediately qualified and began his discharge of the duties of that office. In order to compel Mr. Wolcott to appear in court and conduct prosecutions in person, Messrs. Hill and H. R. Wolcott quietly secured a promise from all the attorneys of the district that each and all of them would refuse to act for or in place of the District Attorney. He was therefore compelled by stress of these conditions either to meet and pass the ordeal or to resign his position and thereby confess himself a failure. The latter alternative he was not only too high spirited to consider for a moment, but the moral support of his brother and Mr. Hill made it absolutely impossible.

His first term of court as District Attorney was at Boulder,



and his first case an indictment for some unimportant offence, the nature of which I do not now recall. He tried the case, addressed the jury, and obtained a conviction. Several times in after years, in conversations with myself, he referred to this case as the turning point in his life, and I do not for a moment doubt that this was so. He said that when he arose to begin his speech the room swam before him, everything was virtually blotted from his vision, and he saw neither the jury nor the partitions forming the enclosure of the court-room; what he said, if he said anything, he did not know; he only remembered his statement in closing that, if the jury believed the witnesses for the prosecution, they must convict the defendant. He took his seat and was recalled to the consciousness of practical affairs by the warm congratulations of some of the attorneys, one of whom was the late Hon. Willard Teller. After the case ended, the court took a recess, whereupon Judge Beck left the bench, and, taking him by the hand, spoke a few simple but fitting words of approbation.

His next case was, of course, a little easier, and when the term ended he had permanently overcome his great professional deficiency. Those who in after years were permitted to listen to his public speeches will find it difficult to believe that during his first five or six years at the bar he was unable to summon sufficient courage to argue the simplest motion in the simplest controversies. Indeed, he once expressed astonishment that he ever should have labored under such a difficulty in view of its total absence after that term of the Boulder County District Court.

Apparently Mr. Thomas labored under the impression that there had been no preparation for the speech, as he tells us that its author informed him afterward that when he ceased speaking he did not know what he had said. But, while after a lapse of years it probably was Mr. Wolcott's impression that he had been unable to recall his words, we have his own testimony to the contrary, showing that soon after its delivery he could have repeated at least a portion of the speech. This testimony is found in a letter to Mr. Wolcott's father, of date September 1, 1877. It is evident from the text that he had made request for suggestions in framing the speech. Here is an extract from the letter:

I had a crowded court-room to hear me, and many pleasant

things said to me afterward. A speech or any part of it never sounds as well on paper as when spoken. I was able to use some of the thoughts you gave me. If it were not too long I would like to repeat from memory a part of the close.

Probably the speech had not been written, but evidently it had been carefully thought out. Indeed, it was characteristic of Wolcott to have prepared himself for the ordeal which he knew must come. He never spoke without preparation if he could avoid so doing.

Of the same event, Mr. Morrison says:

The case of *The People vs. Thomas Kerwin* was called. The jury were sworn and the opening statement made. The examination and cross-examination of the witnesses brought out his powers of analysis and the overcrowded court-room began to appreciate the fact that there had been no mistake in the selection of a lawyer without trial experience to present the pleas of the people. But when the concluding speech for the prosecution at last brought to the surface the latent capacity of Mr. Wolcott to move the heart and control the judgment of his hearers, making him, notwithstanding he was only in his first case, the greatest orator at the bar of this young State, the surprise, astonishment, and enthusiasm produced a scene of applause and victory which that court-house had never seen before.

The only instance in history conspicuously like it in all its circumstances is that of Patrick Henry when he tried his first case and made his first speech before the Board of Burgesses.

Speaking of the immediate as well as of the after effects of the speech, Mr. Morrison tells us that "the greater part of the strength of Mr. Wolcott lay in those elements which cannot be reproduced upon paper." But he also tells us, in continuation of the narrative, that

the influence upon the crowd that heard it was so great that carrying, as they did, their report to their homes and neighbors, repeating, as is the instinct of human nature to do, the impressions made upon them to their fellows as they met them, the news of the wonderful effect of this speech within a day was carried to every part of the county, speedily spread throughout the State, and within the compass of a narrow lifetime, the name of Edward O. Wolcott became familiar in every part of the Union

as that of one of the few men who pass the bounds that distinguish the orator from the speaker, and his fame became so broad as even to cause him to be mentioned as a possible candidate for the highest office within the gift of the American people.

The civil case told of by Senator Teller is that of Edward Eddy *vs.* The Western Union Telegraph Company, and antedates the Kerwin prosecution. Mr. Wolcott was not required to speak on this occasion. Referring to the incident, Mr. Teller said:

While I was attending court at Georgetown on one occasion in the territorial days, Wolcott came to me and said he had a case for trial the next day. He added that it was his first suit, and saying that he felt a little insecure, asked me if I would not sit beside him during the trial. I said I would with pleasure, and did so. He got a verdict for all he sued for, about \$150, I think, and while the amount was small, I doubt whether he ever afterward obtained a verdict that gave him as much pleasure as did that one.

The record of another very interesting civil case of those early days in the First District, the conduct of which serves to throw light upon the character of our young lawyer and rising orator, has been supplied by Mr. Morrison. This was the civil suit of Stoll *vs.* Lee, involving title to the Lone Tree or Argentine mine. The trial took place in Georgetown. Says Mr. Morrison:

The plaintiff kept a saloon with all the appurtenances—dance-hall and singing girls; roulette, faro, and poker. Chips then were current coin of the realm. Gorgeously lighted, Stoll's place had more attractions than any resort of the kind in the mountains. It was the place of congregation for all sorts of sporting men, where they fattened on the miners, who went in with pockets full and came out with pockets empty.

Jerry Lee, the defendant, who was Mr. Wolcott's client, was a negro of marked force of character. Born a slave, he had purchased with his earnings his own and his wife's freedom, after which they came as pioneers to Central City, and strange as it may seem, Lee was almost the first man to project and build a smelter for the reduction of ores, which was located at

the base of the mountain where his Argentine lode lay. Of course, he was a hero among the people of his own color, and he was known and respected by every citizen in the community.

The case involved the construction of mining patents and apex rights and the law was against Lee. His surveyors, Franklin R. Carpenter, afterward a scientific man of international reputation, and E. Le Neve Foster, who became State Geologist, informed Wolcott that they could see no line of development favorable to Lee. Wolcott said: "I am not going to the jury on the law or the facts, but on the theory that no man with a record like Jerry Lee's ought to lose what he honestly thinks is his." I recollect his speech to that jury. He had the groundwork on which to paint the shades and colors of the artist. He pictured Lee as a slave toiling on the plantation under the overlook and lash of the driver, and told of his conception of the thought of freedom, of his bargain for the purchase of his own and his wife's liberty by his own labor, and of his migration to regions thousands of miles removed from his birthplace, to a country, new, savage, and unknown, where, in spite of the odds in favor of a dominant race, he became the acknowledged leader of his own people.

Against this picture Wolcott drew the contrasting scene: the leadership in vice of a man who held out to the young, to the inexperienced, to the hard-working laboring class, all the temptations which allure to the taste of evil pleasures in the bowl, the dance, the dice, the card-table, and the smiles of painted women.

The jury found for the negro.

Letters to and from his father reveal the fact that he not only gave thoughtful attention to the preparation of each individual address, but that the general subject of speech preparation and speech delivery was much in his mind. We have seen that from the beginning of his career his father and his grandfather regarded him as different from the ordinary person, and he early was destined for the profession of the law. Not only was he to be a lawyer, but in the father's dreams for him he was to attain to eminence. Generally young Wolcott either fell in with this thought or suffered it to be entertained without protest. But not so always. He had not concluded his first State campaign in 1880 when he became tired of the fuss and fury of the life



of the stump speaker, and we find him writing to his father and protesting against being regarded as "a Man of Destiny." "It involves too much of sham and pretence," he said. He appeared at that time to think that he had reached the zenith of his career, when, poor fellow, he was only at its threshold!

#### FIRST LISPINGS

Great as was Mr. Wolcott's fame as a lawyer and brilliant as was his career, both were of most modest beginning. Timid as he was at Georgetown and Boulder, he was not entirely without experience as a public speaker. He had been the talker for a picture show! But no! The beginning antedated that experience. It came when a youth of probably not more than eighteen years of age and while he was a student at the Norwich Academy. Then his speech was written—evidently a carefully prepared argument. At least one must so judge from the only account of it that has come down to us. The authority is no less than Ed's sister Kate,—Mrs. Katherine W. Toll,—who in 1870 wrote her brother a letter on that and other subjects, when she had reached the mature age of sixteen. The paper on which the letter is written is yellow with age, but the document tells its story. It not only supplies a key to the early inclination of the brother, but it shows that even in that far-away day he gave attention to the important fact of preparation. This is the pertinent portion of the letter:

Mr. Jewett asked me the other day if I heard from you, and how you were getting along. He said he remembered your taking him to Grandfather's and reading him that speech, or whatever you call it, in favor of Jeff. Davis. It was a debate you entered into; wasn't it with Mr. Lyon? He said he remembered it very distinctly, and I told him that I did, too, because you made me sit and watch the clock to see how long it took you to go through with it. It began, "From the time when the Constitution was first drawn up," etc.

Unfortunately for the purposes of history this important manuscript has not been preserved, and similarly unfortunate is it that the verdict of the jury, or the judge, has been



lost to the world. If only we could know whether Mr. Wolcott saved his client! Some of the other letters bearing on this period speak of his participation in a joint debate which was a part of the closing exercises of the school, and it is probable that the paper here referred to was the speech prepared for that event.

That, however, the success of the young orator even at that remote period was not left to chance we may further infer from the testimony of his teacher in elocution at the Norwich Academy. This teacher was Prof. Roswell N. Parish. Prof. Parish's letter was elicited by a request from A. P. Carroll to him in the interest of this work. Mr. Carroll wrote Mr. Parish, May 8, 1909:

The last time I visited the Senator, after listening to one of his magnetic speeches in the Senate, before crowded galleries (as was invariably the case whenever it was known that he was to speak), our conversation on our way from dinner to the Club turned to the scene of that afternoon, when, taking me by the arm and stopping me in the park we were crossing, he said: "Whatever ability I possess as a public speaker I owe to the training that Parish gave me in the Norwich Academy"—a tribute to your teaching which ever since I heard it I have thought you should know.

Writing in reply from Brookline, Massachusetts, on the 16th of the same month, Prof. Parish said:

I remember the boy "Ed" Wolcott as a big, hearty, manly fellow whom to teach was a pleasure, whose companionship was a delight. I was young then myself, you know. Among my treasures is a letter from him dated "Senate Chamber, January 2, 1891," in which, after a statement almost identical with that of your note, he refers to our declamation work together "in the library downstairs in that blessed old Academy," and he adds, "The recollection of it all is more vivid than any other of my school or college experiences."

Here is the key to his success as an orator, my share in which was very small indeed: Like all boys who can "speak pieces" he was ambitious to excel; but an intense desire to find adequate expression to thought and feeling and a real pleasure in so doing were the potent factors determining his schoolboy efforts. "The recollection of it all" so "vivid" is thus accounted for. So

quick was he to appreciate the force of a criticism or the value of a suggestion that he seemed to wait almost impatiently for the last word of instruction, eager to attack the passage again from the new point of view. It was too easy for him to "let himself go,"—he might readily have been made a ranter. My office was simply to hold the reins over his enthusiasm,—to emphasize,—to secure an indication of power in reserve.

But proficiency in declamation was only a small part of Wolcott's equipment as an orator. I cannot but believe that, whatever his training in this respect might have been, the ability, vigor, sincerity, and sense of propriety that so strongly characterized the boy would still have carried him to the front among public speakers in later years.

I remember distinctly that last "prize speaking" at the Academy when Wolcott gave us the "Irish Aliens." He seemed no Ed Wolcott then, but the original speaker, his soul on fire with indignation, his voice quivering with rage. "Thrilling" was the word I heard from an auditor when he left the platform. That was no schoolboy declamation, but real eloquence, the promise and foretaste of the future.

I would gladly give you incidents if they had not vanished with years. But the impressions made by a strong personality remain. I can see the Senator take you by the arm and stop you in the park for that remark. Evidently he was still the boy, alert, impulsive. A charming, lovable fellow, was he not?

Another instance of his success in speaking while still a youth is given. One day while he was at Yale he and some other boys started to attend the circus, but they first determined to see the wonderful mysteries of a certain side-show. The ticket-seller had had poor luck, and the Yale boys began to banter him. They told him that Ed Wolcott could soon get the crowd inside for him, and, much to the delight of the Yale crowd, Ed mounted the box and began selling tickets. He soon had most of the people listening to him and in a short time filled the side-show tent with an eager crowd, so intensely had he aroused the interest of his out-of-door audience.

Mr. Wolcott has left a brief account of his participation in the proceedings of a debating society while in the law school at Cambridge. Writing to his father under date of December 8, 1870, he says:

I am very much interested at present over the question of Free Trade and Protection, though as yet I have not read up much on the question. I don't know whether I told you that we have at the Law School besides smaller societies one to which almost every member belongs called "Parliament," conducted very correctly and according to the Manual, and there we settle conclusively some of the great questions which seem to bother other statesmen. We have settled almost everything but the Free-Trade question.

In other portions of this work, Mr. Wolcott's connection with a travelling panorama has been detailed. It will be recalled that while studying law in Boston he took this work to piece out his income. The experience was beneficial to him in more ways than one. Undoubtedly the deviation from his duties unsettled him somewhat in his studies. "But it has," he tells in a letter of the time, "given me confidence before an audience; it has shown me that I am very deficient in extempore speaking, and that I must cultivate it, and it has also shown me, although I don't mean to speak of it egotistically, that I have an unusually fine voice for public speaking, though pitched in a high key. I had taken on a severe cold, but my voice has not failed in the least."

#### COLORADO BEGINNINGS

From the stereopticon experience in New England in 1870, to the courts in Colorado in 1877, was a long distance both in point of longitude and time, but what he must have gained in experience he apparently lost in courage. He still had the voice, but he lacked the confidence to face an audience.

Nor, if we may judge from his appeals to his father, was his confidence in his capacity for preparation complete. We have seen how, soon after his election as District Attorney, the young man applied to the elder for help, and how he acknowledged the aid thus obtained. Mr. Wolcott was accustomed to consult his father at almost every turn in the early days of his District Attorneyship. In one case, where he expected that the defence would try to awaken

sympathy for a man accused of murder, on the ground of his advanced age, the young official expressed thankfulness for a Scriptural quotation, the last clause of which he said he could use effectively. The quotation ran: "The hoary head is a crown of glory if it be found in the way of righteousness." This was not the first time that the father's suggestions were invited; nor was it by any means the last. The requests went forward as long as Dr. Wolcott lived. Not only did Ed ask assistance in the preparation of his addresses, but often when completed they were forwarded for the careful inspection and trained censorship and criticism, of the father.

One of the best examples we have of his pleas for help is contained in a letter dated at Denver, September 30, 1880. In it he also mentions past favors. "E. O." then had just come from his triumph at the Leadville State convention, the first State political meeting in which he ever had figured conspicuously, if at all. He had been mentioned for Congress and had made a generally good impression. Let him continue the story:

I have promised Governor Routt, Chairman of the State Committee, to stump the State this fall. I shrink from it as I never did from anything, and fear I shall make a complete failure of it; and my fear is augmented from the fact that everybody seems to expect me to do so well. But I suppose I shall have to make the attempt somehow.

I have no knowledge whatever of the political history of my country and the vaguest ideas of what I can talk about; I suppose my speeches will be reported more or less fully, and I've got to vary them somewhat.

When I was a youngster at school, you used to help me out with my declamations. When I was to graduate at Norwich, it is my recollection that you composed most if not all of my address (and by the way, I remember it was very well spoken of), and when I had my first murder case, and was entering upon my first prosecution as District Attorney, I relied materially upon you, and was greatly assisted by you. In fact, whenever I get into a tight place, I find (and I say it not the least disrespectfully) that I turn involuntarily to the "Old Man." Won't you help me out again, Father? I have got one or two beginnings and ends. I want some more. I can



never, even in a law case, do anything good unless I can commence and "taper" intelligently. I want also any good speeches you can lay hold on, and would feel obliged if you can find at any bookstore any hand-books or compendiums of any kind that will inform me as to the past of the party and the country, with dates, details, and statistics, and send me the bills (for the books I mean; the other, the help you render me, will have to go into the old account which nothing I could do would ever repay).

Business is not good, and my time is pretty much my own; but I feel a disinclination even to attempt any preparation. Did you ever feel this in the face of necessity for work, and the more pressing the necessity, the greater the aversion?

The response came promptly and was full of points evidently to the liking of the young orator. Acknowledging its receipt, he said:

Your letter and one of the books came last night, and I am obliged for your suggestions and Will's. I have the matter of my speeches now in my mind, and have material for several. What I was after in my letter to you, were the little turns which save a speech from dulness, some figures or similes, and some ideas as to commencings and endings. You are very apt with these, and I distrust myself.

In this letter Edward Wolcott made an important promise to his father. "I shall certainly follow your suggestion in respect to standing always on high ground," he said, and he added, "I have done this uniformly in my jury cases."

In certain of his moods, Mr. Wolcott was given to self-depreciation, and he was in the habit of acquainting his father with his state of mind. A few specimens will suffice.

On October 13th, after the campaign had begun, we find him analyzing and picking flaws in his own methods. He had found, he said, that he could not make a speech of more than thirty or forty minutes' duration.

My material gives out, and I am unwilling to talk statistics. I speak altogether too fast, something over 200 words a minute, and I lack self-possession. I shall be able to improve these defects somewhat, but I need more experience than this season



will give me before I shall become a particularly good talker. It is in me to a certain extent, but I can see the limit to my powers in that direction.

He found too, according to this introspective letter, that his speeches were "always the same." He was not conscious at the time of having committed a speech to memory.

And yet [he says] two thirds of it is in precisely the same language, word for word, each evening. My mind runs in just that groove and will not leave it. I could not, to save me, change that speech, unless, possibly, I had to—that is, had to deliver two speeches in the same place to the same audience. So I am accepting the inevitable, and giving them the same speech.

He acknowledged in this letter that he had been "particularly successful in his stump speaking," and yet he declared he was "heartily sick of it," and he wanted to cancel most of his engagements. "But Henry and my other friends won't listen to it. I have shown," he added, "that I can do that sort of thing, and have satisfied myself of it, and that seems enough."

On the 25th of October, he had concluded his campaign and he sent home a copy of the *Denver Tribune* of that date containing the first full report of a speech by him that ever found its way into print. After speaking of the effort he takes his father into his confidence concerning his recent and new experiences.

I am [he says] so glad it's over. I've had some thirty invitations for this week, and have declined them all. I shall not speak again except perhaps for half an hour with Belford, the night before election. The only pride I have had in the whole matter was that I might gratify you and Henry, and might justify the good things my friends have said of me. I was glad to get your appreciative letter, but your hope as to my future is founded on an exaggerated belief in my abilities, and this in turn comes only from your fondness for me, which blinds your judgment. It is very pleasant to believe that I could do almost anything, but if it is all the same, Father, I'd rather not be a "Man of Destiny," as you suggest.

A somewhat awkward contretemps occurred in connec-

tion with one of Mr. Wolcott's early speeches. He was booked for an address on Forefathers' Day in Denver in 1881, and he was told in advance that he would be expected to respond to the toast "Connecticut." When, however, the dinner came on, he was asked to speak on the subject of "Massachusetts." Necessarily, having prepared his speech, he was somewhat disconcerted. But he was equal to the occasion, and the speech is still remembered as one of the brightest and wittiest of his earlier efforts. It was in this address he said jestingly that, while, in Heaven, New Englanders would sing the solos, people of other sections of the country would be permitted to join in the chorus.

This address, like many others of the period, was the subject of correspondence with his father. It was at this time that the *Wolcott Family Memorial* was published, and acknowledging a copy of it under date of December 9th, he said: "I have n't had even time to read the *Memorial*. I have promised to respond to the toast of Connecticut at a dinner on Forefathers' Day, at which Governor Pitkin, Governor Evans, and others are to speak, and I am glad the book is here, for I know I can crib something good from it. I don't for the life of me know what to say about Connecticut."

Presumably, he got along better with Massachusetts than he would have done with Connecticut. No adequate report of the speech was printed in the papers of the day, but the *Denver Republican* tells us that he "referred briefly to the triumphs of the Old Bay State in the Revolution and Rebellion and spoke of the influence she had exerted on literature and politics." A somewhat more extended reference was made by the *Rocky Mountain News*, which undertook, but evidently in the reporter's own language, to supply an extract. Following is the quotation from the *News*:

I see that we are not alone here, but that we are surrounded by others who are so unfortunate as not to have been born in New England. But I am willing to admit that these are human beings and that when they die they will undoubtedly go somewhere, and though they may not range so high, they will undoubtedly get a harp that they can play on, after a fashion.

They call this a New England dinner, but I don't think the New Englanders have ever sat down together to so good a dinner as this since the days when they used to steal corn from the Indians.

There is much in Puritanism that will survive forever. It was a protest against formalism, against the union of Church and State. The Puritan spirit bred a race of statesmen whose learning and patriotism shed a lustre over the whole nation, and they did one thing which we Western States would have done well to imitate: they annihilated all the marauding Indians of the border. I am proud of my New England ancestors; and this leads me to say that I was originally asked to respond for Connecticut, as some of my ancestors came from that State, but as Connecticut is known as the land of steady habits I thought I was not hardly the man to reply for it.

March 5, 1881, about the time his term as a State Senator closed, he wrote his father saying he was out of politics and indicating indifference to the law as a profession. Evidently he was in one of his "blue" moods. Referring to his future, he said: "My business is good, but I am not very fond of my profession. I hate the jar and contact of it. I want to be 'let alone.' If some morning I could wake up and find myself rich, I could do nothing, and be happy. Not a very honorable ambition, is it?"

In October of the same year, he wrote: "I am far from being a good lawyer. I lack depth, and I constantly find myself getting beyond my depth."

It would appear from Mr. Wolcott's correspondence that up to 1884 he never actually put a speech on paper. He made prompt report to his father on this first written preparation of an address. At that time he did not believe the practice would prove beneficial to him, and was inclined against it because he thought it made him too dependent. Part of the written speech was delivered in Denver on July 15th of that year. It was the subject not only of a letter to the father, but of one from him, and as both letters bear on the general subject of the younger man's oratory they are given entire. July 13th of that year, Mr. Wolcott wrote:

A year ago the Press Association elected me their orator for

this year. I was so busy that I had but a few days to prepare. The thing was a fizzle and the address never delivered. I was glad of it, but glad also that I prepared the address. It is the first time that I ever wrote a speech or address. It is not a good thing for me. When the written words are before me, my imagination and my memory both refuse to act, and I am confined to the written words. I venture to send it to you. Will you please read it? Give me your candid opinion of it, and return it to me. I know of no critic whose opinion I would accept as soon as your own. It seems to me to be true, dignified, and very commonplace. Unless a man can rise above the level, he had better not attempt to teach. Some of it I shall use in a political speech which I am to make next Wednesday evening. I do not expect to do much in the canvass, but shall probably have to make a few speeches.

Ten days later, July 23d, Dr. Wolcott replied :

Your favor, 13th instant, was duly received, and I return the enclosed with thanks, after reading it carefully. The first impression which I receive from the address is, that it is a very different thing from what they were expecting when they invited you. They looked for a brilliant and witty effusion; instead of which they received a sober talk, a solid lecture. This, however, does not condemn it. Wit should be unpremeditated and irrepressible; it is apt to become stale if it is bottled up for an occasion. When you put your thoughts on paper you should be as practical and sensible as you can be. This was your successful aim; and it is better than to have tried to be witty. If you do not enhance your reputation for wit, you do for good judgment and sound sense, which is better.

The sarcasm of exempting the youthful press of Colorado from the sweep of the criticism is perhaps a little too keen. I hardly think that some of the men before you could have helped feeling that you were dissecting them, which strikes me as an undesirable process for such an occasion. Another impression not wholly desirable is that there is a little too much of apparent self-vindication in it. It is an elaborate justification of your bolt of last year. It will come with more effect from you, if deferred for a year, and after you have supported the regular ticket by a few speeches.

You spoke of using it in part in a campaign speech; and I did not see how it could be done. But the speech has just



come to hand, and I see that you have used a portion of it very effectively. The self-vindication does not seem to me here to be out of place, but rather to be called for—yet not to be repeated. This speech strikes me as in every respect admirable and I am glad that you have made it.

#### REASONS FOR SUCCESS

To Mr. Wolcott's distrust of himself may be attributed his success as an orator. It caused him to prepare his speeches with exceptional care, and this preparation resulted in a system which in the hands of a person of his taste, judgment, and general capability must insure success. Anxious ever to excel; humiliated by failure in any undertaking; confident of his own ability but distrustful of himself before a crowd, he took no chances in his speeches because of unpreparedness. Not only did he give thorough consideration in advance to his speeches, but he put the most important of them on paper. He appreciated the many disadvantages of the written speech, but far greater than these, in his mind, was the possibility of failure or of a poor effort. When typewritten, the speech was committed to memory and delivered as if extemporaneous. The result was an oration prepared in the quiet of the study and finished in every detail of thought and diction, and delivered with all the charm of voice and manner of which he was capable.

He possessed the impulse of public speech. He told Clinton Reed before he began his oratorical career that he had an infinite longing to appear before an audience. His abilities were known to his friends. They pressed him to endeavor, and their demand corresponding with his own desire must in the end necessarily bear fruit. Mr. Thomas has told us that he was placed in a position where he could not avoid talking. If, then, he must speak, he must speak to the best advantage. He did nothing in an ordinary way, and his appearances before the public should be no exception. This was his line of reasoning, and it resulted in a masterful success.

Not always was the speech reduced to writing, but if circumstances permitted, it was. But even when there was



no writing, the facts always were well in hand and the course of the discussion plainly marked out in his mind.

It is not intended to convey the impression that Mr. Wolcott was not capable of extemporaneous speech. Many of his most telling points were made without especial preparation. But offhand speaking never was entered upon except under stress of circumstances, such as a running debate in the Senate, in an ordinary campaign, or on some other unforeseen occasion.

In general discussion in the Senate, as in a set speech, Mr. Wolcott had few equals; but he did not enjoy this kind of speechmaking, and, if he could have done so, he would have avoided it altogether. He prepared for these occasions by acquainting himself with his subject, but he could not present his matter in the perfect manner that he liked. The inference should not be drawn that he spoke merely for the purpose of arousing momentary attention or that he courted promiscuous applause. He liked the approval of the discriminating, but, above all, his purpose was ever the accomplishment of results. He did not believe illy-chosen language and illogical utterance capable of influencing sentiment or changing opinion. He considered himself unjustified in speaking unless he had something worthy of presentation, or unless his ideas were dressed in proper garb. Believing that such material came only by and through painstaking research and such dress as the result only of much care, he gave time and attention equally to the collection of his facts and to their presentation, and then to the delivery of the speech. The result was a completeness and polish that could not have been obtained in a less studied manner.

These are some of the explanations of his success as a public speaker. But they are by no means all—nor the principal ones. If others are to be sought one must take into account his superior intellect, his sincerity, his logical, forceful, and clean-cut presentation of a subject; his marvellous memory, which rendered at all times available his wide and careful reading; a courage of conviction which permitted him so to speak the truth as to touch the hearts of men; his deep insight into human nature; his sympathetic

appreciation of the mood of his audience, and his capacity to go to the heart of things. Add to these a discreet sense of humor, an equal capacity for sarcasm and for pathos, a love of order, and an artistic temperament, and you have some idea of Wolcott the orator.

There was no apparent effort at oratory in Mr. Wolcott's speeches. He did not employ a wide range of language, but his words were select. He never indulged in platitudes; few figures of speech are to be found in his public utterances; he quoted poetry sparingly, though most aptly; he did not permit himself to engage in long dissertations; there was little of mere word painting. He told a friend that his vocabulary did not comprise more than five hundred words, but this of course is an underestimate. When he had concluded on a point, he left it with the audience and then proceeded without loss of time or unnecessary circumlocution to take up another portion of his subject, which in turn was similarly disposed of.

While he intimated to his father that he desired suggestions for introductions and perorations, he did not resort to any great extent to the ordinary "approaches," but, on the contrary, generally plunged immediately into his subject. From the start he was direct and spoke to the point. He studied how not to tire his audiences, and as a consequence held them to the end. He would not speak unless he had something to say, and when there was no longer anything to say he stopped. He never discussed dead issues; he did not hesitate to call names; he was acquainted with the world; he knew how to entertain, and he knew that he must entertain in order to convince. Moreover, in his speeches, he held aloft a high standard of morals, and, let its practices be what they may, the world wants its preaching to be of a high order.

But, beyond and above all other traits contributing to Mr. Wolcott's success as a popular speaker, was his capacity to grasp a situation and measure the inclination of his audience. This faculty was due to his broad sympathy with, and his complete understanding of, human nature. Intuitive in high degree, he read the minds of people almost as easily as he read their books. He seemed to know

instinctively just how any given situation would affect any especial community or particular assemblage. He knew how to play upon the interests and the feelings, how to touch the sentiment and appeal to the ideals of men ; he appreciated the full effect of words and of circumstances. He knew where to use reason, where to play his sarcasm, and where to resort to humor and cajolery. Of vast experience, of broad interest in many affairs, and acquainted with all sorts and conditions of men, he could place himself in sympathetic touch with almost any audience.

Not strange was it, then, that the man had magnetism. Honesty, earnestness, sympathy, capacity, high ideals, dash, courage, intellect, genius, superiority, are ever magnetic.

Not Mr. Wolcott's material alone was choice ; his manner was most attractive. He possessed a commanding figure, his dress was tasteful, and his voice was nothing less than fascinating. All these complements of the orator he knew how to make the most of. His voice was particularly helpful. It was full of music and it was capable of withstanding almost any strain. Apparently without effort, his words reached the remotest corners of the largest halls, and even when he spoke for the benefit of persons at a distance he did not produce a disagreeable effect upon those nearby, as do so many orators who strive for volume of sound. He did not permit the fact that he prepared his speeches in advance to mar their delivery. As he eliminated prosy details in their substance, so he avoided humdrum in their presentation. His written addresses always were so well memorized that the ordinary auditor did not know that they were not extemporaneous.

In a word, Mr. Wolcott made a business of speechmaking. He never talked except for a purpose ; when he spoke, he had an end in view beyond mere talk. His success was the reward of unremitting labor for each effort, and of previous general preparation.

#### SENATORIAL AND CAMPAIGN SPEECHES

The announcement that Senator Wolcott would address the Senate never failed to draw a crowded gallery, and he always reciprocated by giving the best that was in him.

While he made many notable addresses on the outside, his fame would be secure if it rested only on his Senate addresses. He preferred to prepare his speeches, but he was a close observer of all that transpired, and frequently joined in the running discussion. Some thought him most effective in this line of oratory, but he did not think so, and the verdict of posterity will sustain his judgment. When a subject was of sufficient importance to merit any unusual effort, he followed the custom established by him of giving notice of his intention to speak. In these speeches he always omitted what to him seemed to be trifling details, and, to use the common parlance, "hit only the high places." He spoke with great effect and commanded the absolute attention of his colleagues as well as that of the crowded galleries.

He treated every Senate speech seriously. For days and nights preceding the delivery of an address, he worked laboriously upon the mass of data which he would assemble before him, and when he had prepared himself he proceeded to dictate to his stenographer. Sometimes, reading over what was written, he would be wholly dissatisfied with it. Then the matter was rewritten, and frequently, still unsatisfied, he would make numerous revisions. So careful was he in his preparation that there never was anything to add to or subtract from his prepared speeches.

The manner of delivery was not left to chance. The speech completed, he would enter upon the stupendous labor of committing it to memory. He memorized with ease, but often the task was laborious because of the length of the prepared address. Holding in his hand his manuscript, for hours he would pace up and down his library or bedroom, repeating aloud the words, and even then he would throw into them all the dramatic effect which to him seemed so essential to render them impressive. No more notable demonstration of his virile mentality ever was given than when he addressed the Senate upon the results of the work of the Bimetallic Commission. This was a long speech, and yet every word was memorized by him, and he delivered it in a superb fashion. Upon its conclusion, notwithstanding the subject was dry and there was a rare amount of de-



tail, the usual passiveness of the Senate was broken and Senators crowded about him and extended profuse congratulations. A newspaper man who "held copy on him" while this speech was being delivered, reported afterward that he had not skipped or misplaced a word.

One of his Senatorial secretaries has supplied the following brief but graphic pen-picture of his chief in the preparation and delivery of his speeches:

When Wolcott was preparing a speech it was his habit to lock the door, light a cigar, and begin pacing the room just like one of the wild animals at the zoo. After a long time thus spent, he would begin dictating, between puffs. He was a good dictator, his thoughts coming smoothly and his grammar nearly faultless. Even for his unwritten speeches he made exhaustive preparation by careful investigation. Notes were made and elaborated upon, but his memory and his ready wit were depended upon to meet the exigencies of any given occasion. When he got into action in the Senate on an extemporaneous speech he kept to his notes for a time; but as interruptions came and he lost his temper (which was no trouble at all, as Senators delighted to work him up by prodding), he threw his notes away or couldn't find the place again, and just let himself go. It was at this period that the real speech began and he was generally allowed to finish, for oratory had broken loose.

In preparing for a political campaign, he pursued the plan of making a careful study of the entire range of subjects liable to be under discussion, and of mentally outlining his views on each of them, if he did not actually commit them to writing. He thus had a stock prepared to draw from as occasion might demand. There always was more than was needed at any one place, and he would select from the store as seemed best to meet the requirements of his audience. It necessarily happened, as with all campaign orators, that often his political speeches "lapped over," and that there was more or less repetition; but no two of them were wholly alike. There was as much variety as the particular circumstances demanded and as general conditions would permit. In these speeches, as a rule, there was a full discussion of national questions, which always were presented in such a lucid way as to render them easily



comprehended by the ordinary mind. Local and state issues were handled "without gloves"; and abuses were attacked fearlessly, regardless of the ownership of the ox that might be gored. Fellow-partymen felt his lash quite as frequently as did his political opponents, and he did not hesitate to mention individuals if necessary to make his point or render his speech effective. The opposition press of whatever party never failed to receive its share of attention, and frequently the castigation administered was most severe. He could be as sarcastic and caustic as any public man who ever lived, and he seemed to delight in speaking at the expense of the press, knowing of course that the press had at least an equal opportunity to reply in kind. He was not afraid of newspaper opposition, and did not let the prospect of it deter him from carrying out any given policy. The "yellow" press was his especial aversion.

#### ESTIMATES OF CONTEMPORARIES

Justice Brewer has told how intrepid Mr. Wolcott was when it would have been more politic to be conciliatory, and Mr. Thomas tells us that he has known but few men who excelled him as a public speaker. When asked for an estimate of the Colorado statesman, Senator Warren, of Wyoming, replied without hesitation: "He was the most eloquent man of his day."

Mr. David S. Barry, head of the *New York Sun* Washington Bureau during Mr. Wolcott's twelve years of service in the Senate, says of his power as an orator:

Senator Wolcott was admitted to be the most graceful and eloquent public speaker in either House of Congress in his day, and it is not, perhaps, going too far to say that his place as an orator was unique. At least it has never been filled. Physically he was a most attractive personality, and his rich, full, far-reaching voice was tuneful and most pleasing to hear. His impetuous style was peculiar to himself and his habit of memorizing his speeches and delivering them as though improvised on the spur of the moment, enabled him to round out his sentences, adhere to his style, and keep his rhetoric clear.

Writing of Mr. Wolcott a few weeks after he had been

elected to the Senate in 1889, Hon. Charles Page Bryan, afterward Minister to Brazil and also to Portugal, and who formerly had been a neighbor of Mr. Wolcott's in Clear Creek County, said:

In addition to the prestige of family, he is gifted with remarkable persuasiveness of speech. The magnetism of a Blaine and the domineering determination of a Conkling are likewise his. No young man has entered on a Senatorial career with finer chances. His personality is unique. Wolcott's originality is not eccentricity, but is rather akin to genius. From his great chest words flow like a torrent from the mountains, or a sermon from Phillips Brooks's inexhaustible fountain. The two speakers belong to the same school of oratory. Earnestness of tone is Wolcott's peculiar forte. He persuades his hearers that he is himself imbued with the belief that dire consequences must follow disregard of his exhortations. The reformatory spirit seems to possess him at times, and contrasts curiously with the buoyant, devil-may-care nature of the man.

Governor Thomas supplies a general estimate of Mr. Wolcott as a speaker and legislator, as follows:

I have known of but few men during my lifetime who excelled Senator Wolcott as a public speaker. His was the outward form of an orator. He was a man of splendid presence, with a clear and attractive voice, with beautiful and perfect enunciation, with few but very expressive gestures, and with a diction couched in the choicest and purest English, and yet in words of simple import and easily understood by every one. I have heard him on the platform, at the forum, in the Senate of the United States, and on miscellaneous occasions. I have heard him speak with the deliberation of the drawing-room, with the fervor of partisanship, and in the fury of passionate denunciation. No man of his time was more expressive, more eloquent, more sarcastic, more pathetic, or more convincing as a public speaker; and while serious personal and political differences unfortunately marred the tenor of our intercourse during the last years of his life, I venture to affirm that of all the public men of Colorado Edward O. Wolcott is easily first in prominence, capacity, eloquence, and influence. As a Senator he gave the State a prominence and influence in national affairs that it never had before and never has had since. I did not agree with

many of his views, or, except one, with any of his policies; but I never questioned his great genius, his tremendous ability, and the potent influence which he wielded in State and national affairs from the day of his entrance into public life up to the hour of his death.

#### IN THE COURT-ROOM

Governor Thomas also kindly furnishes a glimpse of Mr. Wolcott as a member of the bar, as follows:

From the time of Senator Wolcott's advent as a member of the Denver bar until 1896, I was intimately acquainted with him, and at times enjoyed his personal friendship and confidence. During that time we were associated in the prosecution and defence of many important controversies, and were quite as frequently opposed to each other. I was, therefore, able to judge fairly well of his strength and weakness as a practising attorney.

He was extremely impatient of details. It was difficult for him to investigate a complicated mass of facts, consider them one by one, analyze their characteristics, and either combine or separate them for purposes of trial. His highly nervous organization made it almost impossible for him to utilize the time and exercise the patience which such a task requires. He could do so, if absolutely necessary, but he almost invariably left such work to others. He fortunately in time secured the services and co-operation of Mr. Joel F. Vaile, whose capacity for intricacies of detail was quite as remarkable as Mr. Wolcott's capacity for other things, and together they formed an almost perfect combination.

On the other hand, I never knew a man with a greater talent for seizing upon the vital points of a controversy. This Mr. Wolcott could do almost by instinct. I have frequently been in conference with him concerning matters of detail, of which he heard for the first time, and I have been amazed at his facility for quickly sifting the vital features of a transaction from its less important ones, and pointing out the necessity of establishing or overthrowing these conditions if our client expected to be successful.

On one occasion he came into the court-room to assist in the trial of a case, of which he knew practically nothing beyond its title. He listened to the opening statements of counsel for

the plaintiff and defence, and then seizing a tablet he outlined the important issues involved as rapidly as his hand could trace the sentences upon the blank paper. This, too, was a case which consumed fully ten days in its trial.

He was most generous and courteous to associate counsel. He always welcomed them into his cases, and made them feel, as far as he could do so, that he, as well as his clients, depended upon them quite as much as, if not more than himself. There were exceptions to this practice, but they were observed only when the action of co-counsel justified them.

Mr. Wolcott never liked the drudgery and confinement of long trials; he participated in them as a matter of course, but he withdrew more and more as the years passed from these hotly contested and bitter controversies, preferring the work of his office, but always having strong representation in court whenever the interests of his clients required it.

Speaking of Mr. Wolcott as a lawyer in the early Colorado days, Hon. Jacob Fillius, who knew him intimately, says:

"I well remember the magnetic influence that he had in those days before a jury. He was practically irresistible. His method of conducting a prosecution was eminently fair. He was, however, most resourceful, his mentality acute, and his instant grasp of a legal proposition was little short of genius."

In another connection will be found a letter from John G. Milburn, Esq., of New York, in which he presents a view of the Colorado attorney as he appeared when the two were law partners in Denver in 1882. His analysis of Mr. Wolcott's characteristics as a lawyer is so true to nature and so pertinent to this portion of the memoir that the following extract is repeated:

To estimate his gifts and qualities as a lawyer is not easy in the case of such a complex, varied, and impulsive personability. He was not a quiet, methodical, or plodding worker, or a continuous student by nature or habit. He was so overrunning with nervous force and energy that every hour took its own line and often a different one. I do not mean by this that he was not capable of long stretches of work on the same subject, because he was, and sometimes almost to an abnormal



extent. He did his work according to the ways of the impulsive, flashing, intuitive mind, moving rapidly over a subject and yet seeing into the heart of it and grasping its essential features, and always with luminous and suggestive results. The mechanical work of the profession was irksome to him. His strength was in advocacy, that being a domain in which he could avail himself of patient, painstaking, and diligent assistants. His gifts and powers were natural rather than acquired. He had a distinctly legal mind; a voice of rare charm and power; a manner and personality that arrested and held the attention of men; high spirits, humor, distinction, and a passionate seriousness when aroused, and the gift of pure and genuine eloquence. He was an able and effective lawyer, and if he had given his energies and devotion entirely to the law he would have been one of the commanding advocates of his time.

That judges as well as juries had respect for the ability of Mr. Wolcott to take care of himself is attested by many. One instance will suffice. It is related by Judge Morton S. Bailey, a Justice of the Supreme Court of Colorado:

In the fall of 1880 I was a law student at Denver, Colorado, in the office of Messrs. Markham, Patterson & Thomas. At that time the District court-room was over the old post-office at the corner of Fifteenth and Lawrence streets. It was my custom to attend the sessions of this court on motion mornings, as they were called, which occurred regularly, by fixed appointment, and were the occasions of bringing together practically all of the members of the bar. On one of these mornings I recall the fact that an unusually bright and apparently capable young lawyer, attractive in dress, manner, face, and style of speech, argued a motion for a continuance in a case in which the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company was defendant, and for which company he appeared. He was noticeably modest and retiring, and indeed to me seemed quite embarrassed in urging his application, as if new to and unacquainted with the work. Still he made a showing, by affidavits and clear-cut, well-stated argument, which then seemed to me unanswerable.

I was captivated by the young man and his manner of presenting his cause; not so, however, the trial judge, for scarcely had the young advocate resumed his seat when the Hon. Victor A. Elliott, then upon the bench, announced that the motion for



a continuance was overruled and denied. I was filled with resentment against the Judge, and with sympathy for the young lawyer, at what I conceived to be an unnecessarily abrupt and erroneous ruling.

In a talk that evening with Judge Elliott at whose house I was then stopping, his attention was called to this incident of the morning court session, the recollection of which had remained with me all day, and with the outcome of which I was so thoroughly dissatisfied. I ventured the opinion to the Judge that he had made a mistake in his action on the motion, which seemed to me to have merit, and at the same time expressed deep sympathy for the young man who had shown such embarrassment, and so much diffidence and courtesy in the presentation of his application. Thereupon the Judge, evidently amused by my deep concern, made inquiry as to whether I knew the young man, and upon being told that I had never before seen or heard of him, he replied: "Well, my young friend, there is little need for you to waste sympathy in this matter. That young lawyer was Ed Wolcott, and he is not only entirely capable of protecting the rights of his client in this or any other case, but he is equally well able to take care of himself, in any controversy, legal, political, or otherwise, in which he may hereafter become engaged."

Thus it was that I first saw and knew Senator Wolcott, and the favorable impression then formed grew with the years and the pleasant personal acquaintance which came later.

On another occasion Judge Elliott said that Wolcott could come nearer making a jury cry over a railroad's side of a case than any other lawyer he ever had heard.

Elsewhere account has been given of Mr. Wolcott's rapid reading and quick apprehension of the essential points presented by any problem, and his brother Herbert has supplied a word showing how this faculty was utilized in the courtroom. He says:

I was in Ed's office for a year and he often gave me legal questions to look up. When I would start to tell him what I had found, he would listen for the first few words and then, seeing what I was starting to say, he would stop me before I had finished the first sentence. This same quickness of understanding what a person was starting to say he carried into the trial of lawsuits, and, however unexpected the answer,

Ed was never disturbed by it, but always had his next question ready; and by his rapid questions, asked in a natural manner as though about mere formal matters, he would lead witnesses into places from which they could not readily extricate themselves. Ed always kept his good nature when trying a lawsuit. He would speak in a clear voice and by his bright remarks and funny turns he kept the close attention of the court and jury.

Mr. Herbert Wolcott also has kindly supplied an account of his brother's conduct of the Bonnybel mining case, involving the Bonnybel property at Aspen, Colorado, then worth millions of dollars. This was one of the most important pieces of mining litigation ever conducted in the State and attracted much attention at the time. Of this suit Mr. Wolcott says:

Ed was busy during the preparation of the case, so that this had been in the hands of other lawyers who were assisting in the case. Ed's client was clearly and openly very much provoked that Ed had not given the case more attention and even carried his "grouch" into the trial of the case. The trial started, and the men who had prepared the suit called and examined the witnesses for the defendant, who was Ed's client and who still was feeling "sore" that Ed had not given the work more of his personal attention. The plaintiff put on his chief witness, a famous mining expert who had spent months in examining the mine and in preparation for the trial. His direct testimony was overwhelming. Ed then took the witness for his cross-examination; and three or four hours of his masterly questioning won the case for the defendant, who turned up at the office smiling and chuckling and wildly enthusiastic for Ed.

I recall one slight incident of this cross-examination which in a small way shows Ed's methods. The defendant was trying to show that the "Bonnybel" was not taking ore from a vein but from disintegrated rock, and Ed led the witness to say that he had been in different parts of the mine. Pointing out one of the rooms in the mine on a map that was in evidence, he asked the witness how many loose rocks he had seen in that particular room. He answered "One." Ed quickly picked up a rock that was lying on the table and said: "This rock came from that room; can you tell now whether there is another loose rock in that room or whether it is all solid vein?" Every one

in the court-room laughed except the witness, who did not know what to say. Ed started at him again while he was still feeling dazed and annoyed.

Mr. Wolcott's argument in the Bonnybel case was made November 26, 1889, less than a year after he entered the Senate. It was a masterful presentation of the details of a highly complicated piece of litigation. He showed a wonderfully clear knowledge not only of the facts, but of the law involved. The testimony of all the witnesses was analyzed and all the points favorable to the owners of the Bonnybel brought out in strong contrast to the weaknesses of the opposition, at the head of which stood Mr. D. M. Hyman, who, although largely interested in Colorado, was a resident of Cincinnati, Ohio. He was a worthy gentleman. But he was opposed to Wolcott's client. It was expedient that such defects as he possessed be made known. And they were. Mr. Wolcott spared neither opposing litigant nor his counsel or witnesses, while every point in favor of his own client was at finger's end and was made to count. For many years his conduct of the case was cited in Colorado as a model in mining litigation.

With the litigation long since settled satisfactorily to Mr. Wolcott and his client, with the silver that made the mine valuable discredited, and with Aspen no longer the place of importance that it was, it would be unprofitable to repeat the entire speech. He closed as follows:

With your verdict, whatever it may be, we shall be content. Our hopes, our interests, and our future are with you. You may impoverish and take from us our property, and add another neighbor's scalp to Mr. Hyman's already crowded belt, or you may give us a verdict that will award to us our Bonnybel mine, with the right to follow it wherever it shall go into the earth; and you could never, gentlemen, do a more gracious act, nor one more consistent with justice and with equity, than to give a verdict for the defendants in this case.

Whether in the court-room or on the rostrum Mr. Wolcott was one of the fastest of speakers. He seemed never to hesitate for proper expression, and words followed one another with the celerity of shot from a rapid-fire rifle. But

for the fact that his enunciation was distinct, reporters would have found it almost impossible to follow him, and even with this advantage in their favor, the work was difficult. This was especially true in the examination of witnesses. With him rapid speech was second nature, and he used the faculty both to expedite business and confound opposing witnesses. In the latter effort he was most successful. As a cross-examiner he was a terror to reporters. One instance is recorded where a stenographer conveniently mislaid his notes when called upon for a transcript, for the reason that the Senator's examination had come too swiftly for him.

Mr. Wolcott argued many cases before the Supreme Court of the United States involving railroad, mining, and irrigation interests, and was very successful in that tribunal. That he made a thoroughly favorable impression there is attested by Justices Harlan and Brewer in their estimates printed as a foreword in this work. At the time these testimonials were written, the Justices were in point of service the two oldest and most experienced men on that bench, and their standing as jurists is such as to render their joint testimony conclusive on such a subject.

His last appearance in any court took place in the State District Court of El Paso County in connection with the contest in 1903 over the will of millionaire Myron W. Stratton of that city. He represented Stratton's son, I. Harry Stratton, who was the contestant. The case was compromised, and did not reach the point of adjudication. It was before the court long enough, however, to afford Mr. Wolcott an opportunity to demonstrate that he had lost none of his wonderful powers of penetration and analysis. He showed the same splendid capacity for going to the heart of a subject and for bringing out its salient points as in the earlier days, and, as in the former time, witnesses found it quite impossible to evade his searching questions. There was no evidence of "rustiness" on account of long absence from the trial courts.

#### SOME SPECIMEN EXPRESSIONS

Mr. Wolcott never made a dull speech. He did not allow



himself to do so. But some of his speeches were naturally better than others, depending of course on the inspiration of subject and occasion, and the care of preparation and delivery. Beginning with his campaign of the State in 1880, he participated in most of the Colorado political contests during the remainder of his life, and in that quarter of a century delivered himself of many notable utterances. So far as it has been possible to collect them, these speeches are printed as a part of this work, and most of them will prove interesting reading for many years to come. He always dealt with current topics, but he seldom failed to treat them in such a way as to give his speeches permanent value. All of his varied powers of persuasion, of analysis, of humor, of sarcasm, and of invective are well illustrated in these speeches, one being notable for one quality and another for a totally different.

Probably the most interesting of his campaigns was that of 1896, when, standing almost alone among men of prominence, he held aloft the banner of Republicanism in Colorado. He made three notable speeches in that campaign, and probably the most noteworthy of these was the one made in Denver just before the close. There, surrounded by a small body of friends whose loyalty would have proved equal to the extremest test, he boldly faced a partially hostile audience as, through an antagonistic press, he did a resentful public. He felt the necessity of winning all the friends he could, and yet his pugnacity was stirred to the utmost. He was armed to the teeth for his foes, and yet he never was more gracious to his friends,—never more patriotic nor more loyal to his State. Many of his sentences on that occasion will bear repetition long hence—some for their aptness and others for their high sentiment. Where, for instance, will one find a clearer or stronger appeal for party loyalty in the face of opposition than the following from this speech?

I want to say to you that intolerance is the sure symptom of a little soul and a narrow intellect, and wherever you find any blatant man or any blatant newspaper, who declares that you are a traitor to your party, or a traitor to the interests of



your State, and threatens you with what he will do to you, don't pay any heed to him, fellow-citizens, for the friendship of such a man or such a paper is a degradation and a dishonor. My friends, stand up in the open and fight for your party and for your principles. Why, it is all there is in life worth living for. It is the very essence of our liberties. It is that which distinguishes us from the beasts that perish, that we have an honest opinion, and, please God, we will stand for it in the face of the world; and it is that which gives the Saxon race the deathless love of liberty that will not let free institutions perish from the face of the earth.

There is not in this whole State a mining camp so remote and so inaccessible, that there are not in it two or three, or more, people who believe in Republican principles, and I trust they will have the courage to express their opinions.

Fellow-citizens,

“They are slaves who dare not be  
In the right with two or three.”

Or where will one find a better or more patriotic vindication of personal conduct in public office than in this sentence from the same speech?

The personal fortunes, fellow-citizens, of none of us are of much value, but it is of vital importance that whoever represents any State in any public capacity should live up to his convictions of public duty; and if after these scenes shall have passed away, when men come to review these exciting days in this crisis of our history, if it shall be said of me that I stood true to the principles of the party whose commission I hold; if it shall be said of me that when others yielded, I stayed; that when the path to popularity and applause was easy, I stood by my party; that when I had only to desert my party and betray and abandon its principles, and I would be belimed with the praise of former political opponents and a section of my political adherents, I refused to yield to public clamor because I believed it hostile to our welfare; that not only in the day of our victory, but that in the days of adversity and defeat, I still remained true to that party which has ennobled our past and whose policy and whose principles offer us all our hope for the future; that not alone in the triumphant charge, but that on the stricken field, when the deserters were

many and the faithful were few, I still held aloft the banner you gave me in defence of what I believed to be the welfare of our State and the honor of our country, I shall be content.

And for real sublimity of expression or grandeur of sentiment, what better example could be found than the following from his address before the Republican State Convention at Colorado Springs in the same year?

Fellow-citizens, the boundaries of the States which form our Union are imaginary, not real; the mountains yonder, which look down upon us, stand like a serried column; yet just beyond our view they open to the West in gentle undulations, and our fertile orchards merge and blend with those of the commonwealths of the Occident. To the eastward, the plains slope into great prairies, the granaries of the world. The rivers which find their source among our mountain crags wind a tortuous course through many sister States before they fret their way to the sea. From the gray summit of the mighty peak which now casts its shadow over us, on, on to the rocky coast of Maine, there is but one land, fed by the same dews, watered from the same Heaven, and kissed by the same sun. No stockades or bristling forts divide us. We are of one race, one destiny, one common and immortal hope. In the century now dying, we who are the inheritors of the liberties secured us by our forefathers will build no barrier of sectional hate to sunder us from brothers whom we love, or to exclude from our vision the hills and valleys far away, where our childhood was nursed and our dead lie buried.

His speech at Colorado Springs on September 15, 1896, his first appearance on the stump after the split in the National Republican Convention at St. Louis, was full of good things. For the most part, the address was devoted directly to the questions at issue, and there were some real bursts of oratory, the character of which is illustrated by the following extract:

There are forty-five stars in our national flag, representing as many States, each sovereign and each settled by brothers of a common race and language, animated by a like and equal patriotism. The Union of States is indissoluble; for better or for worse we are allied together in the effort to secure and

make permanent a republican form of government, where each man shall be free and equal, recognizing no master but the will of the majority. Until this attempt at self-government, the greatest the world in all its centuries has ever seen, shall go deep in ruin and disaster and failure, this Union of States must continue. Thirty years and more ago, this question was forever settled, and even in these days of poverty and depression, I believe that the vast majority of the honest people of Colorado have no sympathy with these sectional appeals, and that the lurid fires of revolution which are threatened to be kindled among the hills of South Carolina will meet no answering beacon from the mountains of Colorado.

In many respects Mr. Wolcott's last speech, made at the Coliseum in Denver on the night before the close of the campaign in 1904, was different from any other ever made by him. It was a noteworthy effort, and deserves careful perusal because of its close analysis of the motives and careful history of the transactions of the Western Federation of Miners. How strong was his love for law and order may be understood when it is recalled that, antagonistic as Governor Peabody had been to him, he still made an earnest appeal for the Governor's re-election because that official had exerted himself to hold in check this organization, which, with him, Mr. Wolcott believed to be anarchistic. Take a specimen or two. Where can more severe denunciation be found in four lines than in the following, referring to the outrages which he attributed to the Federationists?

"They differ, my friends, only from the crimes of the Apaches and the Sioux in the early days of Colorado and the West, in that the Apaches and the Sioux did not know the use of dynamite."

Or where a better presentation of the point at issue in an important campaign than the following?

It is not a question whether we shall vindicate Governor Peabody, because the results have vindicated him. It is a question of whether the majority of the citizens of Colorado will to-morrow put upon record a notice to the world that the State of Colorado stands for the right to live and the right to labor, without which the republican form of government is a sham and a degradation.

Mr. Wolcott was especially fond of appealing to young voters to align themselves with the Republican party, and many of his best sentences were devoted to such appeals. We cite two instances, the first from a campaign speech at Colorado Springs in 1888, just before his first election to the Senate, and the second from a campaign speech at Denver in 1898, during his second term in the Senate and while he was trying to coax the State back into the Republican ranks after the split of 1896. In both instances, the appeal was used as a peroration to noteworthy speeches. In 1888 he said:

For the first time since the close of the Rebellion the men born since the war will cast their ballot. Soon the control of the affairs of this nation will be turned over to you. It will be left in safe hands. It is for you to guard this treasure as you would the ark of your covenant.

“Of what avail the plough or sail,  
Or land or life, if freedom fail?”

It is for you to choose which party you will serve. On the one side you have the party whose past is radiant with achievement and whose future is bright with glory,—the party which has ever trod the highway of honor, which has nothing to atone and nothing to apologize for,—the party whose mission it has ever been to lift up the down-trodden and the oppressed of every race and plant their feet upon the rock of liberty. On the other hand, you have the party which seeks for the present—offices, which seeks for the past—oblivion, and which can give us no guaranty for the fulfilment of its promises for the future.

How can you falter? You love your country. Ally yourself to the party that saved it. You heard your fathers confess having voted for Lincoln and for Grant and for Garfield. What man did you ever hear confess that he voted for Buchanan or for Breckenridge or for Seymour?

You love your flag. Attach yourself to the party that saved its thirty-eight stars. Come out with us, I beg of you, and stand in the sunlight and join the party upon whose brow the mark of shame was never stamped, whose hands are unsoiled with treason and unstained with their country's blood

And in 1898:

New horizons are opening to us; new duties are devolving upon us, and to-day no man may venture to predict the great future in store for us.

It is a glorious time to be alive and it is a noble duty that devolves upon every citizen of this free country. It may be, my friends, that this is the first year of your vote. Let me beg of you to come out into the sunlight of hope and cast your fortunes with the party which seeks to strengthen the hands of the Administration, to support the Government, and to maintain the honor of the flag wherever it floats. Do not soil yourselves by joining a party which stands for no principle; which teaches hate and bitterness; whose only hope for success lies in creating a disloyal sectionalism and the arraying of class against class, and which is even now trying to climb into power by slandering the Commander-in-Chief of our Army and our Navy, who has guided us so wisely through international breakers and who has led us to an honorable peace.

When you, in your turn, shall look back upon the days of your youth, there could be no more bitter memory in store for you than that you were then helping to erect a wall of hate to divide this commonwealth from the brotherhood of States, and that you were seeking only to snarl and to criticise. When the heroes of San Juan Hill and the survivors of the Colorado regiment who led the charge at the battle of Manila, also grown old, shall recount their stirring memories by flood and field, how would you feel if you recalled the fact that you were then engaged in throwing mud at somebody, in criticising an Administration which at that time you must at heart have honored, in voting with a party which places the question of silver paramount to that of the protection of American labor; paramount to that of the maintenance of our cherished institutions; paramount to cordial and friendly relations with our brothers to the east of us; paramount to the great issues which we are now facing, and above the honor of the flag? Don't do it, boys. Your country needs you. The world is to be made better; the shackles have to be struck from the down-trodden and the oppressed the world over. New areas are to be opened to our commerce, new duties are devolving upon us, and you, who are in the first flush of your manhood, you are needed, never more than now, to stand with us in the front ranks in the open day to fight while life is in you, that this nation shall bear the flaming sword of righteousness wherever we owe that duty to civilization and Christianity.

Come with us; face the truth and the truth shall make you



free. Hundreds of gallant souls have recently died for our country and for the sacred cause of humanity; heroes all, whether they fell by Spanish bullets or wasted by cruel disease.

“On Fame’s eternal camping-ground  
Their silent tents are spread,  
And Glory guards with solemn round  
The bivouac of the dead.”

It is for you to make secure what they have won; to pay your country the debt you owe her; the debt of chivalrous devotion, of high patriotism, and of unquestioning loyalty to your government and your flag.

We have seen how attached Mr. Wolcott was to his native New England. But, if, on the other hand, we seek evidence of his love for and his pride and confidence in the West, we soon find a surfeit of material. His speeches abound in it, and necessarily only a few specimens can be given. Probably no more characteristic expression on this subject can be found than in his two addresses before the New England Society of New York, delivered ten years apart, the first in 1887, and the second in 1897. Between those two periods much had happened to him. When he made the first speech, he was a private citizen, but a leader;—when he made the second, he was a member of the United States Senate, but he had passed through the trying experiences of 1896, and the political outlook for him was not promising. But, notwithstanding the change in conditions, the second speech was as buoyant as the first, and on both occasions the West was his most inspiring theme. Take the following specimen paragraph from the speech of 1887:

The West is only a larger, and in some respects, a better, New England. I speak not of those rose gardens of culture, Missouri and Arkansas, but otherwise, generally of the States and Territories west of the Mississippi, and more particularly, because more advisedly, of Colorado, the youngest and most rugged of the thirty-eight; almost as large in area as all New England and New York combined; “with room about her hearth for all mankind”; with fertile valleys, and with mines so rich and so plentiful that we occasionally, though reluctantly, dispose of

one to our New York friends. We have no very rich, no very poor, and no almshouses; and in the few localities where we are not good enough, New England Home Missionary societies are rapidly bringing us up to the Plymouth Rock standard and making us face the Heavenly music. We take annually from our granite hills wealth enough to pay for the fertilizers your Eastern and Southern soils require to save them from impoverishment. We have added three hundred millions to the coinage of the world; and although you call only for gold, we generously give you silver too. You are not always inclined to appreciate our efforts to swell the circulation, but none the less are we one with you in patriotic desire to see the revenues reformed, provided always that our own peculiar industries are not affected. Our mountains slope toward either sea, and in their shadowy depths we find not only hidden wealth, but inspiration and incentive to high thought and noble living, for Freedom has ever sought the recesses of the mountains for her stronghold, and her spirit hovers there; their snowy summits and the long, rolling plains are lightened all day long by the sunshine, and we are not only Colorado, but Colorado Claro!

And the following from that of 1897:

The West is not decadent; its views are of men virile, industrious, and genuine, and their beliefs are honest. They would scorn any sort of evasion of an obligation. They are patriotic men. There is in the whole Far West hardly a Northerner born who was old enough to go to the war whom you will not see on Decoration Day wearing proudly the badge of his old corps. They are Americans; to a proportion greater, far greater, than in the East, native American citizens. The views they cherish are held with practical unanimity. The beliefs of the clergyman, the lawyer, the farmer, and the storekeeper are alike. You swell their ranks every year from New England colleges. The young fellows graduate and go West, grateful that you have developed their ability to reason, and they rapidly assimilate their views with those of the people among whom they cast their lot. A distinguished New Englander wrote the other day that the differences between the sections of our country are really differences in civilization. No man familiar with the whole country would, in my opinion, share this view. Our people would accept the statement as too complimentary to them, and, if they thought you cherished the same view, would desire

me, in courtesy, to assure you that this very assemblage, in apparent intelligence and general respectability, would compare creditably, if not favorably, with any similar gathering at Creede, Bull Mountain, or Cripple Creek.

There is so much of beauty of expression, so much of State loyalty and of hope for the future of the State, so much of real eloquence in the closing lines of Mr. Wolcott's last speech in Denver, on the night of November 7, 1904, that they are repeated.

He was concluding the speech from which practically he went to his death-bed. It was the closing night of the second Peabody campaign. Toward the end, he undertook to refute the assertions of his own party friends that the defeat of Peabody would be a final disaster to the State. This he declared would not be true, and after asserting that there was a future for the State regardless of the election result, he closed in the following language:

When I think of Colorado I recall the great master Watt's picture of Hope, who sits upon a dim and dark and swirling world, with her eyes bandaged, with but one star shining in the sky, holding a lute in her hands, the strings all broken but one, and leaning over to catch from that one string some note of melody that shall give her courage to go on. So I say in Colorado, my friends, there are enough brave and good men to face whatever in the Providence of God may be in store for us, until the end; to finally make Colorado the home of good men and good women, where they may rear their children, and bury their dead;—to make it the home of a decent, a happy, a prosperous, and a free people.

His idea of the duty of citizenship as expressed in a speech at Denver, September 17, 1894, is worth quoting separately.

He said:

Ladies and gentlemen, when this country was organized, when this Republic was born, its citizens came together in poverty and suffering under oppression. They got together and said: "We vow that all we have we will cast into a common lot; we agree that we are each of us entitled to liberty and to freedom,

but that it shall be just so much liberty and so much freedom as is consistent with the liberty and the freedom of every other person." And they met and they agreed that they would give their lives, their bodies, their minds, and their hearts to the service of their country; they would serve upon juries, they would enlist in the armies, they would obey its laws and, in obedience to law, their lives if necessary were subject to the call of their fellow-citizens. That, my friends, is what citizenship in a Republic means; and it does not mean any less.

Already quotation has been made from the Monroe Doctrine speech, in the Senate, on January 22, 1896, but that was such a remarkable effort from so many points of view that it justifies frequent mention, and certainly this review would not be complete without reference to it. Take, then, the following, pertaining to the relationship between the United States and Great Britain, as a specimen expression, not only of patriotism, but of the higher sentiment of brotherly love:

Mr. President, we will protect our country and our country's interests with our lives, but we wage no wars of conquest or of hate. This Republic stands facing the dawn, secure in its liberties, conscious of its high destiny. Wherever in all the world the hand of the oppressed or the down-trodden is reached out to us, we meet it in friendly clasp. In the Old World, where unspeakable crimes even now darken the skies; in the Orient, where old dynasties have been crumbling for a thousand years and still hang together in the accumulation of infamies; in South America, where as yet the forms of free institutions hold only the spirit of cruelty and oppression; everywhere upon the earth it is our mission to ameliorate, to civilize, to Christianize, to loosen the bonds of captivity, and to point the souls of men to nobler heights. Whatever of advancement and of progress the centuries shall bring us must largely come through the spread of the religion of Christ and the dominance of the English-speaking peoples; and wherever you find both you find communities where freedom exists and law is obeyed. Blood is thicker than water, and until some just quarrel divides us, which Heaven forbid, may these two great nations of the same speech and lineage and traditions stand as brothers, shoulder to shoulder, in the interest of humanity, by their union compelling peace and awaiting the coming of the day when, "Nation shall



not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Even on the usually dry subject of the relations of silver to gold as a money metal, he could grow eloquent and pathetic, as witness the appeal to the Democrats in his speech in the Senate on August 31, 1893, while the Repeal Bill was under consideration. Predicting disaster as the result of that proposed legislation, he said:

No sectional horizon obscures our vision. If the contest for the people is to be won, it must be because against the selfish demands of the East are arrayed the united votes of the South and West. The fertile acres of your section wait for the plough of the husbandman; so do ours. You need capital for the development of your great resources; so do we. Both sections alike need fair prices for the produce of the farm, and a stable and sufficient currency.

It is for us, standing together on this great question, to save our common country from greater suffering and impoverishment than even the horrors of war could inflict; and by our united votes to maintain, not alone the standard of both gold and silver contemplated by the Constitution, and consecrated by centuries of usage, but to maintain, as well, the standard of American independence and American manhood.

Another specimen of his power of speech and of appeal in connection with the silver legislation is found in his speech of October 28, 1893, just before the taking of the vote on the Repeal Bill, when, conceding that the bill would be passed, he said in concluding a very brilliant effort:

I know my own people, and I know, as no other member of this Senate except my colleague can know, the import and meaning to Colorado of the vote which shall be had upon this measure. We came into the Union of States in the centennial year, and in the galaxy of commonwealths we are usually known as the Centennial State. We were fitted for Statehood by population and resources. Our people came from all the States in the Union; they found a desert; they have made it a garden. They were encouraged to search for the precious metals, and they poured millions of gold and silver into your treasury. They



built cities, founded schools and colleges, erected churches, and established happy and peaceful and contented homes.

The action you contemplate is as if you should take a vast and fertile area of Eastern land, destroy the structures upon it, and sow the ground with salt, that it might never again yield to the hand of the husbandman. These are indeed grave and sad days for us. Your action drives our miners from their homes in the mountains and compels the abandonment of hamlets and of towns that but yesterday were prosperous and populous. We shall turn our hands to new pursuits and seek other means of livelihood. We shall not eat the bread of idleness, and under the shadow of our eternal hills we breed only good citizens. The wrong, however, which you are inflicting upon us is cruel and unworthy, and the memory of it will return to vex you. Out of the misery of it all, her representatives in this Senate will be always glad to remember that they did their duty as God gave them the vision to see it.

Here is another expression of lofty and patriotic thought in connection with a silver speech, that made in the Senate on April 6, 1892, which is worthy of being separated from its surroundings that it may be admired for its own beauty :

It is a mistake for the representatives of one section to seek financial aggrandizement at the expense of any other. We have a common interest, a common country, and should share a common prosperity. The music of the looms in New England, the song of the field-hand on the cotton plantation, the echo of the woodman's axe in Oregon, and the ring of the prospector's pick on the granite of the Western mountains, all blend in one melodious harmony, and tell the same story of the energy of free men who conquer success because in this country industry and hope are companions. The uniting of all these interests so that no one shall suffer because of the other and so that each shall benefit and bless the other is a mission more glorious than one of conquest—is the noblest task that could be imposed upon man by his brother man.

Of all Mr. Wolcott's public addresses, none received more careful thought in subject-matter or diction than that delivered as Temporary Chairman of the National Convention at Philadelphia in 1900, when Major McKinley was re-nominated for the Presidency, and it was conceded a master-

piece by all who heard or who read it. It was an exhaustive and calm review of the first McKinley Administration, with especial reference to the conduct of the Spanish-American War, which had been brought to so brilliant a close only a little more than two years before. He was especially chosen by McKinley for this service, and the speech was regarded everywhere as a model campaign keynote.

Let a discriminating admirer who was present give his impressions of the event.

It was my good fortune to be in the Philadelphia Convention [he says]. In that convention were many great orators. Roosevelt, Foraker, Thurston, Knight of California, Depew, Lodge, and many others spoke, but Wolcott made the speech of the convention. His speech had all the argument, the beauty of diction, the scholarly and rhetorical effect of that of Lodge, and in addition it had a brilliance and fervor which compelled attention and enthusiasm. He had a commanding presence and possessed in a high degree that peculiar quality best called "magnetism." When he reached a climax every one cheered because he could not help it. I never shall forget this dramatic period, delivered with wonderful feeling and force at the close of his brilliant argument on the Philippine question:

"Our dead are buried along the sands of Luzon, and on its soil no foreign flag shall ever salute the dawn."

Mr. Wolcott's speech in nomination of Mr. Blaine at the Republican National Convention of 1892 made a deep and lasting impression upon many who never had heard him before. It was not known that this duty was to come to him, and his taking the floor was a surprise to the audience. It is the custom at National Conventions to call the States in alphabetical order for nominations, and Mr. Wolcott was fortunate in that Colorado came so early on the list. Alabama, Arkansas, and California had been named, but had made no response. When Colorado was reached, and Senator Wolcott addressed the Chair, a hush fell over the assembly. Taking advantage of the impression thus produced, he did not leave his hearers to wonder whom he was to present, but brought forward the name of his candidate with startling effect in his opening words:

"The Republicans of the West sometimes differ with the

Republicans of the East as to what is wanted. On this occasion there is remarkable unanimity between genuine Republicans of the West and genuine Republicans of the East as to who is needed, and his name is Blaine."

Then followed in choice epigrammatic phrase an enumeration of Mr. Blaine's achievements and a chivalrous expression of the devotion of his followers, the whole being compact but comprehensive and inspiring. The speaker was taking his seat five minutes from the time that he began.

On a later occasion, when Mr. Blaine had passed away, Wolcott paid a feeling tribute to his memory, the following being one of many passages which might be adduced to show how fittingly he could speak of the worthy dead. It is an extract from his Lincoln Day speech at the dinner of the New York Republican Club in 1893, Mr. Blaine's death having occurred but a short time before. He said:

And so, my friends, we pledge each other to the memory of our departed leader. Brave, sincere, patriotic, gallant, magnanimous, and intrepid, rarely since men have been born has so lovable and true a soul, a "fairer spirit or more welcome shade" been ferried over the river. The world is better because he was of it; we are better for the inspiration of his presence and the stimulus of his example. He will shine for us, and for those who come after us, as "the star of the unconquered will." When the rancors and political animosities of this generation shall have passed away, patriotic men of all parties will pay their full tribute of respect and admiration to the memory of James Gillespie Blaine.

Sensational journalism received much attention from him in his Colorado campaign speeches, and occasionally was referred to in his general addresses. In his second New England Day oration in New York, he addressed himself to that subject in a few sentences that are almost classic in their force, terseness, and cleverness. He said:

The continued friction is largely generated both East and West by a certain modern type of newspaper. The plague may have started here, but it has spread and sprouted like the Canada thistle until it is a blight in Colorado, as it is a curse here and wherever it plants itself. Wherever there is a cause

to misrepresent, a hate to be fanned, a slander to utter, a reputation to besmirch, it exhales its foul breath. It knows no party, no honor, and no virtue. It stirs only strife and hatred, and appeals only to the low and the base. It calls itself journalism, but its name is Pander and its color is yellow.

## COURSE IN LEGISLATION

Aggressive and radical though he was in speech, Mr. Wolcott was conservative in action. Especially was this true in matters of importance affecting the interests of others. In legislation, his tendency was quite as much toward preventing wrong action as toward promoting right action. He was inclined to think that there was too much law-making, and no man was quicker to detect the flaw in a proposed course of legislation.

The critical student of Mr. Wolcott's Senatorial career may point out that he was not "constructive." The "constructive statesman" is the man who outlines policies in laws written by himself. It must be admitted that the Colorado Senator gave comparatively little attention to the drafting of bills. Many reasons may be assigned for this failure. Most legislative policies are dictated either by the Administration or by the Elder Statesmen, "the white-buttoned Mandarins of the Senate and House," as they have been called by a Western Senator of a later time than Mr. Wolcott's. Policies belong to crises, and comparatively few real crises occur in the course of two Senatorial terms.

During Mr. Wolcott's twelve years in the Senate there were scarcely more than half a dozen occurrences demanding the broad exercise of this faculty. The most important of these were the Venezuelan embroglio, the situation caused by the pendency of the Force Bill; the fight for silver, national and international; and the Spanish-American War. All these questions except the war had their origin anterior to Mr. Wolcott's entrance into the Senate, and while he could have done nothing and really did nothing by way of constructiveness in connection with the Force Bill or the Venezuelan matter, he did play an effective part in bringing to naught the policies out of which these questions arose. If it be objected that it is easier to tear down than to build



up, it may be replied that this is not necessarily true when the Administration is behind the policy, as was the case in both these instances. If it requires ability to construct, it requires courage to demolish—and frequently also tact and skill. Often, too, as much patriotism and wisdom are displayed in demolition as in construction; prevention of poor legislation is as essential to good government as the enactment of good legislation.

Much fine generalship was displayed in the attack on the Venezuelan policy of President Cleveland and in the fight on the Force Bill of the Harrison régime. In the strict sense of the term, there was no “constructive” legislation in either case. But the Wolcott speech on Venezuela exercised a vast influence in preventing a growth of sentiment against the Mother Country and was the beginning of a reaction favorable to that country, which has gained momentum from the day the address was delivered until the present time. So potent indeed was its influence that fourteen years after its delivery an Anglo-American League was started to perpetuate the Colorado man’s ideas of unity between the United States and Great Britain. So also with the Force Bill. Mr. Wolcott’s convictions would not have permitted him to become the author of that measure, but they did impel him to become its destroyer, and thus again he aided, though by a negative course, in establishing a policy.

Judged by these two measures, Mr. Wolcott’s faculty lay in the line of destructiveness or obstructiveness rather than in that of constructiveness, but neither his destructiveness nor obstructiveness was the result of thoughtless recklessness. In these, as in other matters, he did much in the way of forming policies and changing thought, but he did not find it necessary to write long and platitudinous laws to accomplish these results. It is possible to shape policies by preventing legislation, and Mr. Wolcott was a master in this art. He believed in natural development unobstructed by artificial means.

The silver legislation was well under way when he entered the Senate. At best it was largely defensive in character, but in connection with it he suggested many useful



ideas; he was the father of the International Commission of 1897. In the Spanish War he stood with the Administration throughout, and while from first to last his advice was sought, the shaping of bills and resolutions was left largely to the Executive officials and to the committees having in hand the various subjects which the War made it necessary for Congress to consider. Three tariff bills were enacted into law while he was in the Senate, but under the Constitution tariff bills must originate in the House, and all three were prepared there.

Confessedly Mr. Wolcott did not enjoy detail, but that he could originate legislation was shown not only in his silver measures, but in his Private Land Court Bill and other general measures introduced by him; and there is every reason to believe that if he had been permitted to "grow gray" in the Senate he would have performed his share of this character of work. Still, his conservatism would have prevented any riot of legislative suggestion. He did not believe in experimental laws.

But Mr. Wolcott never could have served long enough to take on the airs of a "statesman." Never a poser, he abhorred all pretence and assumed no position to which his talents and achievements did not entitle him. He was in no respect a professional office-holder. His ambition was to be a practical lawmaker and a useful legislator, and whatever service fell within the requirements of these offices he was willing to perform. He could draw bills and outline policies when necessary, but, as a rule, his forte lay rather in the direction of shaping up the measures drawn by others and in assisting in getting them through if they appealed to him. In a word, he regarded legislation as a matter of business, and while he enjoyed the life in the Senate, he never allowed himself to assume the airs and take on the attitudes of many men who wear the Senatorial toga. On the other hand, he appreciated the fact that he was capable of rendering more service than he had given to the Senatorship, and a few months before his death he told some of his friends that if ever he should return to the Senate he meant to take up the work more seriously than hitherto he had done. With that re-

solve and with his abilities still undiminished, he undoubtedly would have given the country much splendid service even though he did not pose as a "statesman" or seek to connect his name with statutes.

## AS A POLITICIAN

FROM 1886, when he began to lay his plans to go to the Senate, until 1905, the time of his death, Mr. Wolcott was the actual and active leader of the Republican party in Colorado, and in that time there were few who disputed his right to the place. During the first half of the period Senator Teller held high rank as a party adviser; but he did not aspire to active command of the party forces, and was quite content to leave that service to his co-worker, who was younger and more willing to assume the duties and responsibilities of the position. After Mr. Teller left the party in 1896, there was a considerable period when the junior Senator was the sole dispenser of party patronage and the supreme dictator of party policy in the State. For a brief period after the party began to regain its standing, following the disastrous campaigns of 1896, 1898, and 1900, there were efforts by ambitious men within the Republican ranks to displace him, and while these efforts had the effect of preventing his return to the Senate, his position of leadership was disturbed only momentarily, and before his death he had regained complete control.

Necessarily, a large part of this book is a record of Mr. Wolcott's political career, and there is no intention even to summarize that portion of his life here. There are, however, some facts connected with it that can be better presented in a detached way than as a part of the regular narrative, and it has been thought worth while to emphasize some of the qualities to which he owed his success in the political arena.

From the beginning of its history, Colorado has been a

State of politicians. At the head of the old-time list stood Jerome B. Chaffee, who rose to the distinction not only of a seat in the Senate of the United States, but to that of the head of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee during the Blaine campaign in 1884. He was ably flanked by Henry M. Teller, who, while not so demonstrative, was still more successful; by John Evans, N. P. Hill, Thomas M. Bowen, John L. Routt, and William A. Hamill, on the Republican side, and by W. A. H. Loveland, Bela M. Hughes, Thomas M. Patterson, Charles S. Thomas, and Alva Adams, Democrats. A history of these men would be a history of Colorado from early Territorial days until the present time. All were able and astute, and each might have been a leader in any field. But none of them embodied such a virile and happy combination of the qualities of mind and heart that make for a leader as did Edward O. Wolcott. Some of them may have been stronger in certain lines than he, but none possessed so many of the qualifications necessary to success in conducting the affairs of a great party. These were equal to the task of keeping him in the forefront of Colorado political affairs for a quarter of a century. For much of that time he was not alone the leader of the Republican party in the State; he was the party "boss," if you will. He made and unmade men. He controlled the Federal appointments and selected most of the candidates for State offices. The National Committeemen, and a majority of the State Committeemen, also, were generally designated by him.

That Mr. Wolcott won this distinction by sheer force of ability the facts bear ample testimony. He had powerful friends, to be sure. But whence those friends? He did not have any in the beginning. They came to him as the result in part of his engaging personality; but there must have been more than mere address to bring to his aid such men as at first "boosted" and afterward followed him. From the first there was more than mere amiability in the man, and he scarcely had passed from boyhood before his substantial characteristics began to make themselves manifest. He never was a dead weight to his friends; he was a real assistance in any cause which he espoused. He soon de-

veloped such qualities that his services as an adviser and then as a director were in demand, and, once tested, whether in business or politics, they were not soon dispensed with. The qualities which gave him the place of leadership were born in him, and their manifestation waited only upon opportunity. And what were these qualities? His personal friend and political co-worker, Hon. A. M. Stevenson, of Denver, has been asked to answer this question, and he has done so briefly in the following paragraph:

As a party leader, Wolcott was the Sheridan of party politics. He was always aggressive and never on the defensive, but with it all he was not a narrow partisan. He was controlled by the courage of his convictions, and neither party declarations nor the will of the majority could make him abandon what he considered a just position. His aggressiveness was as bold and attractive when leading a forlorn hope as when directing the movements of a majority. He always fought in the open. His weakness as a party leader was his strength as a man. He despised shams and hypocrisy. He was wise in counsel and so quick that he comprehended in a moment the most complex situations. It was often difficult to follow his active brain, and this sometimes made him impatient with friends, but he was deeply grieved when he saw he had offended. He was liberal, often lavish, with his money for every possible legitimate expense of the campaign. He knew human nature well and understood that most men were affected by this environment or that influence, and he used his knowledge for success. There was nothing he despised or denounced more than the use of money for corrupt purposes, and it was hard to make him believe that men would sell themselves for gold.

Probably one of the most accurate as well as one of the most appreciative analyses ever made of Mr. Wolcott's character as a man and as a politician was written by his political and personal friend, Ottomar H. Rothacker, in 1885, before Wolcott had entered the Senate—indeed, before he was regarded as a candidate for a seat in that body, and it was the means of calling out an equally appreciative letter of criticism from Dr. Wolcott, father of the subject of it all.

Rothacker was himself one of the most brilliant young



men of early Colorado. A Kentuckian by rearing, if not by birth, he went to Colorado soon after the admission of the State into the Union. He became editor of the *Denver Tribune*, and it was most natural that he and Wolcott should be attracted to each other. They became very intimate. Later the Hill faction came into control of the *Tribune*, and the direction of the policy of the paper was entrusted largely to Wolcott. Wolcott and Rothacker were in perfect harmony in the management of the sheet, and the latter remained with it until 1884, when he removed to Washington and became correspondent there for the *Denver News*. It was in this latter capacity that he wrote the Wolcott article. His letter was dated October 6, 1885, and was based upon the assumption that Wolcott would be a candidate for Representative in the lower House of Congress in 1886, to succeed Judge Symes.

The letter began abruptly with a declaration of confidence in Wolcott's strength. "I think," said Mr. Rothacker, "that Wolcott is the ablest man in Colorado politics," and he then proceeded:

I don't mean by this that he is the ablest politician. His disposition is the mortal enemy of expediency. I mean that he has more striking qualities than any man who has puttered in the science of office-holding in the State. In many respects he reminds one of Matt Carpenter. In one point the resemblance is particularly striking. Every one used to speak of the Senator as "Matt." When they spoke to him they said Mr. Carpenter.

In Congress Ed Wolcott would be the most striking Republican from the West. He has more ability than any man now on the floor of the House. He would create there much the same kind of effect that Blaine did when his effective personality first began to get recognition. He would make more enemies however. He can be sugar one day and vitriol the next. He would attract attention from the very first and become a national figure, but bitter enmities would be blended with warm friendships. He has a singular capacity in handling men. He has also a fatal facility for driving them away from him. He has the political weakness for discrediting his best friends and of crediting his meanest foes. This blindness all politicians seem to be afflicted with. The best of them are not free from it.

In the main, however, Wolcott is as good as any of them, and

his memory for service is quite as long. Beyond the lower traits of office-getting he has some which are very exceptional. He is a man with a very quick intellect. He has a ready instinct for the broader phases of public questions which are comprised in statesmanship. His impulses are all toward the upper plane. His normal judgment is a high and correct one. On any national question he is pretty sure to be with the best thought of the country. On any question of local supremacy he will not hesitate to use the worst. In politics he is decidedly practical.

When Campbell was nominated in the convention of 1882, Wolcott, as everybody knows, bolted the nomination. Never was a bolt better based. The nomination was forced through against party sentiment and party expediency. It was grotesque in its absurdity. At no time was it at all certain that Campbell was even a Republican. Assuredly he had never held any position in the party that justified his nomination. It has been claimed that because Wolcott was a member of the convention he should have supported the nominee. The character of the nominee was a sufficient release from any pledge. It has been said that because Hamill and he made Chaffee chairman they should have upheld him. The nomination of Chaffee as chairman was a broad joke. Hamill, who *did* support the ticket, said of this: "Chaffee steered the cart into the mud; let him drag it out again." The bolt from Campbell was justified by the action of the majority of the Republican voters of the State.

I was led to this digression by a recollection that just before I left the State I heard several able Republicans suggest that "Ed Wolcott ought to make himself right with the party." My dear deluded friends did not know him. It can be better put by saying that the party will have to make itself right with Ed Wolcott. He is rather an imperious person in his way. During the last Presidential campaign it took some urging to get him on the stump, and there was considerable rejoicing at the Republican State Headquarters when this was accomplished. The truth is that Wolcott can get along without his party better than his party can get along without him. He does n't need it for a living, and one of these days it may need him.

The plain fact runs that Ed Wolcott has many of the unusual attributes which belong in the make-up of a national politician. He even has some instincts of statesmanship, and I use the word in its most conservative sense. He has absolute

genius as an orator. His organizing ability is far beyond the ordinary. His mind is marvellously alert. His capacity for absorbing judgment—if such a paradox be allowable—is of the broadest sort. He could never be a commonplace figure in Washington. Indeed it would not astonish one if a first experience there should put him in a position of unusual prominence. He would bear much the same relation to the Rocky Mountain country that Conkling does to New York, that Carpenter did to Wisconsin, that Morton did to Indiana, that Blackburn does to Kentucky. The dead level of the present House would only be a pedestal for him. He would rise above it from the very start. He would be a vastly bigger man in Congress than he has ever been in any Colorado political convention. The atmosphere would be more natural to him, and he would breathe more freely. It would be like jumping from Sophomore to Senior, and he would be quite at home at once. He would have the great advantage of representing a strong and growing section, and this is a powerful foundation for any politician young in national history.

If he really means to strive for a place in the larger arena of national politics it will be easy enough. All he will have to do will be to recognize some of the people whom he has not been in the habit of recognizing, to appreciate disinterested support at its real worth, and forget that he was born with a chip on his shoulder.

The father's letter which the Rothacker article called out probably was the last of the many addressed by him to his son in their long and intimate relationship. He then was suffering from the illness which a few months later terminated fatally, and the letter was dictated. It was, however, signed by its author, although in faltering hand. It ran :

LEXINGTON, MASS., Oct. 22, '85.

The occasion of this letter is the *Denver News* of the 11th instant, sent me by Mr. Vaille who is now in New York, at Henry's request. Rothacker's article is written with admiration and an evident desire to aid you. It is the more valuable for its criticisms. I have little doubt that politics is your destination, and wish in this connection to offer a suggestion or two, kindly, but frankly and plainly.

1. Do not needlessly alienate your friends. "One day sugar, the next day vitriol," is, I fear, a true indictment, and there is

no excuse for it. It is not principle that leads you to offend your friends, but your grim humor, your caustic mood, and for this there is no apology.

You have no right to wound unnecessarily the feelings of any one, and you make a radical mistake, my son, when you thus exasperate your friends. Consider whether the remark which you are tempted to make or your brusque manner will injure the feelings of any one, and if it will, by all means refrain from the infliction. In this respect as in others you have only to carry out the Golden Rule. If you hurt inadvertently, do not hesitate to offer an apology. There is no humiliation in acknowledging a mistake. Begin, if you please, by a letter to Rothacker, thanking him for the handsome terms in which he has spoken of you, and telling him that you will endeavor to profit by his criticisms. One who can make friends and keep them as easily as you can should be on his guard against alienating and losing them in this way.

2. Be imbued with the moral sentiment in all your acts. Rothacker says in substance that in national questions you are influenced by the best considerations, and in local matters by the worst. I want you to be equally scrupulous on all questions. Carry the ethical principle into all. Never appeal to men's prejudices, but only to their reason and conscience. Recognize fully the moral features of every issue, and advocate and pursue the course which you think is right in God's sight. I deem this the very first quality of true statesmanship.

Mr. Wolcott possessed the rare combination of astuteness, courage, and confidence. He was resourceful to an unusual degree, and daring almost to the point of audacity. His political foresight, or perhaps intuition, especially in State elections, was marvellous. In gauging sentiment, estimating party strength, discounting local issues, and measuring the volume and direction of the diverse currents of Colorado politics, he was invariably correct; and, sustained by perennial hope and unflinching loyalty to a cause which he believed to be just, he fought one campaign after another, and always with zeal and vigor. In all things he was a man of system, and he made thorough preparation for his contests. He had lieutenants in all parts of the State, and he held them to him as with bands of steel. No man knew the State better than he. All portions of it



were familiar to him, and he knew the character of people with whom he had to deal in each county. He was acquainted with the local leaders, and generally understood in advance who would be for him and who against him. He knew the kind of influence to use, knew what would "catch" this man and what would influence the other. When a campaign was on he "went after" men in any legitimate way, and he often was able to bring to bear influences which were unknown even to the men whom he sought to reach.

If funds were necessary in the preparation of the campaign, to get out votes, or for the general conduct of the business of the contest, he used them. No corrupter of private virtue, Mr. Wolcott did not hesitate to use his means in a proper way to promote his own interests or the interests of his friends or of his party in the conduct of a campaign. In order to understand his course in the use of money, it is necessary to look at the subject from his standpoint. He went into politics as he would have gone into a battle. A battle implies war, and war means bloodshed. He knew that, metaphorically speaking, his enemy was trying to kill him and was liable to do so if he did not kill the enemy. He knew that the "other fellow" was paying for printing, for halls, for speakers, and for the time given to his cause by his supporters. If therefore he employed money in a campaign he used it as a weapon of warfare. But if he bought, he never sold. His allegiance once given to cause or man, he never faltered, although certain defeat stared him in the face. Self-reliant, courageous, and well-informed, he went into each conflict weighing well the conditions and always determined to win if possible. But, whether to win or lose, he was "there to stay."

No better fighter ever engaged in the political battle than this same Ed Wolcott. With him politics was a game, and he played no game that he did not play to win. He fought desperately, and he did not often surrender willingly. When, however, the inevitable was forced upon him, and he found himself without resource, he retired gracefully. Under such circumstances his retirement was only temporary, for no sooner had he been beaten in one contest than he began to prepare for another.



It has been asserted that Senator Wolcott was not a good judge of men. His tolerance and forbearance lent some weight to the statement, but in fact he was rarely, if ever, wholly deceived. Time and again, after an interview with this man or that, who protested his interest and loyalty, he remarked: "He is not with us," or "He is against us," or again, "Poor chap, he would like to be with us, but he can't"; and sooner or later the accuracy of his judgment was manifest.

He would read a man at first sight as completely as if he had made him [said Henry Brady, Mr. Wolcott's right-hand in Denver politics]. Many a time I have picked up some fellow for use in the campaign and asked the Senator if I might bring him to see him. Two to one he would know the man, and if he did he would either say "Put him to work," or "We don't want him; he's no good." If he didn't know the fellow, he probably would ask me to bring him to see him; and when I took him he would size him up in a minute or two. If his judgment was adverse he often would yield. "You can try him," he would say, "but you'll find he'll fall down on you," or "he'll betray you," or "he'll prove worthless." And it always was as he predicted it would be. It was the same way in selecting candidates; he warned us against several men whom we insisted upon nominating, and we always found after a while that we would have done more wisely if we had heeded his warnings. But he was loyal when a candidate was agreed upon, and he gave his earnest support even though he did not believe in the man. Why [added Mr. Brady], he could read a letter from a man he had never seen and tell you all about him.

The reason for his successful predictions lay in his deep knowledge of human nature. He knew that most men had their weak points, and his familiarity with conditions throughout the State was so great that he could foresee where this or that supporter might be attacked and won over to the opposition. He knew, also, that he antagonized some temperaments, and he appreciated that in time such aversion would bear fruit.

Still, with all these qualities, he was not a perfect leader. At times he lacked caution, and he was not always mindful

of popular sentiment. Nor was he at all times amenable to party discipline. His faults were the faults of impetuosity, of self-will, of determination to bring things out his way. He did not compromise. On at least one occasion he bolted the ticket of his party. That occurred in 1882 when his brother failed to obtain the gubernatorial nomination. The provocation was great, but it was a tactical mistake, and a man of less genius could not have forced his own nomination to the highest office in the gift of the State so soon afterward as did Mr. Wolcott.

The truth is that he was mentally superior to most men. In that fact lay the secret of his success. He could be forgiven more in politics than any one else, because, while all knew his failings, all recognized his transcendent ability, his innate integrity, and his high ideals. Colorado was proud of his brilliant qualities, and was pleased to have him represent her in the Senate even though he was somewhat erratic in politics. He was a favorite son, "a spoilt child," if you will, and forgiveness was granted him almost before he asked.

#### A PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATION

Earl M. Cranston, for many years United States District Attorney for the District of Colorado, relates a series of experiences with Mr. Wolcott which splendidly illustrate the characteristics of the Colorado Senator as a political worker and leader. The first of these portrays his manner of "going after" what he wanted and of beating down opposition when he could do so. The second shows how he could be touched by a frank appeal and how, his resentment giving place to generosity, he could be gracious and magnanimous in the face of antagonism when convinced of its honesty of motive. The third, a fitting sequel, brings reward for his magnanimity. It should be stated that because of his fear of being misunderstood Mr. Cranston supplied the incidents only in response to urgent solicitation. Here is the narrative:

In the campaign preceding the first election of Mr. Wolcott to the United States Senate, it became desirable for him to have as mayor of Denver, a man who should favor

his candidacy. Mr. Wolcott lived in the old Second Ward of Denver, where Cranston had grown up and where he then was making his first entrance into politics. In a general way he knew that Wolcott was a candidate for the Senate, but he did not know that he had any particular candidate for mayor. Nor had the importance of the city convention to him ever suggested itself to the young man's inexperience. The ward delegation consisted of twenty members, of whom Wolcott and Cranston were two, with Wolcott as chairman.

The evening before the convention the delegation met in Cranston's office for a caucus, and there, for the first time, he learned that the mayoralty candidate to whom he had pledged his utmost efforts in the convention was not Mr. Wolcott's candidate, but that, on the contrary, he favored a different man. Cranston was able, however, to hold through all the ballots about a quarter of the delegation for his candidate as against Wolcott's.

Although Cranston had said and done nothing in his presence to indicate his preference, Mr. Wolcott, with that lightning intelligence which always characterized him, knew where the trouble lay, and called his antagonist into a back room alone. "There," says Mr. Cranston, "with his hands in his pockets, walking up and down with the stride we all knew so well, and tossing his head from side to side in the manner peculiar to himself, he began to talk."

"I want you to understand that this nonsense must cease," he said abruptly and savagely.

"Why, Mr. Wolcott," protested Cranston in astonishment, "I don't know what you mean."

The conversation proceeded:

"You can't deceive me, sir; don't deny that you are voting for — on this secret ballot."

"Why, certainly, Mr. Wolcott, I am voting for him," replied Cranston, surprised at the suggestion of attempted deception on his part.

"More than that, sir, five of your friends are voting for him simply because you tell them to do so, and will stay with him as long as you say, and you need n't deny that either," persisted Wolcott.

The response was another confession. Declaring that he did not understand what was meant about "denial" and "concealment," Cranston said: "Of course, my friends whom I can influence are voting for —, and I hope you are right in saying that they will continue as long as I ask them to do so."

Wolcott's reply was a demand for the entire delegation. It must, he said, be perfectly apparent by that time who his candidate was. "I promised him the support of this, my home ward, and I am entitled to it," he said, and added: "It is very necessary for me to deliver this support, and you are holding out a quarter of it against me. You must come over right now."

But Mr. Cranston did not yield. "I am very sorry," he said, "but I can't do it, and I wish you would please listen while I tell you why."

The Senatorial aspirant was not in a listening mood. "I don't care to hear you," he said; "it is enough to know that you refuse." Then he delivered an ultimatum, saying: "You might just as well move out of Colorado, because you will never get a thing in this State as long as you stay here. I will make it my business to see that you don't, and every time you poke your head through the fence, I am going to hit it."

Crushing as was this threat, Cranston was not subdued. Without feeling on his part and making due allowance for Mr. Wolcott's interest and excitement, he persisted in being heard. He said:

"Very well, Mr. Wolcott, you are the most powerful man in the State, and I am just beginning business life, so that I suppose you have the strength to do as you say; but before you finally decide, I mean to tell you why it is impossible for me to comply with your request. Then, if you still have the determination you have just expressed, I will have to stand it. Six months ago, not knowing, in my inexperience, that you would have any interest in this campaign for mayor, I promised to deliver all the votes I could in the Second Ward, to —. I have repeated that promise since. Such an agreement to me seems as binding as a promissory note or any business undertaking which a man



may enter into. You are right in saying that I can deliver the six votes, and I can hold them against anybody, through the entire convention. Now, if, knowing that I could do this, after having made such a promise, I should surrender them at anybody's dictation, I never would respect myself and my friends would never respect me. Furthermore, if ever in the future I should make you a promise about anything, you wouldn't place an atom of reliance upon it, because you would know that I was not a dependable man, and one of these days, Mr. Wolcott, you may be the man to whom I will make a promise; I can't go back on my word."

The plea captured Wolcott. It scarcely had been concluded "when," says Cranston, "he reached both hands across the table and grasped my own, and with his face fairly illumined by that smile of friendship which I afterward learned to know so well, he said:

"My boy, you are absolutely right; stick to your man through thick and thin. It won't do you any good, because we are going to nominate —— and you can't stop it. But you and I are friends from now on."

Saying that he was pleased to have Mr. Wolcott speak as he had spoken, because he wanted to be his friend, Mr. Cranston told him that at the convention which was to take place the next day, in order to make his support effective, he would be obliged to follow Wolcott about the floor as he was trading the delegation, and trade his quarter against Wolcott's three-quarters.

At that, he threw his head back with a laugh, and said: "Certainly, my boy, certainly, I understand all that,—the tail goes with the hide."

"The next day," says Cranston, "in the midst of a deadlock lasting all afternoon, with repeated ballots and the tension at the very highest, time and time again, dogging at his heels, I would say to some chairman of a delegation: 'Mr. Wolcott has only three-quarters of our vote,—I am trading a quarter against him,' whereupon, he would turn with a laugh, and say: 'Yes, he is right, trade with him for his quarter,' and then would pass on to the next man."

Mr. Cranston continues:



The beautiful part of this story is that after Mr. Wolcott's candidate had been triumphantly nominated and elected, one of my solid half-dozen came to me, as he had a perfect right to do, to ask my help in getting him the best position under the new mayor, that of private secretary.

Knowing that I had no claim upon the mayor, but appreciating, even then, the noble trait of magnanimity which so thoroughly characterized Senator Wolcott, I told my friend that I would do what I could, and went straight to Mr. Wolcott about it.

Never will I forget the place and time, even the hour of day, of our interview. After I had made frank disclosure of my desire and confession that I had no right to ask anything of him, the response came, quick as a flash: "Yes, sir, you have the right to ask of me anything you please, and it will be an exceeding pleasure on my part to grant any request you make that lies within my power. If you are certain that your friend is a good stenographer, understands men, and has the proper address and tact in dealing with people, he can have the place. I do not mention the qualities of character and personal respectability, because the fact that he is your friend makes this unnecessary."

"Yes, Mr. Wolcott, he has all those qualities."

"Very well, sir, he shall have the place."

"But, Mr. Wolcott, in fairness to yourself, one other thing should be said. He was one of those six men that stood with us against you in the convention."

"I don't give a copper about that; I like him all the better, because I tried every way I knew to get each one of those six fellows away from you, and couldn't do it. They are stayers, every one of them, and just the sort of chaps I want for my friends. They are good fighters."

Of course, I overwhelmed him with my thanks, and then started to go away, only to hear that ringing laugh of his behind me. "Hold on a minute, here! come back," he called, with a note-book in his hand. "Here we have spent ten minutes talking about your friend and I have agreed that he shall have the place, and he shall have; but how the devil do you suppose I can have him appointed until you give me his name; you seem to have forgotten all about that."

It is gratifying to add that Cranston's friend was appointed the same week, and remained throughout the Ad-

ministration, as one of the most trusted assistants of the mayor. Both Cranston and the private secretary were able afterward to render effective service in the Senator's first election, and it is in that connection that the sequel is found.

In the following State election Mr. Cranston was chosen a member of the Legislature from Arapahoe County. He was unpledged, but by this time his friendship for Mr. Wolcott had come to be of the most ardent character. Shortly after the election, and before the Legislature met, hearing that rumors were abroad as to the loyalty of the delegation from his county, and never having given any promise to Mr. Wolcott, the young member naturally felt that the Senatorial aspirant might perhaps be uneasy as to his attitude, and be annoyed by the reports which were repeated and constant; accordingly, he went to Mr. Wolcott's office, where the following colloquy took place:

MR. WOLCOTT: Well, sir, what can I do for you?

MR. CRANSTON: I merely dropped in to talk with you about the Senatorial election.

"Well, what about it?"

"In view of certain rumors which, of course, you have heard, I think you and I would better have a talk as to my attitude, because, as you know, we never have had an agreement."

"Now, see here, my boy, suppose I should go to Alaska and be gone ten years, do you think that when I came back to Denver, and announced myself as a candidate for the United States Senate, I would ask my brother Henry whether he would support me or not?"

"Why, certainly not. Such a question would, of course, be very needless."

"Just as much need in that case as in yours. I understand you just as well as you understand yourself, and I know what you are going to do with your vote in the Legislature. I don't want any promises from you. It takes enough time to watch the scoundrels without bothering about square men. You go back to your office and attend to your law business, if you have any, and if you haven't any,

hustle around and get some, and don't waste your time and mine in telling me what you will do."

Mr. Cranston's was among the first votes cast for Wolcott, and it is not too much to say that the latter's election was almost as gratifying to his former antagonist as to himself.

A Denver attorney, who had stood with Mr. Wolcott through the trying times of 1896 and until 1900, and had then joined the opposition, was asked at the time of his change why he had made it. His reply probably covers the experience of many. "Because," he said, "I could not think under his leadership. He did the thinking for me. He held me and the rest of the crowd as he willed. He let you think you were doing your share of the thinking, but when it came to a show-down, you thought as he thought or not at all. I wanted to do my own thinking and I broke away. He was too powerful for me."

"Do you mean he was the Czar of the Republican party of Colorado?"

"Not that—but——"

"But what?"

"Oh, blank it, he is such a forcible fellow—he is so magnetic that I felt he would have me in the hollow of his hand if I stayed under his leadership."

It is interesting to know that this same attorney went back to the Wolcott fold and afterward worked night and day in his interest.

Necessarily a man of such pronounced views and of such outspoken expression made enemies. There was a new troop of them after every campaign, and a fresh group after each appointment to office. As a rule these were men who had been disappointed by some preference shown by the Senator for others. Unquestionably, too, he antagonized many by his free manner of handling subjects in his speeches and conversations. A friendly critic, writing of this phase of the Senator's character, took the view that in the main enmity toward him was due to faults in the other person, saying in part:

An objection was once made to a prominent politician that

so many were unfriendly to him. The reply was, "We love him for the enemies he has made." The same thing might be said of Senator Wolcott. One who listens to political gabble in Colorado must expect to hear harsh things about Wolcott. He is blessed with talkative foes. In some instances antagonism is due to narrow-mindedness, in some envy, and in some it is a case of the pot calling the kettle black. It is a great deal safer to judge a man by the foes he has than by the friends. Wolcott is undoubtedly proud of some of the former. The test of greatness is the ability to make enemies.

#### EARLY POLITICAL PREDILECTIONS

That Mr. Wolcott was not enamored of politics in his early life, his letters to his home people bear witness. As early as August 12, 1878, just before he was nominated for the State Senate, in a letter to his father telling him of his prospect for the nomination, he states it to be his "sincere wish to keep out of politics altogether." He adds: "I am no politician, and I have no aspirations."

And again, October 13, 1878, just after his election:

The campaign is over, and everybody is trying to get back to business again. My majority was a complete surprise to myself, as it was, I suppose, to everybody else. I had some 300 more votes than anybody, and a majority of 516 in a vote of 2155. It is all over now, and it has n't been worth the expense and trouble. There is no especial honor in the office, and it was won at the cost of a neglected business, considerable money, and a good deal of toadying and dirt-eating, and a general lowering of self-respect. I find I can be considerable of a political worker when I choose, but I hate politics and the arts of the politicians.

On the 23d of October, we find him writing as follows to his parents, evidently in response to a letter from his father:

Father's letter came to-day. I read it over carefully three times, and mail it to Henry to-night. The advice it contains is capital. It is a splendid letter throughout, and I wish I could follow its teachings as he would wish. I always do take the moral side of every public question; it is the one good habit

that remains as the result of my early training, but the force of such a position is unfortunately sometimes broken by a man's private life. I never expect to be in politics again. I regret to say that I know but little of the history of my country, and am not fitted for any public place.

March 5, 1881, just before the close of his State Senatorial term, he wrote his father, saying: "I am sick of it all, and while I live in Colorado I shall never go into politics."

Again, March 30, 1881, he wrote:

"If I had only followed all the good advice you have given me in the last twenty-five years, what a different man I would be! But if I don't always follow your instructions and suggestions, I'm none the less glad to receive them. However, I shall stick to my resolution to keep out of politics for good. It is the best thing."

There were more letters to the same effect.

A study of Mr. Wolcott's early career in politics reveals the fact that he never was hide-bound in his allegiance to party leaders or candidates. There is nothing, however, to indicate that he was not loyal at all times to the principles of his party, as certainly he was. Already the fact of his opposition to Campbell as the Republican candidate for Governor in 1882 has been shown, but it probably would not be suspected that ten years previous he had felt friendly toward the candidacy of Horace Greeley for the Presidency; that in 1876, though for party reasons, he favored Tilden in the contest before the Electoral Commission, and that even as late as 1884 he was not without consolation over the defeat of his later favorite Blaine by the latter's Democratic opponent, Grover Cleveland. There is no evidence that he voted for the Democratic candidate in any of these elections, and there is positive refutation of the charge frequently made during his life, that he cast his ballot for Cleveland as against Blaine. The presumption is that he voted for his party's candidates in every instance, notwithstanding his dislike for some of them.

In a letter written to his father dated at Georgetown,



August 12, 1872, just after his return from a campaign of ineffectual effort to obtain the Republican nomination for the District Attorneyship, he wrote:

“Do you wear a Greeley hat? The usual answer out here to the question, ‘How is North Carolina?’ is, ‘I don’t care if I do.’ My opinion is that old Chappaquack will be elected. What is yours?”

If this indicates a friendly feeling for Mr. Greeley, the fact should be borne in mind that until very recently that gentleman had been one of the foremost of Republican leaders. It also soon will appear that Wolcott was not partial to General Grant, who was Greeley’s opponent.

In 1876, the year in which Mr. Wolcott began his public career by being elected District Attorney, Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky, occupied a position of some prominence. He was Secretary of War during the last Grant Administration, and became much talked about in connection with the prosecution of the so-called “Whiskey ring” of the day. Wolcott’s statement of his attitude toward him and in the same connection toward Blaine is found in a letter to his mother of June 7, 1876. It is brief, but it is definite and comprehensive:

“Is father a Bristow man? I wish he could be nominated, but I see no chance for him unless they can find some place where Blaine has n’t covered up his tracks.”

The next political declaration we have from him is also in a letter to his mother, dated December 4th, of the same year, after Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, had been nominated over Bristow and Blaine and all other opponents, and after the election between Hayes and Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, had resulted so perplexingly as to call for the appointment of a commission of fifteen, which ultimately gave the office to Hayes. This letter also is brief, but it covers a wide range of subjects pertaining to the franchise and public policy. It follows:

I take the New York *Tribune*, *World*, and *Graphic*, and am firmly convinced that Tilden is elected and ought to be inaugurated. Two things are certain: If Hayes is declared President, the Republican party is gone without hope of resuscitation,

and the best outlook and the only one for the negro is in joining hands with the Democratic party. It seems apparent, too, that the fatal weakness of this Republic is Universal Suffrage, and that the present form of government won't last very long, say, not another hundred years.

However, after the contest was concluded and after Hayes had been declared elected and had been installed as President, Wolcott gave him support, saying in a letter in 1878, that his sympathy was with the Hayes rather than the Grant faction of the party.

In a letter to his father of May 22, 1880, just previous to the Republican Convention in Chicago, at which James A. Garfield was placed in nomination for the Presidency, Mr. Wolcott found occasion to express his antagonism both to Blaine and Grant. For the first and only time in his long continued and voluminous correspondence with his parents he wrote on this occasion through an amanuensis. After apologizing for the necessity for this resort to assistance, he says:

In respect to the political matters about which you write, I cannot of course express myself as specifically and freely as if I were myself writing, but I feel very much as you do respecting the Presidency. I am intensely opposed to General Grant, whose nomination at the present time seems certain. In our county of Clear Creek, we elected a unanimous anti-Grant delegation. It seems necessary for all opposed to a third term to rally around some name, and that name has been Blaine. I am sorry for it, as I am not a Blaine man, but I have been identified as such in all our political matters here. We made the strongest possible fight against a third term, but we are badly defeated, and the chances are that a solid Grant delegation will represent Colorado in Chicago.

Writing to his mother two weeks after the election in 1884, when Cleveland won over Blaine, Mr. Wolcott says: "I voted for Blaine, but I am really heartily glad of the change. Six hundred Federal office-holders in this State, three hundred of whom are political dead-beats, will have the opportunity of earning an honest living. And, fortunately, our partisanship did n't warp our judgment enough

to prevent Henry and me from betting a little on the winning side."

Again, soon afterward, he tells his father:

"I am very glad Cleveland is elected. I only hope he will turn out the office-holders promptly. Half of them will join the Democratic party."

An analysis of these statements made in the light of then existing circumstances will convince any impartial investigator that Mr. Wolcott's preferences were merely finding expression in the direction of what he believed would be improved conditions. In the contest of 1872, there was much criticism of the Grant Administration, and Greeley was considered by many quite as good a Republican as Grant, if not better. Bristow was regarded by many as a reformer and far above the plane of the ordinary politician. Many good Republicans were doubtful of the result in 1876, when the Electoral Commission gave the votes of some of the Southern States to Hayes, the Republican candidate. Mr. Wolcott did not consider it probable that South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana would have cast their votes for a Republican, and he thought Tilden had been elected. Before becoming personally acquainted with Blaine, Wolcott accepted the current accusations against him, and it is evident that as late as 1884 he had not changed his mind. When, however, he came to know Mr. Blaine, he became his strong admirer, and in 1892, in a speech that betrayed a radical change of heart, placed him in nomination for the Presidency. It should be observed, also, that his attitude toward Blaine in 1884 was due largely to his dislike of many of the Republican office-holders in the State. Most of these had been selected by an opposing Republican faction. Consequently, the condemnation in this instance is not so broad as it might be construed to be. His antagonism to Grant in 1880 was due largely to fundamental opposition to the third-term principle, which found representation in the General's candidacy.

Thus, it will be seen that he opposed what he considered bad conditions, and, so far as he could, stood for the higher ideals. He learned later that all was not "reform" that so labelled itself.

## POLITICAL CRITICISM

Many have supposed that Mr. Wolcott was indifferent to newspaper and other criticisms, but that such was not the case his friends testify unanimously. In public he rarely spoke of the calumnies heaped upon him except to hit back, but in the privacy of his personal intercourse he bewailed them bitterly. Hon. A. M. Stevenson, one of Mr. Wolcott's closest friends, tells us that "he did care as few men care." "These attacks," says Mr. Stevenson, "cut him deep to the heart. It was not for office, but for the friends he would not desert that he kept up his Colorado fight. He would not have endured so long for himself alone what he did endure." Mr. Stevenson adds that the nickname "Cousin Ed," as applied by his enemies to indicate their conception of his close relationship to the English and his interest in their country, was especially annoying to him. All this indicated to him that his own people, whom he sought to serve, did not understand him or that they intentionally misrepresented him. The representations of the latter class in his own State, and especially in his own party, hurt him grievously, and it is believed by many hastened his death. No man ever sought more assiduously to serve a people than did Senator Wolcott the people of Colorado. Was it unreasonable that he should ask silence if not recognition? He could not endure abuse where he felt that he had earned praise. Few can.

During the McKinley Administration, and for a short time afterward, Mr. Wolcott was made the subject of much harsh criticism on account of his distribution of the Federal patronage in Colorado, and replying in a statement published in the *Denver Republican* of November 17, 1901, as an interview, he took cognizance of two of the more specific charges. They pertained to the participation of Federal office-holders in politics, and to "boss rule." He explained his reasons for the appointments made by him and also defended the course of some of the appointees in participating in political meetings. In the latter connection he spoke especially of the work of D. C. Bailey and C. D. Ford, both of



whom were chairmen of committees and office-holders. On these points he said :

In my opinion a Federal office-holder should not, because he holds office, cease to interest himself as a citizen and a Republican, in the welfare of his State and the success of his party, and in Colorado the two are synonymous. I do not believe, however, that he should actively participate in the preliminary work of the primaries, or on the floor of a convention. I have been away from home since last November, and am not advised respecting recent occurrences, but I know that up to that time, since the Bryan slide, there had never been any serious controversy or differences of opinion, at either primaries or convention, and the work of every Republican, office-holder or not, was solely to get as full a registration and as large a representation at our conventions and elections as possible.

Some of the men who hold office in Colorado are among its ablest and best party workers. I venture to say that there is not one of them, either at the last election or at those preceding the last, who would n't have infinitely preferred confining his activities to voting the ticket on election day, and who only participated in other work because he was urged to it by the leaders of the party in the several counties. Some of them have been, and are, chairmen of party committees. In every instance with which I am familiar, it has been against both their judgment and their inclinations.

A year ago we had great difficulty in finding for the chairmanship of our State committee a gentleman who knew the leaders of the party throughout the State, and who could put his entire time into the campaign. We had n't as many Republicans then as we have now. I personally urged Mr. Ford to accept the post. He protested on the very ground that he held public office. I insisted, and he yielded with great reluctance, and upon the promise that he should be relieved after the campaign.

I was away during the last campaign, but am told that Mr. Bailey took the difficult post of chairman of this county committee under similar circumstances, and I deeply regret that his efforts in support of an excellent ticket were unsuccessful. Both of these gentlemen deserve only the highest commendation and gratitude from their party associates for their efficient labors.

It is true that, in many States of the Union, the chairmanship of its committee is held by gentlemen holding either Federal



or State office, but this does not make it more palatable for certain members of the party whose views are entitled to recognition.

On the other subject, that of party bosses, I am compelled to be a little personal. Five years ago Colorado had three Republican representatives in Congress. In the upheaval of 1896 I was left the only Republican at Washington, and my position forced me into the nominal leadership of the party in Colorado, a position I neither sought nor coveted. Necessarily every appointment, important or small, throughout this great State, was referred to me. This duty was most unpleasing and embarrassing, but was not to be avoided. In every instance I followed the advice of party friends and sought only good appointees and the strengthening of the party. As I have said, we had at first but twenty per cent. of our party to draw from.

*To-day more Federal appointments are held by men who voted for Mr. Bryan in 1896 than by men who voted then for Mr. McKinley, and the differences of '96 are forgotten by every good Republican.*

Most of the appointments have justified themselves. There were some mistakes. It is pleasant to state the fact that at Washington the official record of every one of them is clean. But there were twenty applicants, proper applicants, for every vacancy, and nineteen Republicans and their friends disappointed whenever an appointment was made.

With my return to private life my duty as to appointments is ended. I am naturally interested in endeavoring to see to it that fit and proper appointees now in office shall not be unjustly removed, but I shall no longer have to do actively with the naming of men for Federal office, except, as in common with every other citizen, I shall oppose the appointment of unfit men. I know of no good Republican in Colorado, fitted for appointment, at whose success in receiving an official commission I would not cordially rejoice. So far, then, as influencing appointments is concerned, I take my place again in the ranks of the party.

Like many other men engaged in active politics, Mr. Wolcott could and did strike viciously when under the excitement of debate or in the midst of a campaign, but that he did not nurse his enmities we have many illustrations. We have seen how that in the midst of the bitter contest of 1896, when Wolcott's political life was at stake, he went

out of his way to speak in terms of praise of Senator Teller's purity of purpose as a public man. Mr. Wolcott's speeches bear abundant evidence of his temporary resentment toward Senator N. P. Hill, while the latter was conducting a vigorous campaign against him. But when in 1900 it was known that Mr. Hill was on his death-bed, we find Senator Wolcott expressing the deepest concern for his recovery.

In the field of national politics, it was natural that Mr. Wolcott and the Democratic leader, Hon. William J. Bryan, should have clashed, and in many of his speeches, the Colorado Senator pointedly attacked the Nebraskan because of his views—and because he was opposed to him. That, after all, however, he had a wholesome respect for him, he has left record. Asked in 1899 by an interviewer for his estimate of Mr. Bryan, Mr. Wolcott said:

The people in the East, who do not know Mr. Byran, are apt to underrate the entire integrity of motive which animates him, and which is the great element in his strength. No matter how we may differ from him, and I differ from him in a radical degree, it is idle not to recognize this fact. I believe that there is no sacrifice which Mr. Bryan would not make to further what he believed to be the welfare of this country. This sentiment being prevalent in my own section, I can account for the intensely loyal following which Mr. Bryan enjoys.

## MR. WOLCOTT'S FRIENDSHIPS

LIFE without friends would have been a barren waste to Mr. Wolcott. No man had more friends or more loyal friends than he. And, as many befriended him, so he was friend to many. As he bound others to him so he was attached to them. He was the personification of gratitude. But he did not base all his friendships on courtesies to himself. Many of them were a thing apart—a matter of temperament, of affinity, of kindred tastes, of conditions. He was as full of sentiment as an egg is full of meat.

There will, of course, be no effort to enumerate his friends. They were too multitudinous to permit of such a course. Beginning with his army life, and extending down the years through Hudson, Norwich, and Yale; his law-student days in Boston and at Harvard; his early days in Blackhawk, Central, and Georgetown; his experience as a State legislator, as an attorney of extensive practice, as a State politician, and for many years the leader of his party in the State; as a United States Senator and a traveller who covered a wide field; as a clubman, a society man, a *bon vivant*, and a general man of the world, they constitute a formidable list. In all these capacities he met and made friends, and held them.

He did not enjoy the association of all people, nor of any people all the time; but when not engaged in study or reading he wanted company; sometimes one friend, at other times another—not always the same one. He was erratic in this as in many other respects. Much depended on the mood. The man who liked to talk about books and travel

was most welcome until politics or sport or business or horses engaged his thought; at such times others were sought and the book man received scant attention. It was with women as with men. He enjoyed their society only as they fitted the mood. There also were periods when he seemed to prefer to be alone, when not even his intimates were desired in his immediate presence. Such moods generally befell during campaigns or in the course of professional pressure, when, after days given up to strenuous interviews, he would seek retreat at Wolhurst, have the telephone cut off, the door-bell plugged, and give himself wholly to restful quiet and solitude.

These periods were comparatively rare, however, and, while always shutting out more effectively than most men those with whom he did not wish to converse, he liked above all things to gather about him a congenial party and engage in general conversation. So fond was he of companionship that when he was in the army he preferred the guard-house to guard duty, because, forsooth, when locked up friends or acquaintances shared his fate, while when doing the service of sentinel he must tread the weary path alone. This condition was intolerable to him.

He was at his best with his friends around him. On such occasions he was the leader of conversation—the one man to whom all listened. He was even a greater success as a conversationalist than as an orator, and if all his witty remarks in private converse could be recorded there would be little room for other material in an ordinary volume. His private talk, like his public speeches, generally dealt with public questions, but both were enriched by an active imagination, a keen appreciation of occurrences, and an incisive insight into human nature. Add to these natural endowments a wide range in reading and extensive travel and you have a rare companion.

Excitement and variety seemed a requisite of existence, and companionship was little or nothing to him if it did not afford entertainment out of the ordinary.

It would be invidious to mention any number of his Colorado friends, and for this reason no such effort will be made. Indeed, desirable as it might be to extend this

list to the ordinary walks of life, it has been found impracticable to do so, and the discussion here entered upon will be confined to political associations. Thus limited, first mention should be made of Mr. Wolcott's relationship with Senator Teller, which is worthy of consideration from both the political and the personal view-points.

Mr. Teller was a resident of Gilpin County and the leading lawyer of the State when Mr. Wolcott joined his brother Henry in that county. The two then became acquainted, and at Wolcott's request Teller sat with him through his first trial. His earliest mention of Mr. Teller is found in a letter to his mother, written in December, 1876. He speaks of receiving a letter from a friend in the East, and adds:

"I wrote telling him that I had been elected District Attorney, and he answers congratulating me on having been elected Judge. I suppose if I should be chosen constable he would congratulate me on my election to the United States Senate, which reminds me that Mr. Teller, one of our new Senators, is a warm personal friend of mine."

The friendship then formed was never broken, though subjected to exceptionally severe wrenches during Wolcott's adherence to the Hill faction, as it also was through Teller's defection from the Republican party on account of silver.

Wolcott had Teller's support in both his elections, and Teller Wolcott's in his election in 1891. Up to the Republican split in 1896, which led to Teller's withdrawal from the party, they were perfectly united on party policy, and they were much together in the Senate. Temperamentally and in the matter of personal habits, they were as unlike as two men could be. But there is a kinship in intellect and in force of character. In this relationship was found the tie that bound them together. They were alike in their outspoken condemnation of fraud of every kind, in independence of character, and in quickness and comprehensiveness of mental action.

Wolcott found Teller a leader in the silver cause when he entered the Senate, and he gave him the most loyal and unswerving support as long as there was any chance of doing anything to rehabilitate the white metal. On the other hand, Teller was one of the first to boost Wolcott for



the Senate; the first to sound his praises in the Senate, and his most attentive and appreciative auditor when he spoke there.

In a word, Teller "fathered" Wolcott in the Senate. Two instances may be recalled. One occurred when Wolcott entered the body. Four States sent their first Senators at the same time that Mr. Wolcott's first term began. Several of the new men seemed to feel that it was incumbent upon them to exemplify in the Senate the same quality of "hustle" that had given them success at home. Accordingly, some of them began to pull wires to procure favorable committee appointments, and thus made themselves unpleasantly conspicuous in a body where tradition and usage do not readily yield to personal urgency. Mr. Wolcott pursued the opposite course. He disclaimed any choice as to his appointments and allowed no trace of any personal scheming to appear in the friendly relationships which he established with his new associates. When, therefore, Mr. Teller expressed a wish that Mr. Wolcott might have a chairmanship, as such assignment carried with it the use of a committee room, his suggestion was readily adopted, and the new Colorado Senator was placed at the head of the Committee on Civil Service.

Mr. Teller afterward aided his colleague in getting committee places generally considered beyond the reach of new Senators. Long regarded as the most important of the Senate committees, membership on the Committee on Finance has ever been assiduously sought by Senators. It was Teller who found a way of getting Wolcott on that committee, where he desired to have him placed, not alone for the honor, but because he felt that in that position Mr. Wolcott could be most helpful to the silver cause, which then was the paramount issue with the Colorado Senators.

Wolcott wanted the place. But it looked for a time as if he would not get it. A much older Senator, an Eastern man, conceived the idea that he was entitled to the position. Both could not be accommodated. Teller was much embarrassed, but he found a way. Invited to the Eastern man's house for dinner, he sought out the wife of that gentleman and said to her:

"Why don't you have your husband try for the vacancy on the Committee on Foreign Relations? He has studied foreign questions; it would give him splendid standing, and he can get it almost without trying."

The wife was socially ambitious. She took the hint, switched her husband, and the way was opened for Wolcott's appointment on the Finance Committee. The fact that he was on the Committee went far toward rendering him available as Chairman of the Bimetallic Commission of 1897.

As going to show the relations between the two Senators the following special despatch from Washington to the *Denver Times* of February 23, 1892, is quoted:

Politicians in Washington who understand the political situation in Colorado have noticed the combination that has been made between Senators Teller and Wolcott by which Teller is to do everything to enhance the chances of Senator Wolcott for re-election when his present term expires. Nearly every bill of any importance to Colorado that has been introduced this session has been presented by Wolcott. Teller has remained in the background and given the younger man every opportunity to draw public attention to him as a statesman who is doing all in his power in the interest of his constituents. The fact is Mr. Teller is a true Fidus Achates to the breezy statesman from Denver. Many of the bills fathered by Mr. Wolcott under ordinary circumstances would have been pushed through the Senatorial channels by Teller had it not been for the fact that there was an understanding between the two men that Wolcott should be given all the benefit of this class of legislative duty. A little investigation in Washington, however, indicates that it is probably unnecessary that this combination should have been made. Very few seem to doubt that Senator Wolcott would have had smooth sailing for a re-election under any circumstances. It is considered that he has ably represented his constituents since his advent into the United States Senate. He has been determined in his fight for the free coinage of silver and has been on the right side of every question that has come up in which his State is deeply interested. Senator Teller can well afford to aid his young colleague in the interest of his re-election at the close of his present term. Senator Teller, it is believed, will have no trouble in retaining his Senatorial seat as long as he desires.

Many warm attachments were contracted in Washington, among the most noteworthy of which were with President McKinley, Secretary Hay, Speaker Reed, and Senators Lodge, Allison, Fairbanks, Hale, Aldrich, Evarts, Chandler, Quay, Carter, Jones of Nevada, Jones of Arkansas, Vest, Ingalls, Plumb, Bryce, Hoar, Berry, and Spooner.

The friendship between Wolcott and McKinley was very marked. It began soon after Wolcott entered the Senate, when McKinley was Chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, and was immensely strengthened by Wolcott's support of McKinley for the Presidency in 1896, when his Colorado constituency was almost solidly against the Ohio man. He not only sent Mr. Wolcott to Europe as the head of the Bimetallic Commission, but he was greatly pleased with his work in that capacity, and he made him the dictator on all points pertaining to Colorado appointments. More than that, he consulted him extensively in matters of general party policy, offered him a choice of two important European diplomatic posts, and selected him for Temporary Chairman of the Philadelphia Convention in 1900, when he (McKinley) received the second nomination for the Presidency.

Senator, and afterward Vice-President, Fairbanks delivered in the Senate one of the eulogies over President McKinley, and in sending a copy of the address to Mr. Wolcott, he took occasion to allude to the friendship between him and Major McKinley by inscribing it: "To Senator Wolcott, whom McKinley loved and in whom he trusted." Senator Fairbanks was himself a firm admirer of Mr. Wolcott, and never lost an opportunity to manifest his interest.

But while Wolcott loved McKinley, he often found the kind-hearted occupant of the White House too considerate of other people whose feelings Mr. Wolcott did not think should be consulted. He would go to the White House to expostulate with the Chief Executive over some matter of policy or some appointment, but, as he was wont to express it, he would "fall into such a bed of roses" that he could do nothing but say, "Oh, how beautiful!" "He is the best man on earth," he once said of the President; "but he spends most of his time every day studying how he can

get to bed at night without hurting any one." Wolcott did not hesitate to offend people whose conduct was such as to merit rebuke, and he did not think that even a President should so hesitate. Still, he understood McKinley personally, and did not let the different view-point estrange him.

One letter only from McKinley has been preserved. It was written September 5, 1896, during the memorable campaign of that year, and was in response to a note from Mr. Wolcott. The following extract will serve to show McKinley's interest in the Colorado Senator:

When I would read of the situation in your State, I often thought of you. You are entitled to the sympathy of all loyal Republicans. I am glad to note, however, that all is not dark, politically speaking, even in Colorado. I feel assured that for your steadfastness you will in time be amply compensated. I reciprocate most heartily your warm expression of good wishes.

When, in 1901, McKinley succumbed to the wound inflicted by an irresponsible assassin's bullet, Mr. Wolcott said in an interview:

The tragic death of President McKinley is too recent, and my feeling of personal grief too great, for me to care at this time to dwell upon it. He was the one man in this country against whom no breast could harbor malice; and his probity and rectitude of purpose and nobility of character will serve as an example to young American manhood for all time. I was abroad at the time of his assassination, and, notwithstanding the jealousies and apprehension which our commercial supremacy has aroused, it was touching to an American to witness how all Europe shared our grief and sympathized in our loss.

Probably the most touching of all of Mr. Wolcott's Eastern friendships was that with genial, talented, lovable John Hay, the poet-diplomat, the most sympathetic of friends, the most perfect of gentlemen, the gentlest of men. The intimacy took root while Mr. Hay was serving as Ambassador to Great Britain, and the attachment continued unabated on both sides until Mr. Wolcott's death, which it is interesting to note occurred just four months, to a day, before Mr. Hay's. There was a constant correspondence between them,



and many of Mr. Hay's letters have been preserved. Some deal with questions too sacred for print so soon after the demise of the two, and others are given in other connections. Extracts from two of these letters, both from Washington, follow. In the first, written in November, 1900, he says:

"I hope to see you here very soon. There are many things I want to talk to you about. I need your counsel and your courage."

And in the second, in November, 1901:

"Next week our summer's work goes to the Senate. I wish I could feel that your sterling good sense, your power of bright incisive speech, and your genial personal influence were there to help us through."

The following letters dealing with the campaigns of 1900 and 1902-3 are worth printing entire:

WASHINGTON, Nov. 18, 1900.

MY DEAR WOLCOTT:

I have your letter of Tuesday from Wolhurst and I have shown it to the President. He is glad to receive your congratulations. Of course we are all extremely sorry that your immense success in Colorado did not bring you back to the Senate. Nevertheless you have made a glorious fight and won a great victory. No such change of votes has ever before been made, and it is due to the courage and the genius you put into the fight.

It must be galling to you to feel that a majority of your people were still beyond the reach of sound reason, and I can understand your momentary depression. But that will not last. You have not only stemmed the tide, you have turned it, and the future belongs to you.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) JOHN HAY.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23, 1903.

MY DEAR WOLCOTT:

I know it is none of my business—perhaps it is an impertinence—for me to say anything about your Colorado politics. But I cannot endure sitting forever dumb while you are engaged in such a fight. I cannot but send you a word of sympathy and regard. It is well-nigh incredible that the first result of the victory which you prepared and made possible two years ago should have been the malignant treachery of which you



are now the object. If Colorado wanted to show how immeasurably you are the first man in the State, no better means could have been chosen.

I have no right to say these things even to you, but I must say them. They do you no good, but they acquit my conscience. I want you at least to know how heartily I wish you good luck, not only in this desperate fight, but in all things.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) JOHN HAY.

Mr. A. M. Stevenson has supplied the writer with the particulars of an interview at Wolcott's Washington house between Mr. Wolcott and Mr. Hay, which illustrates not only the close intimacy between the two men, but also shows how in time of distress the great diplomat leaned upon and was guided by his practical friend from Colorado. The details of the conference were of so sacred a character that they cannot be revealed even though both the participants are dead, but enough may be related to answer the purposes of this volume.

The interview occurred while the first draft of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, dealing, broadly speaking, with Isthmian Canal rights was under consideration. Mr. Stevenson was a house guest of Mr. Wolcott's. They had sat well through the evening discussing questions of mutual interest, when Mr. Hay was announced, and following close upon the heels of the messenger he came into the room. He seemed embarrassed at finding a third person present. Noticing that the Secretary desired to speak confidentially with the Senator, Mr. Stevenson was about to retire, when at Mr. Wolcott's suggestion Mr. Hay invited him to remain.

Mr. Hay then opened his heart to the two Colorado men. The treaty was undergoing bitter assaults in the Senate and in the columns of the press of the country, and the Secretary of State was greatly annoyed—so much annoyed, indeed, that he had come, not to ask Mr. Wolcott's support for the treaty, which he then had, but to announce his intention of resigning his high office. Walking rapidly up and down the Wolcott sitting-room, he outlined the situation. "I know I am right, and yet I know the country is against me,

and there is no honorable course open but to get out of the way. My continuance in the Cabinet can be only an embarrassment to the President, and I am resolved to send in my resignation." This and much more he said, to all of which Mr. Wolcott listened with patience and in evident distress.

When Mr. Hay concluded, he entered upon the task of dissuading him from his announced purpose. The undertaking was not of easy accomplishment, and the night was far spent before the effort ceased and the conference came to a close. It terminated with a promise on the part of Mr. Hay not to be precipitate, but to await further events before taking any step in the direction of retiring. He did wait; the treaty was modified, but was still left in form acceptable to him, and Mr. McKinley was not deprived of the services of his most trusted lieutenant. This result the President owed entirely to the Colorado Senator, but he probably never knew how deeply he was indebted to him.

Two of Mr. Wolcott's Senate friendships have a romantic quality because they were with men so much older than himself. They are those with George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, and William M. Evarts, of New York. Both were men of scholarship and literary taste and of high standing at the bar. They shared the same traditions and devotion to Puritan memories and ideals, although this feeling was stronger in Mr. Hoar because of his residence in New England. They doubtless were both drawn to Mr. Wolcott because his tastes were similar to theirs, and it may also be that in their quieter and more secluded habits they found pleasure in the younger man's breezy manner and fresh outlook on life. Although he opposed both of them in some of their pet measures, they maintained a cordial esteem for him and frequently sought chats on matters outside their Senatorial duties. Mr. Hoar corresponded extensively with the Colorado Senator, and when Mr. Evarts was finishing his days in blindness and retirement, apparently almost forgotten by many of his associates, Mr. Wolcott cheered his loneliness by seeking him out at his home for a long call.

Mr. Hoar found especial satisfaction in the fact that Mr. Wolcott was of New England origin, and he delighted to

discuss his genealogy with him. That he was familiar with the antecedents of the mother's as well as the father's side of the family is shown in the following letter:

WORCESTER, MASS., April 12, 1895.

MY DEAR SENATOR:

The people of Worcester are quite anxious that you deliver an address here the coming 4th of July. I hope you will be willing to accept the invitation. Your welcome will be as cordial as possible, and the people are glad to know that on both sides you are of Massachusetts stock, and on the mother's side belong to Worcester County. There have been no 4th of July orations delivered in Worcester for many years. So the occasion is not common-place, and you will have as large an audience as the place where you speak will hold, which will be, if you come, in one of two places, both of which will hold a very large audience indeed.

It will give me great pleasure personally, if you can accept. I should be glad to have you for my guest, and to show whatever may be worth seeing in this region. Mrs. Hoar and I will also be very glad to welcome Mrs. Wolcott, if she shall come with you.

I am, with high regard, faithfully yours.

(Signed) GEO. F. HOAR.

The Honorable

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

One letter from Senator Allison has been preserved. It was written in 1904, after Mr. Wolcott had been chosen to head the Colorado delegation to the Chicago National Convention—the last ever attended by him,—and is unusually cordial for the conservative Iowa Senator, who served in the Senate longer than any other man up to this time, and who held the respect of the nation during his entire service. The letter runs:

DUBUQUE, IOWA, May 8th.

MY DEAR WOLCOTT:

Some kind friend has sent me a Denver paper showing proceedings of the convention at Denver. I want to congratulate you and also the party, that you are again in the harness, and that you are to head your delegation at Chicago. I want to see you in the Senate again, and all say you can go, if you will give the matter your personal attention. You ought to be

there now. I hope to take you by the hand soon after your arrival, and renew the pleasant association of a few years ago. Your old colleagues in the Senate will be glad to greet you.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) W. B. ALLISON.

The friendship between Wolcott and Senator Quay was known of all men. They read much together, occasionally played poker together, and they visited very frequently. Like Wolcott, Quay was a lover of books, and Wolcott often took refuge from the cares of the day in the Quay library. Indeed, while on the surface there was little in common between them, there were no two more congenial souls in the Senate.

Senator Wolcott's fine courage and his loyal devotion to his friends were well illustrated by the fight which he, almost alone among Republican Senators, made in defence of Mr. Quay's seat in the Senate at the time he was appointed by Governor Stone. Quay had no case; at least the Senate so decided, but Mr. Wolcott's concern was not entirely because of that fact. Quay was his friend, and he determined to stand by him, although his advocacy created much antagonism in the Senate.

Another instance which illustrates his practical way of manifesting his friendship is found in his course toward Senator Quay in connection with the latter's Senatorial aspirations. The story of his efforts in behalf of the Pennsylvanian's retention of his seat has been told. But the public records do not show that when, afterward, Quay determined upon again standing for election before the Pennsylvania Legislature, Wolcott sent him a check for \$5000. The letter was addressed "Dear Mike," and was a mere line expressing interest in Quay's success. "I don't believe he can afford it," said Quay when the letter was received, and the check went back through the first returning mail in a letter which was addressed "Dear Ned." We have seen how Mr. Quay tried to compensate him by having him given second place with McKinley on the Presidential ticket of 1900.

Wolcott was a James G. Blaine man to the end, too.



That he had not been for Blaine originally has been shown, but when he did become a follower of the Maine statesman, he stood with him fast and true. He was one of the real mourners at Blaine's grave. He knew, of course, when he arose in the Minneapolis Convention in 1892 to put Mr. Blaine in nomination, that he appeared as the champion of a lost cause, but that knowledge did not deter him. He had been asked by Mrs. Blaine to nominate her husband, the man who had been the beau ideal of the young Republicans, of whom there was no more enthusiastic and picturesque individual than Mr. Wolcott; and he did his part as ably and as eloquently and as earnestly as if he foresaw a victory instead of a defeat.

Senator Wolcott said at the time and always afterward maintained that but for the fact that the office-holders were organized into a formidable body and the delegates from many States instructed to vote for the renomination of Harrison, the Blaine fight would have been won instead of lost. Plausibility was given to this argument by the fact that while the roll was being called, chairman after chairman cast the votes of their States for Harrison, saying that they did so under instructions, and that otherwise they would vote for Blaine.

When he first entered the Senate Mr. Wolcott said of the Southern Senators: "They're moss-backs, many of them; they are living in the past, and don't know the war is over; they drink too much whiskey and chew too much tobacco; they're a cantankerous lot, but, after all, they're so dead rotten poor you can't help respecting and admiring them."

But the raillery gave place to respect and esteem when he came to know the Southerners better. He formed agreeable relations with many of them, and with none were these relations more pleasing or more cordial than with Senators Jones and Berry of Arkansas, both ex-Confederate soldiers, and Jones the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee during the two Bryan campaigns. In his speech giving account of the European mission, Wolcott took occasion to praise Jones, and that Jones reciprocated the sentiment there expressed is shown by the following letter to Wolcott:



WASHINGTON, D. C., April 29, 1899.

HON. E. O. WOLCOTT,

DENVER, COLO.

MY DEAR SENATOR:

Your letter written me from New York reached me all right. Since coming here my doctor has rearranged all the plans I had made without consulting him, and insists on my stopping at Southampton instead of going to Bremen, and suggests that I find some quiet place away from the "crowd's ignoble strife," and spend several weeks in the South of England, and that I then go to the mountains of Scotland and stay for a considerable time, devoting myself absolutely to rest. He says I do not need treatment at all, and that the treatment at Carlsbad would be the very thing I do not want.

I enclose you a clipping which I receive in this mail from Moreton Frewen, showing something of the feeling in financial circles and the probable action of their Commission. I have never had words to express my disgust with the course pursued by our prominent men on this side and the British Government in '97. It seems to me that the suggestion made in some papers here that the Administration has redeemed its promise to the people made by the platform of 1896 by making the effort that was made through you and that we are under no obligations to take any other steps in the direction of bimetallism, shows the real purpose of those in authority. True, in this I may be mistaken. I am a very earnest bimetallist, and will be glad to see bimetallism accomplished by any means, because I believe it would be best for this country and the world at large.

While I am on the other side I may go to Paris for a short stay, but will not stay long, and I may go up the Rhine to Switzerland for a short trip, but I expect now to spend very little time on the Continent. I wish you would write me % J. S. Morgan & Co., 22 Old Broad Street, London, when you are likely to come over and where you are likely to be. I want to see you when you come, and hope I may be able to see a good deal of you on that side.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) JAMES K. JONES.

That Mr. Wolcott was true to his friends, Hon. John W. Springer, candidate for Mayor of Denver in 1904, testified at the Memorial meeting in Denver after Mr. Wolcott's death, when he said:

“Tears come unbidden when I recall his last fight for me in the mayoralty contest in Denver less than a year ago. Coming all the way from New York, and rising from a bed of sickness, and leaning heavily on his cane, he appealed to the loyal members of the Grand Army of the Republic to stand by the regular nominees of the Grand Old Party.”

## READING, ART, EDUCATION

**I**NTENSELY fond of books, Mr. Wolcott could not be said to be an omnivorous reader. He demanded the right to choose. The author must be to his liking and the matter entirely attractive. He must be amused or entertained. There must be a strong picture or a good story or a true and entertaining characterization of human nature to hold him long. Humanity was always interesting to him, and his reading dealt largely with its doings—in history, biography, adventure, commercial achievement, or romance. He especially enjoyed history and biography because they portrayed real men and, for the most part, big men. He, however, found pleasure in any good composition, whether in prose or verse, if along the lines of his choosing, and novels, essays, orations, all, came in for attention. He was fond of telling of his asking John Hay how it was that people did not read poetry as much as formerly, and receiving as a reply this question, "How long is it since you stopped reading it yourself?" He was fond of reminiscences of public and social life, and he owned many books of travel. The leading novelists also found a prominent place on his shelves and the pages of their works bore ample evidence that they were not there as mere ornaments. With the Bible he was familiar, but truth demands that it should be stated that this acquaintance was due to association with those who had come much into close contact with the sacred book rather than to any research of his own. As a boy he had been a church-goer, and he also had absorbed much from his father and mother. His retentive memory and his discriminating appreciation had enabled him to retain many

of the pertinent and beautiful passages in the Book, and they were most useful to him in his public speeches. Many of his most striking quotations and aptest illustrations were drawn from the Scriptures. He enjoyed the artistic, the well-dressed, the attractive, and his author, whether sacred or profane, must supply this demand of his nature.

While he read discriminatingly, Mr. Wolcott scanned many books. Few kept pace with current literature so thoroughly as he, and few were more familiar with the old English writers. Senator Hale, who is such a book lover that he keeps a small library in his committee-room at the Capitol, told the writer that when worn out with the Senate routine or perplexed over any subject, it was a habit of Mr. Wolcott's to betake himself to his (Mr. Hale's) room, where he would rush to the book-shelves, take down the work of a favorite author, and so immerse himself in its pages as to completely forget all his troubles. He liked to talk books, and could quote freely from many authors. His letters to his father and his father's to him reveal the origin of this propensity. There is much exchange of views about books. The son is constantly informing the father what he is doing in the way of reading, and the latter as constantly counselling and guiding him in this respect.

In his sketch of Mr. Wolcott's life at Wolhurst, Justice Kent has told us something of his reading habits there, and Governor Thomas contributes the following:

At the time of Mr. Wolcott's death, and for many years previous, he was the owner of the finest literary library in the State, and perhaps in the country west of St. Louis. He had standing orders for rare and curious volumes, and for standard works as fast as they were issued from the press. No book of consequence escaped him, unless it were something belonging to another age and concerning topics of obsolete or questionable nature. His books were a ruling passion, and he read them as well. I have seldom met a man better informed upon matters of current importance, or more thoroughly equipped for their discussion.

This love of books extended to law-books as well. As soon as his means would permit he secured full sets of all reports published in the English language, covering not only England

and the United States, but English-speaking provinces and colonies everywhere. Text-books on every possible topic also crowded his library. Nothing escaped him in the bibliographic world which appeared in good binding and in the English language.

He kept a standing order with a Boston book-store for all of its best books.

He also appreciated art and architecture. His residence was supplied with good pictures, and his office was adorned with well-executed portraits of eminent English and American masters of jurisprudence. He was an active participant in all the debates in the Senate dealing with these subjects.

He was a persistent advocate of education, and he believed that young people should be sent to the best institutions of learning, on account both of the scholastic and the social advantages. He was, however, not of the kind that would place books and study above every other consideration in life, as his "home" letters testify. Indeed, if thoughtlessly considered, these letters might create the impression that he was indifferent to the work of the schools. Such certainly was not the case. On the contrary, no one believed more thoroughly in the advantages of a liberal education. To understand his advice to his sisters, the facts regarding his home relations should be taken into consideration. He was the son of a preacher and of a pious mother, and in all matters they were strict with their children. Full of buoyant life, and thoroughly appreciative of the enjoyments of liberal living, Mr. Wolcott felt that his sisters might be too constrained. His advice was therefore intended to influence them toward a more generous course than would have been consonant with the home training. He never lost an opportunity to urge the youth of both sexes to avail themselves of every opportunity for culture, and he frequently aided them to that end.

Moreover, he felt that his sisters were too much inclined to close application, and he felt real concern over the possibility of injury to health by such a course. He would have them mix school duties with lighter pastimes. Writing in 1883 to one of the young ladies then in college, he



urged her to ride and drive and to cultivate a greater love for outdoor life. "Have you," he asked, "ever read any of Burroughs's or of Thoreau's books?" and he added: "They give one a fondness for the open air, and I should imagine would give one an insight into what the birds and the plants and trees and flowers were doing every day, that would be worth knowing."

Mr. Wolcott was fond of the theatre, and while in Boston studying law engaged to take part in an amateur presentation of a play. The entertainment seems not to have taken place, and he treated the matter very lightly. Soon after he went to Denver to live he was elected president of a dramatic club. As in the former case, he did not regard the connection seriously. He explained to a friend that the honor had been conferred upon him "because the actors wanted some one to buy flowers to be presented to them at their performances." He probably bought them, but he would have done so just as readily if they had not given him the office.

## RELIGION AND FUTURE LIFE

WHEN very young Mr. Wolcott became a member of the Congregational Church at Norwich, Connecticut. He then was much inclined toward church-going, and he continued to be a constant attendant at religious services until he removed to Colorado. He did not cease altogether at that time, but gradually withdrew until he seldom was found in a church pew. If a reason for the change should be sought beyond the generally irreligious tone of the mining camp in which he spent his first years in the State, it might be found in reaction from the zeal of his earlier years and in the fact that the preaching in his new home was not up to the standard to which he had been accustomed. It also must be conceded that he was not temperamentally religious. In his earlier years he naturally fell into the ways of his family, and, moreover, his father insisted upon systematic church attendance. Later, when he attained to an independent state, he found other sources of entertainment and remained away from the church services.

That in his young manhood he enjoyed a good sermon his letters from Boston testify abundantly. He tells in them of attending as many as three services on a Sunday, and engages in much discussion of church affairs. He rented a pew in Boston. True, he did the same thing in Georgetown, but he joked about the latter transaction, saying it was because the pastor had some pretty daughters. He also speaks, evidently in jest, of his regret over the closing of the Georgetown churches on account of the prevalence of small-pox and tells us how his absence from home has deprived him of "that sweet boon, the privilege of listen-

ing to good preaching." Manifestly these expressions were intended to tantalize the family, but they show a falling off in zeal. That, however, there was a lingering interest is evidenced by a letter to his parents as late as 1873, when he writes complaining of their failure to inform him that some of his sisters recently had become members of the Church. "When I joined," he said, "I thought the act of enough importance to write my relations and notify them."

His Norwich pastor, Rev. M. M. G. Dana, testifies that he was a worthy member of his organization. Writing to Mr. Wolcott in 1866 in connection with the granting to him of a letter of dismissal, he says:

I cannot part from you without assuring you of my continued interest in your welfare. Your firm and manly Christian course especially endeared you to me, and I cannot tell you how much I regret losing you from my Church. You have been of assistance to me in our social evening meetings, while your readiness to meet the duties of your new life afforded encouragement to me to labor on. In our young people's meetings we shall always think of you, and you may have the satisfaction of knowing that your upright, earnest example has served to keep you in grateful remembrance by those who knew and watched you.

Mr. Wolcott always maintained a friendly attitude toward the churches, and upon appeal they never failed to receive his encouragement and support. He simply fell out of the way of going to service. There was nothing in his mature life to stimulate interest in church attendance, and he was too frank to pretend an interest he did not feel. He did not enjoy prosy sermons any more than he did dull speeches, and, when he could, he remained away from places where he would be compelled to listen to either. His attitude is well summarized in a letter written to his father in 1881. He was speaking of a former schoolmate who had studied for the ministry, and who had been sent to a frontier town to preach. Commiserating the young man's fortune, he exclaimed, "Poor fellow!" and straightway added: "And yet to know as he knows, that there is a heavenly kingdom and a life to come, and to have one half the grip on that heavenly kingdom that he has, I would cheerfully

change places with him, or, harder still, I would sit under his preaching the rest of my days."

Justice Campbell supplied this summary of Mr. Wolcott's religious views at the general Wolcott Memorial Services in 1906:

"Pious cant he abhorred and meaningless generalities avoided. The good things he did he would have us remember, and only those; for, though he never paraded his religious beliefs, his godly father's religion was for him the eternal verity."

#### THE LIFE TO COME

Aside from eulogies delivered over dead friends in Congress, we find very little in Mr. Wolcott's speeches or writings regarding life beyond the grave. The one definite expression in his letters which has come down to us was written when he was in the law school at Harvard in 1871. He was discussing a sermon by Horace Bushnell which his father had sent him. Writing to that parent regarding the sermon and its author on March 15th, of that year, Mr. Wolcott says:

I know nothing about him, but have a hazy impression that he is not considered orthodox. This sermon should relieve him from any such imputation. It was very able, the only difficulty being that no one ever believed (that I ever heard of) that we should have a chance to live life over again. Many believe that we are purified by suffering and the punishment will not be eternal, which I think is very plausible, reasoned humanly; but after all I can see but one question in regard to here and hereafter. And that is, Do I believe the Bible as it is written and in its entirety? If I do, there is but one course, and the man is a fool who tries to make Jesus Christ less than divine or Hell shorter than eternity and founds his reasoning on the Holy Bible. But the moment you let in a doubt as to the genuineness or inspiration of a single book or the truth of a single miracle or try to account for any unaccountable event in any other way than that it is a miracle, you are filled with perplexities and are in a condition to drift into almost any belief. Am I not right?

Apparently he speculated very little concerning the

future. In the absence of specific knowledge or definite opinions, it was like him to remain mute. When he touched upon the subject in his writings he generally did so in connection with an outburst of moralizing over the lack of compensation in the present existence, as witness the following in a letter to his father, written from Colorado toward the close of the campaign of 1880:

What a lot of clap-trap there is in public life anyway! A man is always compelled to pose before some sort of a constituency. If a man could only live a quiet life passed either with his books (not law-books) or in travel he could lay up for himself treasures for his old age, if he reached one, and could reap genuine enjoyment and happiness. We none of us know anything about the other world; we know a good deal about this—and wherein are the greatest and most famous men who are dead any better or happier than those old Wolcotts whose very existence you can ascertain only by deciphering some dusty parchment or unearthing some old tombstone?

Or the following in 1881, to the same correspondent:

When one is reasonably busy and following the humdrum life that knows no difference between one day and another, there isn't much news to write home. The only variety I have is that one day my time is taken up with an examination into a claim for damages, and another respecting some breach of contract, or the examination of a title. It's all very fine. You have with you the consciousness of having done your duty and earned your salt, but there is very little spice in it after all. There ought to be a next world for such people; they cannot find much enjoyment in this one.

In his first published speech, delivered at Denver during the campaign of 1880, we find an incidental but interesting reference to the possibilities of a future life. He was speaking especially of the responsibilities of citizenship, when he said:

We can none of us know what awaits us in that hereafter, in that unknown to which we in our turn shall go, as a bird flies from the lighted room out into the darkness and the night.



It may be that we shall realize the Buddhist hope, and spend the illimitable future in calm and passionless contemplation of the worlds below us, without longing and without desire. Perhaps there await us the Heavens of Mohammed, with their barbaric splendors; or it yet may be, as so many of us hope and believe, that, redeemed and sanctified, we shall sit at the feet of the crucified Saviour, the Christ no longer bearing upon His body the marks of the spear that pierced Him, or of the cruel nails or the crown of thorns, but rehabilitated in His majesty and resplendent in the ineffable glory of His divine presence. It is not given us to know of these things; but it is given us to realize and to remember that until we go to join the silent majority, silent to all human ears, we dwell in the living present; that to our times and this generation is confided, in the government of men, the one hope of the world; that to us is entrusted the manhood, the equal manhood, and the liberty, the equal liberty, of mankind. These duties and these trusts are upon us. And the young men of Colorado will highly resolve that to these duties and these trusts they will not prove false. Our eyes are turned upward, our feet press forward. Armed with these resolves, we can never be dislodged, for our feet are planted upon the eternal rocks.

Mr. Wolcott joined in but two of the ceremonies in Congress in eulogy of the dead, and on both occasions spoke in commemoration of the services of personal friends. The first address of this character was delivered March 1, 1893, on the character of Senator Randall Lee Gibson, of Louisiana, a Yale alumnus with whom the Colorado Senator was on terms of close friendship. The only reference to a future life in that address was contained in the following paragraph:

He has travelled the way of all men born of woman, the great souls and the little. "One event happeneth to them all," and from none has yet come a voice our ears can hear. If there be somewhere souls of men who have lived, he sits in goodly company, with the truest and the best. If that which was Gibson now lies in the earth returned to our common mother, he will yet live in the higher and purer thoughts and nobler endeavor of his fellow-men, toward which his blameless life was both the incentive and the example.

The second memorial address was delivered February 18,

1899, and John Simpkins, late a member of the House of Representatives, was its subject. In his remarks on that occasion, Mr. Wolcott said:

The world keeps full enough, as far as numbers are concerned, and in the conduct of the business and affairs of life there is always somebody to take the vacant place. But a lost friend is not so easily replaced. We gather ourselves together and life goes on about as usual; but there is something gone that never comes back. He left us, however, that which neither time nor his death can take from us—the remembrance of an honorable, true-hearted, straightforward man, who brought good alone to those who knew him, and who has left behind him only pleasant and happy memories.

Only a few days before he died we stood together on the heights near Arlington overlooking the Potomac. It was a glorious morning in early spring; the city lay at our feet bathed in mist, and the swelling hills and the broad river stretched far away until they mingled with the horizon. He spoke of the wonderful beauty of the landscape and of the pleasure it gave him. When I was next in his presence, it was as a mourner at the touching burial service of that beautiful religion which he cherished, and great banks and masses of flowers covered all that was left of him. And as my thoughts turned back to that vision of hill and river, closed to him forever, I realized that perhaps his eyes had already opened where no horizon limited his gaze, in pure ether, and, illumined with the “white radiance of eternity,” he looked with unclouded vision upon fairer scenes.

When taken to task for alleged inconsistency by Senator Harris on October 9, 1893, in connection with the discussion of the Repeal Bill, Senator Wolcott said:

I may as well say here now that if by act inconsistent with my entire political life, if it be still an act of honor, I would redeem this country from its present peril without a moment's hesitation. As individuals, of what consequence are we? We are here for a day and gone to-morrow, fleeting through time on our way rapidly from one world to another. What matters much the record we make, so we make it for the safety and welfare of the country?

## IN BUSINESS

SENATOR WOLCOTT'S success in business is noticed in another connection; and reference is made to his career in that respect in this place only for the purpose of directing especial attention to a trait of his character of which the world took little note.

First and foremost he was a business man, and to his faculty as a man of affairs was largely due his success as an orator, lawyer, and statesman. To many this broad statement must appear contradictory, in view of the fact that his reputation was for achievement in other fields of activity; but it is believed that careful analysis of his character and career will sustain it. Close scrutiny of Mr. Wolcott's speeches will reveal the fact that their convincing force is due to the insight of their author into human affairs. They deal largely with every-day questions; with the business of the world, with which he manifests a knowledge sufficient to convince the reader that he knew more of the subject than most men.

What, after all, is statesmanship but the application of business methods to affairs of State? The best business man ought to be the most capable executive, the most successful diplomat, the wisest legislator. And he would be if only he would study some of the little arts of politics and take the time to master the law applicable to business—the business of nations as well as that of the commercial world. The great trouble with most men of business is that they live in a circle which they permit to become too restricted. With a broader culture added to proper commercial methods most of them would be happier and more useful citizens.

Something of an Admirable Crichton, Mr. Wolcott was a master in many spheres. He easily took on the broader culture of his profession and turned it to use in unravelling the mysteries of finance and commerce, in turn making his natural business instincts promote his success as a lawyer and afford him his best guide as a public speaker. He was a born organizer. Referring to him, one of his admirers has said: "He was a great lawyer. Oratory and business capacity are elements which do not combine under ordinary circumstances, but in the peculiar composition of Mr. Wolcott's mind these elements found complete and harmonious representation."

We have seen how that when a mere youth Mr. Wolcott devoted himself to insurance and merchandizing and how also for one of his age he proved exceptionally successful. In later years we find him filling the highly responsible position of director of the great Denver and Rio Grande Railroad system, promoting important mining enterprises, and becoming a successful operator in Wall Street.

From the time of their first entrance in Colorado, the Wolcotts were interested in mining. Henry gave the business more systematic attention than Edward, because mining was in the line of his employment; but the latter also made a close study of mining conditions and frequently expressed the opinion in his letters to friends that mining opened the most direct and certain avenue to wealth. He did not become a mine owner in Clear Creek County, the place of his first location, but soon after removing to Denver, he acquired an interest in a mine at Leadville and in the Little Annie Mine at Aspen. Later he and his brother Henry were large owners in the Last Chance, one of the big mines at Creede, and out of it they made a great deal of money. They also held other mining interests in various parts of the State and in Montana and Mexico. While mining was uncertain, the profits were large when there were any; therefore it appealed strongly to Mr. Wolcott. No inconsiderable part of his fortune was taken out of the ground.

Ed's first letters from Georgetown indicate not only a careful study of the mineral resources of that rich district,

but a determination to control some of these avenues to wealth and ease. In November, 1872, only a year after his arrival in Colorado, he wrote his father:

You can have no idea what a fascinating thing mining is. If a man has a good-paying lode, he is wholly independent. In every other business, as a merchant, agent, or professional man, you must toady more or less to some one. But a miner has his wealth and his sustenance down in the rock and is "beholden to nobody," and when a man does make money out of his mine (which happens in about one instance in forty) he always makes it fast. The money in mining, however, and this holds good in all mining countries, is in selling; for you get your money all at once.

Referring to his financial condition he says, writing from Georgetown in 1877: "An economical man could save money and buy a mine." Both of the brothers, however, were accustomed to say in later years that if a man put any money into a mine, he would best charge it to profit and loss, and then regard as clear gain any return he might receive. Ed probably had reference to the Leadville mine when, in January, 1884, he wrote his parents asking whether Henry had "told them anything about a wonderful mine we own," and adding: "If a mine does nothing else for a man, it at least keeps him always hopeful."

Mr. Wolcott became largely interested in lands and irrigation enterprises, and in Denver suburban property; and his ability was nowhere more conspicuous than in the facility, tact, and success with which he brought men together for the exploitation and development of these various interests.

Mr. Wolcott also dealt heavily in stocks, and in this line of business he at times made large sums of money. In stock dealing, he was not so much inclined to be a "plunger," as in gambling. He acted less on impulse, and was far more deliberate and conservative, weighing conditions carefully and listening to advice. In these as in all other business transactions he controlled a wider knowledge of affairs and possessed a mind more capable of analyzing



conditions than do most men. While, therefore, he often appeared reckless in his dealings, such was not necessarily always, nor indeed generally, the case. True, few men ever lived who loved the excitement of risk as did Ed Wolcott, and when bent on mere sport, his abandon was limitless. He "played" everything to the limit. But when engaged in actual business he proceeded with more caution and always with due regard to the probabilities, after careful scrutiny for himself.

While his disposition to take all the chances found vent at the gaming-tables, in stock speculation he used the information derived from his study of business conditions and obtained from men high in business circles, many of whom gave him their confidence.

This statement is in line with the opinion of Mr. Grant B. Schley, the New York banker, through whom Mr. Wolcott conducted most of his stock business and who in a letter to the author says of Mr. Wolcott:

In many ways Mr. Wolcott was extremely conservative and, I always felt that, if I had a proposition needing careful attention and close insight, there was no better mind to present it to than our friend, as he was never optimistic—as was his reputation—but extremely careful and critical in his examination of any complicated proposition and always extraordinarily clear in placing the debits and credits in their due proportion.

He profited largely through the merging of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad with the Great Northern and probably reached the zenith of his fortune at the time this combination was consummated. Later he lost heavily, but the last year of his life was marked by compensating gains, and he was a wealthy man when he died. In conversation with friends during his last visit to Denver in the fall of 1904 he spoke freely of his losses during the previous year, but he added that latterly there had been a turn in his affairs for the better, and said that business conditions were improving.

As such Mr. Wolcott's sporting proclivities had nothing to do with his business career. And yet in them are found some of the strongest indications of his general character.

While doubtless his devotion to games of chance was due, as has been said, to love of variety and excitement, the indulgence of the propensity brought into play many other mental qualities which were common to his participation in any labor or any pastime. One of these qualities was courage—"nerve." He was as daring in his bets as in his speeches, but probably not always so wise. If, in speaking, his judgment or his instinct told him to risk a bold attack involving personalities or unpopular positions, he did not hesitate to "sail in." The same was true of his speculations, and when under the excitement of "the game," necessarily there was less appeal to reason than when engaged in a purely intellectual exercise. He acted largely from impulse. But even then he won oftener than he lost, so that it can be stated that he was successful in this as in most other respects. Justice Brewer tells us he had an instinct for winning. It should be said of him that he did not covet the mere possession of wealth. He had all of the Western man's love of the game for its own sake, and money was valued only for what it brought.

In his speeches in and out of Congress, Mr. Wolcott dealt courageously and incisively with business questions. He did not hesitate to say a good word for the railroads when convinced that their interests were unfairly attacked, and on more than one occasion Wall Street and Wall Street operators were the subject of his favorable comment. On the other hand, if railroads or speculators were found to be infringing the law or violating good morals, he was as quick to condemn as he had been ready to praise.

On two occasions while in the Senate, in connection with committee investigations, Mr. Wolcott had occasion to speak of his business methods. One of these arose during the silver agitation, when a special House Committee with Hon. Nelson Dingley, of Maine, as Chairman, was appointed to investigate the existence of an alleged silver pool, supposedly formed for the purpose of promoting legislation for the purpose of speculation in silver. Because they were from a silver-producing State, but, without being summoned, Senators Teller and Wolcott appeared before the committee and

made statements. Both said they had had no previous knowledge of such a pool, if any existed, and Mr. Teller added that he neither owned any silver mines nor had any knowledge of speculation of any character. Denying all knowledge of any silver pool or syndicate, Mr. Wolcott stated that not since he had been in the Senate had he speculated in anything. He created a laugh by saying that he wished he was as innocent of all knowledge of speculation as was his colleague.

The other occasion on which he spoke of his business operations occurred during the inquiry into the operations of the Sugar Trust in 1894 in connection with the passage of the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Bill, when it was charged that some Senators had been influenced by business considerations to vote for the sugar schedule that was adopted. All the members of the Senate were called before a Senate Committee, and asked to state whether they had been approached in any way in the interest of the schedule or had speculated in sugar with knowledge of the provision before it was enacted into law. Mr. Wolcott replied emphatically in the negative.

Mr. Wolcott did not see in trusts the dangerous element that some have professed to find in them. He spoke very seldom on the subject, but when it was under consideration he did not hesitate to express himself frankly. Probably the tersest exposition of his views on this subject is given in an interview published in the *Washington Post* of November 16, 1897, in which he is quoted as saying:

I have always believed that an accumulation of capital could do business to better advantage and with more benefit to the public and the employee, than smaller concerns handicapped by lack of capital. Personally I see no danger in the transaction of business by these combined corporations. I do believe, of course, that they should be called upon to deal with the public with the utmost publicity and that their corporate transactions should be subjected to the most searching scrutiny; but, when this is done, I cannot see that any great danger threatens the country through their existence. It is certain that labor was never so well paid or so contented as at present. The only large combination of capital that has affected us in the West has been

the smelter combine, and it is rather gratifying to note that the steadiness and firmness of the price of silver has been largely caused by the fact that there are not twenty or thirty smelters bidding against each other in the markets for the sale of their silver.

He was in the Senate when the Sherman Anti-trust Bill became a law and he did not oppose it.

## RELATIONS TO FAMILY AND HOME

DENVER, COLO.,  
January 3, 1899.

MY DEAR MOTHER:

This is the first line I have written since my nomination by the caucus, and I want my first letter to be to you, my dear mother. I feel very happy and very humble. I shall do my best. I know my limitations and my weaknesses, but I trust I shall never bring discredit to the name I bear. If I do well it will be because God gave me the best father and mother anybody ever had. If father were only alive!

I love you very much and dearly,

Your son,

ED.

This letter is a key to one of Mr. Wolcott's strongest characteristics—his love for the members of his family, and especially for his parents. From his earliest days, he was exceptionally fond of his father and mother. He also maintained an affectionate regard for all of his brothers and sisters, and sought in every possible way to assure them of his interest. His letters are full of avowals of attachment, and that his words were not mere empty expressions was evidenced by innumerable acts of tenderness. After his own fortunes improved, he was tireless in his efforts to better conditions for other members of the family.

As he was partial to his family, so also was he fond of home, of locality, and of friends. And his attachment was strongest for his first home—for New England, and especially for Massachusetts, the State of his birth. Man of many contradictions that he was, he loved the East better



than the West, the country better than the city, his home better than his club, although a city man, a man of the world, and a resident of a Western State. Notwithstanding his marked success in Colorado, he was an Easterner in many of his inclinations.

Mr. Wolcott always professed to long for a country life, and he even went to the extent in one or two of his letters of asserting that he wanted to be a farmer. This tendency found expression in the establishment near Denver of his country place, Wolhurst; but it was so closely connected with the city, and the life lived there was so opposed to the ordinary idea of the rural as to almost contradict his verbal expression. Whatever the attraction, there is no doubt that he was extremely fond of the place, and it is true that while he provided himself with city comforts he also enjoyed the beauties of nature which surrounded him in profusion at Wolhurst. English-like in many of his tendencies and modes of life, he possessed the English gentleman's love of land and all that it implies. He liked the quiet and the beauty of the country side. But the other aspect of his nature—the passion for activity—found better expression in the city than it could have found amid rural scenes, and it may well be imagined that he would have been most miserable if condemned to abide by his own professed preference for a continuous residence outside a large city.

The letter to Mr. Wolcott's mother was only one of many showing strong filial affection. In one of these, written in November, 1874, while on his first visit to the parental home from Colorado, he expressed himself strongly. The letter was to his father, who was absent in the performance of his ministerial duties, and it was penned for the sole purpose of telling the parent how sorry he was not to see him. It ran as follows:

Home, Saturday Evening,  
7 November, '74.

MY DEAR FATHER:

I have been at home two days and have had a very happy time; but I missed you more than I can tell you. I have never visited Cleveland before when you were not here, and when we did not have at least one pleasant talk together. There were

many things I wanted to tell you and advise with you about. Perhaps I can write of them to you.

I am sitting at your table where you have written me many fatherly, encouraging letters. And I hope I shall receive many more "from the old stand," and that although you are continually travelling about doing missionary work, you will not forget you have a son on whom much good advice could be profitably spent, and who, though bad in many things, does love his father and mother.

Ever your affectionate son,

ED.

As was expressed in another letter, all of the Wolcott sons were fond of their home, and yet, as he says elsewhere, "they had all been away from it more than most boys." As a matter of fact, Ed never was at home after he was sixteen years old except on a visit. His recollections of the home-life were, however, most vivid and as pleasing as vivid. He seemed to revert to the time spent there with more pleasure than to any other period of his varied life.

#### FONDNESS FOR PARENTS

Ed was his father's boy.

That [said one of his sisters, writing to the author] was always his position in the family—and I never knew of any one's resenting it. Mother told me once, of father's coming home from the funeral of a child in Belchertown and telling her that the child had been the flower of the family, and that its loss meant what it would mean to them "to lose Ed." Mother said it was her first intimation that he did not regard all the children alike. [She adds interestingly:] By the time my remembrance begins, Henry had come to hold the same place with mother that Ed did with father. She said that when they were boys, and there was an errand to be done, while the others were discussing whose turn it was, Henry would go and do it.

But if especial interest was manifested for the son by the father, the attachment between the son and the mother was none the less sincere and touching.

Dr. Wolcott was a man of accurate knowledge of the affairs of the world, and if his education and early inclina-



THE  
WOLCOTT

MRS. HARRIET POPE WOLCOTT,  
Mother of Senator Wolcott.



tion had not placed him in the pulpit, he would have found most congenial employment in other walks of life. His son had the opinion that he would have been a superb lawyer. If he entertained ambitions for secular activity, they were subordinate to his clerical calling; but be that as it may, it is certain that from the first he held them for his third son. He never ceased to urge him to the utmost endeavor in preparing himself for high attainment.

If Ed "went wrong" the father was quick to administer rebuke; but he was just as prompt in awarding praise for worthy conduct, and in this watchfulness there was a constant expression of interest and of hope for the future. Many sacrifices were made and much effort exerted in the interest of his ambition for the boy. As from early youth Ed was almost constantly absent from home this interest involved much correspondence, and many long letters of counsel and advice were the necessary product. Occasionally we find Ed's love of fun breaking over all barriers and pricking the armor of the parent, but underneath the surface there ever was a substantial love which failed never in finding vent when there was reason for its expression. Not only did he feel a deep natural affection for his father, but his respect for his parent's superior knowledge and his gratitude for his help were very marked. He relied upon the elder in many matters and never appealed in vain. Of a grateful disposition, he did all in his power to avoid disappointing the parental expectation, and there is no doubt that in his earlier career the spur of the father was quite as important a factor in determining the young man's career as was his own ambition. Indeed, we find him writing home in 1880 and saying that he had been pleased to achieve a reputation as a public speaker only on account of Dr. Wolcott's interest in him, and adding that with that accomplished he desired to quit public life.

Did his father consent to his quitting? By no means. So long as he lived, he did not fail to urge the son to fresh endeavor. Indeed, there never was a time up to the father's death in 1886 that he was not a constant support and encourager of the son. Through their letters they were a help one to the other—the son as critic and censor; the father



as whip and spur and general counsellor. They resembled each other in physical traits and possessed many similar mental characteristics.

It is no small tribute to the strength and loftiness of Dr. Wolcott's character that his son, who had gone out from home at the age of sixteen and who had formed habits and associations that were at variance with his father's manner of life, should yet retain throughout his career, both in public life and in business, an unfaltering loyalty to the high ideals which from his earliest youth the father had held before him.

Many letters on both sides attest the comradeship of father and son, but the following extracts in addition to those already given must suffice in this connection.

October 9, 1876, Ed wrote:

"I cannot bear to have you feel that you are growing old, for to me you have always seemed the same. I could see no difference in you during my last visit home and the old Providence days when we lived on High Street and I first began to know you intelligently."

And in September, 1877, after a visit by Dr. Wolcott to his sons in Colorado:

"Excuse me for not having written before; it has not been for lack of filial affection, for that has been renewed and strengthened a thousand times by your visit and mother's, but solely because I have n't had time."

Again in September, 1880:

"I was more pleased than I can tell you to find your long letter awaiting my return. It is a good many months or years since you've written me such a letter, and it is a kind you would feel repaid for writing if you knew how much good it does the recipient."

And, more expressive still, the letter to the mother after his selection for the Senate three years after Dr. Wolcott's death. "If father were only alive!" he said.

As the time of young Wolcott's absence from home lengthened there naturally was a falling off in letters, and while he did not himself write as frequently as he might have done, he felt keenly any neglect on the part of the home



DR. SAMUEL WOLCOTT,  
Father of Senator Wolcott.



folks. His letters are replete with confessions of his own negligence and equally full of upbraidings of parents and sisters and brothers. The following, to the father, of December 12, 1883, after Ed had established himself and was prosperous in Denver, was one of a series of letters to the family, but is in a strain somewhat different from others:

Since I have been away from home, now nineteen years, there has never been a time, except during one season of my Georgetown life, when you have not written me about once a month. I have received but one letter from you since last April. If there is no reason why you do not write, except that it has happened so, I can feel equably about it; but if there is a reason, or if you have lost any of the interest in me you used to feel, then I shall feel very badly. I know of nothing that could render me more unhappy. Will you please write and tell me before the year ends?

It is a pleasure to record the father's response, which came promptly and which hinted at a tenderness of feeling which was not fully revealed. Writing from Cleveland on the 17th of the same December, Dr. Wolcott explained that his failure to write had been due to his absence from home, and added:

Your favor of the 12th instant reached me this morning; and I regret (and yet do not regret) the delay which has occasioned it. I welcome the proof which it furnishes that you prize so much an occasional letter from home; while I am sorry that you should harbor for a moment the thought that there has been any loss of interest in or affection for you at this end of the line. I am reminded of a Sabbath morning in the country years ago, when I was visiting the churches, and was alone in my study—an experience which I have never spoken of, and will not now revive. I loved you then when I felt anxious for you, and certainly do not love you less now that a kind Providence has lifted my most pressing anxieties.

You have not only done better than I hoped in my anxious moods, but better than I anticipated in my most hopeful moments. You are apt to write depreciatingly of yourself and your performances; but your success appears to us to have been phenomenal. It strikes us that you have the highest possible

incentives to diligence and to faithfulness; I can think of no desirable attainment or position which does not seem to be within your reach.

Mr. Wolcott's love for his mother was especially tender after the father's death, and no opportunity was lost to show the feeling. Frequently during his service in the Senate he would go to Longmeadow on Friday night in order to spend the following Saturday and Sunday with her. Mr. David S. Barry, of Washington, one of Mr. Wolcott's Washington newspaper friends, relates this anecdote illustrative of Mr. Wolcott's interest in his mother:

Down at the bottom Mr. Wolcott was of a gentle as well as of a modest nature, although as a rule these qualifications were very successfully concealed. When he first came to the Senate the correspondent of a Boston newspaper wrote a letter about him which was most flattering. Later the Senator asked a newspaper friend to get a copy of it for him and wrote a note to the author thanking him for his courteous consideration. "There's not much truth in your article," the Senator said; "but I know it will please my dear old mother up in Massachusetts, and that after all is the important point."

The mother gave constant evidence of her great fondness for her brilliant son, but no expression is more characteristic of her than the following letter to Henry, written November 17, 1888, a few days after the result of the election of that year was made known:

I have not congratulated you by letter, though I have often in my thoughts, on the result of the election in Colorado. I suppose it makes Ed's election comparatively sure, does it not? To be the mother of a United States Senator is an honor, of which I had not dreamed until very recently, and I can hardly believe it possible now. I have not written to him, but have hoped he would find time to write a line to me, though I know he must have much to absorb his time and thoughts.

Not the least interesting fact connected with the letter is that notwithstanding it refers to Ed it is addressed to



Henry. Mrs. Wolcott knew the two sons and knew that the triumph was quite as much Henry's as it was Ed's, as in reality it was. She accomplished a double purpose in writing to Henry.

We have heard something of Mr. Wolcott's tendency to despondency. He recognized it in himself and regarded it as a hereditary trait, varying from time to time in his opinion as to which side of the house it was derived from. The following from a letter to his mother dated at Georgetown, June 7, 1876, is a specimen expression on the point:

Court is in session. I have but little to do in it this term, but am a steady looker on. Business is not exactly brisk, but I am well and happy in the hope that it will some day be better. The elasticity of spirits with which some of your children are endowed, comes I think from father. I have always had the impression that you were somewhat inclined to be rather despondent. I am, sometimes, but it does n't last long; perhaps it would be better if it lasted longer, but we are what we are, and there are many traits that nothing can change.

Writing to his mother again in December of that year, concerning a matter of mutual interest, he broke off abruptly and remarked: "And this reminds me, mother, that you are a little disposed, and have been ever since I first had the pleasure of knowing you, now some years since, to look somehow on the gloomy side;—don't you think so?"

Quite a contrary view was, however, expressed in a letter to his mother, written from Denver in 1884, in which he said:

"Happiness in this world depends very little on success, but is almost wholly a matter of temperament, and I hope Bert has inherited his mother's disposition, and has not been afflicted, as some of us have, with the gloomy and morbid and misanthropic tendencies which some unhappy old Wolcott bequeathed to his posterity."

#### OBSERVANCE OF BIRTHDAYS

Birthdays were ever events of moment in the Wolcott family, and there always was trouble for the one who over-

looked Ed's anniversary. But if he expected a recognition of his natal day he did not forget those of others, and he was especially punctilious about his mother's.

As early as 1862, we find Mrs. Wolcott writing to her husband and mentioning the fact that the letter was written on Ed's fourteenth birthday. She seemed then to think that he was getting to be quite old, and appeared disposed to moralize over that fact. A letter from her written to him on his twenty-third anniversary has been preserved. The date was March 26, 1871. Here it is:

These anniversaries always carry me back to the years and scenes of the past. I remember very distinctly the day of your birth (it was the Sabbath), and many occurrences of your infancy and childhood. How full of mother's pride and hope my heart was in those days, and so it still is, only subdued and chastened by time and experience. If my hopes have not all been realized, my Heavenly Father's kindness has been very great to me, and I am, I trust, truly grateful.

Twenty-three years! A large section of our brief lives. And yet it does not seem a long time to look back upon. How soon these passing years will bring us to the close of our lives! Our great concern should be to improve wisely those that remain, and may the number of yours be many, my son, and that the Lord may bless you in them all, and make you a blessing to others is the sincere prayer of your affectionate mother.

Ed appears not to have received this letter as early as he should have, for we find him writing to a sister a few days after its date and complaining that no one had taken notice of his birthday. The letter to the sister shows a sense of light humor, which, if cultivated, would certainly have brought him a reputation in that direction. Here is the letter:

CAMBRIDGE, April 3, 1871.

DEAR SISTER:

When my birthday came a week ago, and nobody said anything about it here, and no letter came to me from anywhere or anybody, and I found that everybody had forgotten all about it, I came to the conclusion that it was because I was so old. You know some people get so old that they and everybody else forget

how old they are, and all anybody knows about them is that they are like

“The Polar Star—  
Always thar.”

And I thought of going to see an old darkey who lives here in Cambridge, who does n't just remember whether he is *one* hundred and forty or *two* hundred and forty and who remembers all about the flood and how Noah

“Led in the animals three by three,  
The elephant and the bumble-bee,”

and of asking him if he did n't remember the divine and afterward the poet “which his name was Dr. Wolcott,” and how in the year '48, either 1748 or 1848, he became the father of a beautiful infant, and Edward was his name.

But in a day or two your letter came and with it a real pretty present, and then I knew I was n't old enough yet to be forgotten.

In place of his signature a photograph of himself, of thumb-nail size, was pasted on the end of the sheet.

That he had not been “forgotten” his mother's and his sister's letters, and probably other letters from other members of the family, would, of course, have been sufficient to reassure him, if he had needed reassurance, which he did not.

Two touching letters from the son to the mother, growing out of the birthday observance, are now available. One was written from Denver on June 29, 1884, the mother's sixty-third birthday, and the other from Washington, March 26, 1897, when he was forty-nine and had been eight years in the Senate.

In the first of these letters he says:

I spent an hour at Kittie's. We were talking of home and of you, when Anna reminded me that it was your birthday. I have usually recalled the date, but this year the day would have passed without my remembering it. I write home rarely, and am punished by not having frequent letters. Years ago when we were all little ones, everybody's birthday was celebrated in

a quiet fashion, and yours among the rest, and now that we are all grown older we ought still to keep them in mind. I don't believe you feel as old these days as I do.

Then he dealt with other subjects, but returning to his mother's anniversary, concluded by touchingly saying:

I am glad you are so well this summer. I wish I could be with you to-night. I'd give you sixty-three pats on the shoulder, but they should all be love pats and very light, and I would kiss you good-night as I used to. I don't have the opportunity often now, but when bedtime comes, after all these years, I frequently think that it is time to "kiss mother good-night." And you think of us all, don't you?

The pertinent portion of the letter of 1897 follows:

It is my forty-ninth birthday. My first thought this morning was of you, and I do not want the day to pass without my writing you of the grateful memories I have always of you. I think as we grow older we dwell more constantly on our youthful days, and as I recall mine, I have no recollection of you that is not a precious one. Somehow it seemed to me from your last letter that you were not quite as well as usual. I trust you are getting all right again. I am coming soon to see you. My own plans are somewhat uncertain. Confidentially, the President wants me to go abroad again on the International Money Question. I am also one of the sub-committee of four members of the Finance Committee having charge of the Tariff Bill, and we are having hearings constantly, and the days are not half long enough to finish each day's work. As soon as I can tell definitely what I shall do, I will write you.

#### ATTACHMENT FOR HENRY

Of Mr. Wolcott's brothers, Henry unquestionably was the favorite, but his letters abound in expressions of deep affection for all of them. With the eldest brother Samuel he early in life entered into a compact for a constant exchange of letters, and while the agreement appears not to have been very scrupulously observed by either of the parties to it, still there was sufficient communication to show a deep mutual interest. Will, next younger than himself, was

his playmate and companion when the two were at home, and they were warm friends. Later in life he looked to Will as he did to his father as a critic and counsellor in his rhetorical productions. Herbert, who was fifteen years his junior, was the subject of his constant interest and deep concern. His letters contain many expressions of tender solicitude for him, and when he grew to manhood he took him into his law office at Denver. His sisters also were the subjects of his unfeigned affection. From the time that he and Henry became established in Colorado, some of the young ladies were with them almost constantly. Miss Katherine found there a husband in Hon. Charles H. Toll, who was Attorney-General of the State, and afterward, until his untimely death, a successful lawyer there. Miss Harriet was married in Denver to Frederick O. Vaille and after remaining there for a time removed to Massachusetts. Later they returned to Denver and have continued to reside in that city. Miss Anna located in the State and made a place of her own as the head of the popular "Miss Wolcott School" of Denver. Whether in Colorado as visitors or as residents, the presence of the sisters was a source of gratification to both brothers, as Ed's letters abundantly express.

It would be quite impossible to present an adequate biography of Ed Wolcott without multiplied references to his brother Henry. They were constant chums and companions, and the lives of both were full of acts of devotion on the part of each toward the other. As we have seen, Ed was indebted to Henry for encouragement and guidance throughout his entire life. Indeed, it is not too much to say that without Henry his career would have been much more difficult of achievement than it was. Henry loved Ed as few brothers ever have been loved. He found the greatest pleasure of his life in the younger man's success while the latter lived, and after his death his memory became the subject of his constant care.

Sturdy, strong, and immovable, Henry was ever in sharp contrast with his volatile, buoyant, and irrepressible brother. Ed Wolcott always was pugnacious enough and always strong enough, even from his early years, to take care of himself; but if he had needed a defender Henry would have



been found acting in that capacity, and, while not called upon to serve in this way, he did play the part of counsellor and adviser, and always effectively. The more deliberate and conservative of the two, he was more cautious in avoiding "scrapes," and probably wiser in finding a way out of them. But, whatever the call in Ed's interest, Henry was ever ready to respond to it. Nor is it intended to imply that this good-will and this service were not reciprocated. From first to last Ed regarded Henry as a mentor and supporter whose judgment was better and whose aid more to be desired than the judgment and assistance of any other person. When at the front during the war, and afterward while at college, we find the younger brother making constant inquiries concerning the whereabouts and the welfare of his senior. For a boy, he manifested deep concern regarding Henry's first business venture, which was entered upon in Chicago soon after he left the army. So when, later, Henry turned his faculties to the development of the mineral resources of the Rocky Mountains, and sought to establish himself there, as he most effectively did, we again find in Ed his most ardent admirer, as he was the most zealous prophet of his success.

We have seen how Henry assisted Ed when he first went to Colorado, and the constant help of all kinds that he gave afterward constitutes a theme too delicate for detailed narration. It is a well-known fact that Henry was Ed's chief supporter in politics, and that to the brother more than to all others he owed his ultimate elevation to the Senate. Already a letter from Ed to his father has been quoted expressing his gratitude to Henry for his help in 1880, when he first entertained aspiration for a national career. After his election to the Senate in 1889, he gave public expression to the same feeling when in his speech to the Legislature, with moistened eye and voice on the verge of breaking, he said: "Nobody knows as I do what a brother's constancy means." In fact, they demonstrated at all times the truth of Solomon's proverb: "A friend loveth at all times, and a brother is born for adversity." Each ever was to the other the loving friend, the brother in adversity.

As illustrative of the fondness of Henry and Ed for each

other, a Denver friend recalls a characteristic instance. It occurred at the residence of a lady on a New Year's day, probably in the early eighties, when the social practice of making general New Year's calls was in vogue. The two brothers had been together all day, and had called at many places. When they arrived at the residence of this particular lady, they met a number of acquaintances, many of them ladies. These were, of course, properly greeted by the two brothers; but they had not been in the house ten minutes when they were found sitting together in a corner conversing as earnestly and as interestedly as if they had not seen each other for a year. The incident is recalled as a proof that they found in the society of each other more than they did in that of others. They seemed never to tire of the closest association, and they lived together from year to year with ever increasing mutual regard.

As they advanced side by side in Colorado, they were closely connected in many business transactions. Until Ed's membership in the Senate set them somewhat in different grooves, they knew each other's affairs intimately. Each felt free to commit the other to any enterprise, and whenever they were separated, even though it were by the width of the continent, each sent to the other a daily telegram touching on all matters that the day had brought before him. Indeed, there was no time so long as Ed lived that they were not the most intimate friends, the fondest companions, the most affectionate brothers.

#### INTEREST IN SISTERS

Of all the Wolcott sisters, Miss Clara was most at home, and there are many references to her in Edward's letters. He seemed to remember with especial gratitude that she had been a friend to him when he especially needed friends, when she was six and he eighteen. They were both staying with Grandfather Pope in Norwich. "I imagine the attitude of the household was rather severely critical toward the lively boy and that the presence of the uncritical child was a good deal of a solace," she says, and adds: "I do not remember the time, but my brother referred to it almost

every time I ever saw him." Evidently, the experience appealed strongly to his sense of gratitude, which we have seen was ever strong. When he grew to manhood, he bestowed upon her, as upon all his sisters, every favor that a prosperous and generous older brother could bestow.

When the health of one of the young ladies became impaired, he was most solicitous for her welfare, and urged every reasonable remedy upon her. This occurred while he was in Europe giving attention to the work of the bimetallic campaign in 1897, when, busy as he was, he wrote her an eight-page, closely lined letter, advising her as to the various resorts in America and Europe, closing with an urgent entreaty to try the foreign ones and volunteering to pay all the expenses. The letter was full of detailed information concerning the various "cures," and would be a splendid handbook on this subject. The following extract from the letter, throwing light on a historic period, should interest:

Personally, I fear I can be of little or no service to you on this side of the water, as my plans are so absolutely uncertain and not under my control. I go from here on Friday to Marseilles to meet some French bimetallists; then to London where I shall await the answer from the English Ministry. Then I shall either go home, or to France or to Germany. My work is engrossing in interest, and far the most important I have ever attempted, and these are anxious days.

He was especially concerned about the health of his sisters while at college, and frequently admonished them against too close application to their studies. To one of them, after he was well established in Denver, he wrote:

"Don't study too hard. If you have a real good time, you will look back upon your college course with a good deal of pleasure, even if you don't know all the Greek and mathematics in the world."

And in similar vein to another:

Henry has told me how much you enjoy college life. I find that college recollections are about the pleasantest of all. But

I want to suggest one thing to you, and I do it in all seriousness: don't study too hard. You won't remember anything you learn after five years anyway, and, if I were you, I would try to make the time pass as pleasantly as possible, and not spend too much time on my books. It is a splendid thing to stand well in your class, but it has its drawbacks.

#### PREFERENCE FOR NEW ENGLAND

For one who loved his people as Ed did, he was at home very little. Indeed, never after he enlisted to go to the war in 1864, when he was sixteen, did he see much of the family. After returning from his army service, he spent two years in school, and then went into business. Without returning home to remain any length of time, he began his law studies in 1869, and as soon as he received his degree from the Harvard law school, he transferred his abode to Colorado, where he maintained residence until his death.

A younger sister, writing of him when at home, says:

Ed was full of life and fun, and I remember his visits home as occasions when everything was stirred up, and we all had a good time. I was very fond of him and very proud of him in those days, but as a younger sister in a very large family I was not on especially intimate terms with him, and it seems to me that within my recollection he never lived at home. . . . The humdrum and matter-of-fact tone of the life at home was always dissipated by Ed's appearance on the scene. He was decidedly a tease, but in a good-natured way, which left no sting.

Yet, long as he was away from the parental roof, he always dreamed of a return to it, and he especially longed to establish himself in New England. It probably will be a surprise to most people to learn that Colorado was not Mr. Wolcott's preferred place of residence. But such is the fact. Proud as he was of the State of his adoption, his strongly sensuous nature found more satisfaction in the verdure of the New England landscape than in the undulating plains and rugged mountains of the far West.



Moreover, he enjoyed the refinement of the New England civilization more than he did the crudities of the then undeveloped West. Quotations are given in support of these statements, but they should not be too seriously considered. In weighing his expressions on the subject, allowance must be made for the conditions under which they were uttered. Engaged as he was in politics, and political leader that he was, there was little repose for him in Colorado, where his activities were exerted. The parental home offered solace and quiet, and naturally all New England, far removed from solicitous follower or hungry constituent, seemed a haven of refuge. It also should be remembered that he was writing to the "home folks," and doubtless his interest in the East was tinged with a longing to see them. But, be the reasons what they may, it is undeniable that his preference was for New England, and especially for Massachusetts, as a place of residence, and he was delighted when in 1884, after an absence of more than a third of a century, and through his brother Henry's generosity, the family again found themselves established at Longmeadow.

From the time of his first location in Colorado, Mr. Wolcott was engaged in expressing longing for the State of his birth. In 1874, this feeling took shape in the following letter to his parents:

Georgetown is very quiet, but is becoming more prosperous every season. It will never be a large place, but with the exceptions of portions of Nevada, it undoubtedly contains in its vicinity the best and richest silver mines in the country. A man who attends to business here ought to make a comfortable fortune in ten or fifteen years. I hope to do this and then move back to New England, the only civilized section in the United States. I would rather live in Boston, I think, than anywhere else in the world. I wish father would get a call to some Eastern church, even if it is a small one and in some quiet village.

To a sister, Mr. Wolcott wrote from Denver, April 17, 1881:

"For the last month I have been wanting to go East, and have been hoping to get away, but it looks as if it would be impossible. I almost envy you the delightful summer



that is just commencing around Northampton, and the glimpses you have of the broad Connecticut."

And to his mother on November 18, 1884:

"Winter commenced in earnest yesterday. Until then we had had a month of Indian summer. Business is good. I work pretty hard, but don't seem to accomplish much. Our mine looks promising again, but is n't yet paying a profit. I am considering the advisability of saving my money, getting rich, and moving East. Is n't it a good idea?"

Many similar expressions are found. In one letter, he wanted to practise his profession in Boston; in the next his fancy ran to a country home, when for the moment he revelled in the thought of becoming a tiller of the soil; in a third, he would be located in a quiet New England village, where the world would be without excitement, and life beautiful, peaceful, quiet. Vain human hope! Vain at least for a man engaged in Western politics and immersed in the cares of the world. Once in an after-dinner speech, he spoke of Heaven as a place where the New Englanders were to sing the solos and other portions of mankind were to be permitted only to join in the chorus. But that was a speech to New Englanders only and was not without its vein of sarcasm.

#### FAMILY HOME AT LONGMEADOW

When the family left Longmeadow, as they did soon after Ed's birth in 1848, they were possessed of only moderate means; but now that the two brothers had so prospered in the West, the parents were enabled to live in a way which was much more becoming their station as members of one of the oldest and best of New England connections. A splendid mansion was erected for them by Henry, and he and Ed combined to make it a home indeed for the rapidly-aging parents and for their sisters and younger brothers. It should also be stated that both Dr. and Mrs. Wolcott had inherited property and that, while the two brothers did a great deal to promote the luxury of life, the other members of the family were by no means dependent upon them.

How the establishment of this permanent abode was re-

garded by the parents may be inferred from the following letter from Mrs. Wolcott to her son, written from Cleveland in October, 1883, after the return to Longmeadow was definitely decided upon.

It seems very strange to me [she wrote] that I should be going back to the spot to live where just forty years ago I went, a bride. The sad fact about it is that those who received me so kindly then, and endeared themselves to me, have all passed away. Instead of the fathers are the children. But the place is associated with some of the pleasantest memories of my life, not least of which is the birth and childhood of three of my children. It seems to me a kind Providence that is leading us back to that quiet spot for the evening of our days. God grant that the pleasant anticipations may be realized!

The new home appealed strongly to Edward. In June, 1884, very soon after the removal, he wrote his mother:

"What is father doing? Still planting trees? If he only holds on to his present fancies, Longmeadow will be an elysium for him. The house will be a pleasant one, and if there is no malaria to make Clara miserable, it ought to be a happy home for us all. I am sure that I shall see much more of you than if you continued to live at Cleveland."

On the previous January 2d, before the change had occurred, he had written more at length regarding it. In that letter he gave his fancy wider range concerning his own future. Then he said:

I think this is the first time I have written the number of the New Year. I wish you happiness all through it; and I sincerely believe that the return to New England is going to bring a new lease of years and happiness, and that we who live in Colorado will share in the result, though we can visit home but rarely.

There is no such commonwealth as Massachusetts, unless it be her neighbor Connecticut, and there is surely no pleasanter village than Longmeadow. I had intended to go East this winter, but have been compelled to abandon the trip and have about made up my mind to wait until next summer and then take a good long vacation, and spend it in driving through parts of New England, more especially the towns about Longmeadow.



WOLCOTT FAMILY RESIDENCE AFTER THE RETURN TO LONGMEADOW.





We had a very quiet day yesterday; the girls received, and I think enjoyed the day. I suppose Henry wrote you that we had sold the house. We are going to move into a much more comfortable one. We shall have one or two guest-chambers, and when father wants to give his Pegasus another rest we shall be glad to see him here again, although I hope he won't wait for that time before coming. I hope we shall not have to move again while we live in Denver, which won't be very many years, I trust.

The only people who get the good out of life are the tillers of the soil, and if this quarrelsome profession of mine will only yield me enough to buy a modest farm in Massachusetts, you will see me there.

June 29, 1884, he wrote his mother asking her "what sort of farmer" she thought he would make, and added:

"I often feel as if I would like to go back to New England, and settle down in the country somewhere."

Doubtless his desire for an Eastern country home had been aroused by the example set by his brother-in-law, Frederick Vaille, who for a time lived on a place owned by him in historic Lexington. Writing, half seriously and half jestingly, to his mother, in November, 1884, about Mr. Vaille's venture, Mr. Wolcott said:

Bert showed me yesterday a letter from you written at Lexington. Isn't Fred's place fine? If I were to choose a farm anywhere, and were willing to be away from the sea or from running water, I could select no pleasanter home. I never hear from Fred or Hattie except occasionally through the letters of some of the family who are visiting them; but I'm not entitled to hear, for I don't write. I still think Fred should follow out the suggestion I made him, of scattering about the place a few old musket balls and skulls. They will be ploughed up in a few years, will be placed among the Revolutionary relics at Lexington, and will add to the value of the estate. Won't you speak to him about it?

#### WHERE COLORADO "COMES IN"

The words of one who was so much the creature of mood and impulse must not always be taken implicitly at



their face value when he is speaking only to intimates; and it is not surprising if, along with these expressions of admiration and devotion for New England, we find others equally as ardent in favor of Colorado, the home of his adoption. In many of his letters he made boastful reference to the new State, and he delivered few speeches in which there was not some allusion to it. Often, indeed, Colorado was his principal theme. It was his unquestionable intention to reside at Wollhurst as long as he might live, as his letters to Judge Kent and to others testify. His glowing eulogies of the Centennial State in his two New England Day orations are given elsewhere, and bear eloquent testimony to his intense loyalty toward and pride in it. That it was his intention to make his home in Colorado after his retirement from the Senate was announced frequently both publicly and privately. In an interview printed in the *Denver Republican* in 1900, he referred to the necessity of returning to Washington to complete his term in the Senate and added:

I shall then return to Colorado, where I have lived for thirty years, and which is the only home I have ever known. I shall resume here the practice of my profession. Everything I have or hope for, all my interests, all my associations, are centred in the State; I shall live here until I die.

After such tributes as these, surely no others are necessary, but there are a few so strong that they cannot in justice be withheld, and they are here given.

Of his high hopes for Colorado we find splendid expression even in his Denver speech of October 23, 1880, the first of his published addresses.

Colorado [he said, in closing that address] is the youngest, the latest-born, the Centennial State. She brings to the Union youthful blood and fresh devotion to liberty. Do you not know that in all ages the mountains have been the haunts and homes of Liberty? Thwarted and defeated on the plains, she has ever sought refuge in mountain fastnesses, and there hurled defiance at her foes. The hill-country of Judea, the highlands of Scotland, and the summits of Switzerland have once and again

borne witness to this scene. Our whole country, hill and valley and plain, consecrated by a fresh baptism of blood, will, we trust, be loyal to those principles which our fathers sealed with their life's blood a hundred years ago. But should there be wavering elsewhere, there must be no faltering here. The heights on which we dwell are consecrated forever to liberty.

“ We are watchers of a beacon  
Whose lights can never die;  
We are guardians of an altar  
'Midst the silence of the sky.”

At the Republican State Convention at Denver, September 15, 1898, he said :

Colorado, my friends, was settled by the best crowd of people that ever lived. They came out here, and have been coming for the last thirty years, from the New England States, from New York, Ohio, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota—splendid citizens, starting out after the war, prompted by that restlessness which came when so many officers and soldiers were mustered out, and seeking to find some new fields for their industry. It has been followed up by as splendid and fine and intelligent a population as ever settled a State. You go into the mining camps of the State, and you find more college graduates and intelligent men in proportion to the population than you find anywhere else in the United States. We have resources that no other State in the Union has. There is not a single piece of land on the footstool that has more mineral resources than Colorado has, including gold and silver. We have more coal than the State of Pennsylvania. Our oil-fields and our iron deposits, together with other resources, make this the richest land ever kissed by God's sunshine. Everything conspires to make Colorado the most fruitful and the most prosperous and the most splendid State in the Union.

At the Colorado State Republican Convention, May 11, 1900 :

Colorado has more at stake in this great question than any of the commonwealths of the Union. There is no area of land of the same size in the whole world of equal richness. The young men before me to-day, before they die, will see the popu-

lation of Colorado counted by millions where it is now counted by hundreds of thousands. Our great plains and valleys will furnish the meat and the food and the grain for mankind. The coal from our inexhaustible mines will feed the furnaces of the world and speed her iron ships. The iron from our mines, rolled out by our great mills, will supply the rails that will open up countries that are yet unexplored and undreamed of. Our mines of gold and silver will furnish a circulating medium for the world and all its nations.

Voicing the same thought he expressed himself thus in an interview in 1901:

The next few years mean so much to Colorado! This Republic has become one of the great world nations, destined to share in the solution of the vast problems of civilization all over the globe. We have reached such a plane of prosperity as the most hopeful of us never dreamed of twenty-five years ago. And we are only at the threshold of our possibilities. Colorado, with her limitless resources, can contribute more to the general sum of prosperity than any commonwealth in the Union.

At the Lincoln celebration of the Colorado Republican Club in 1904, the last speech but one that he made, he said:

I feel myself fitted to respond for Colorado. There is not out of doors, anywhere under the canopy of Heaven, a piece of ground like it, or as rich as it is. Everything that would grow anywhere is within our soil. There is not an acre of land in the State that water can reach that if you would tickle it with the hoe, but would bear the harvest. There is not a cereal or a vegetable that would not grow more to the acre here than elsewhere. We have more coal in Colorado than has ever yet been developed and produced, or in prospect, in the great coal State of Pennsylvania; we have inexhaustible deposits of iron and of all the base metals, and we have the precious metals of every kind, and from one end of the State to the other, waiting for the industry of the prospector. These we have, and, unlike most States, we do not carry all our goods on the counter. We have hidden in the recesses of the mountains for the children yet unborn wealth for them, and in the centuries to come it will be seen that we have but to grub at the surface and there is waiting for the generations that are to follow us wealth beyond the dreams of avarice.

## HOME OF HIS OWN

Notwithstanding he lived the greater part of his mature life a bachelor and regardless of the fact that he was a man of the world, Mr. Wolcott liked to maintain a house and to live at home. Even while a resident of Georgetown, he kept up an establishment part of the time, and after he and Henry removed to Denver they "kept house" constantly. They set up housekeeping largely at Ed's solicitation. It is related that Henry only consented to the arrangement on condition that Ed would agree to remain at table until the serving of the meals should be concluded. His nervous energy asserted itself at meal-time as at all other times, and it was difficult to hold him to the formalities. Doubtless he promised and probably he broke the promise. Henry and Ed were the prime movers in the organization of the Denver Club, and were fond of it, but Ed did not live in the club-house long at a time. Nor would he accept an office in the Club, although frequently solicited to do so. "My brother Henry is a good housekeeper," he would say; "I am not; he likes it—I don't; give it to him." Henry was the first governor of the Club.

Early letters from young Wolcott in Colorado contain frequent reference to his manner of living. February 1, 1875, he told his mother:

"For the past year I have slept in my office; it has been unpleasant, living in one room, and a little one at that, all the time, and I have furnished a little sleeping-room, and enjoy the change."

By the end of the year 1876, after he had been chosen District Attorney, conditions evidently had improved somewhat, and on December 16th of that year he wrote:

I am talking of changing my office and taking a nice little house with four rooms, all small, and using two for an office, and the other two for sleeping- and dressing-rooms. Then, there is a nice cellar under the house, where I can keep my coal-oil and bath-tub. It is a little removed from the centre of the town, but the rent is reasonable, \$30 a month. I am now paying \$37 for two small rooms an eighth of a mile apart.

In one of his first letters from Denver, dated November 30, 1879, written to both his parents, he says: "Henry and I are living in quite sumptuous apartments, and my office is a particularly pleasant one."

Again, on May 11, 1882, he speaks of new offices which he says "are delightful, or will be when I get them fully arranged." In the following extract from the same letter, he indicates the style of life of the two brothers:

I have a scheme: Why cannot father return when Henry does, and spend a month with us here? We have room for him at our house, and can insure him a good table. I cannot promise him any particularly hilarious enjoyment; but, seriously, it would gratify me very much if he would come, and I know father would enjoy the trip, and I know also it would do him good. I have a fair miscellaneous library, and we are so situated that his visit would be pleasant to him.

"I wish," he writes in June, 1884, "you could see the house Henry and I live in. It is charming and very comfortable." In his last years he spent much time at the Denver residence of his brother Henry, known as "The Paddock," which was located in Glenarm Street in that city.

In Washington Mr. Wolcott lived a part of the time at the Arlington Hotel, and much of the remainder of the time at 1221 Connecticut Avenue, where he occupied his own house and where he maintained a splendid state.

#### WOLHURST

Mr. Wolcott's longing for a country home found expression at last in the establishment of a place in Colorado which he named Wolhurst, and which is located fourteen miles south of Denver, on the Platte River.

When he bought the place in 1890, it was a ramshackle old ranch of two hundred acres, with most of its possibilities yet to be developed. It, however, had a grove of great cottonwood trees. These had been planted by the original owner, Gene Estlack, who had taken up the land in 1859.



Additional purchases brought the area to five hundred acres.

Artesian wells were driven for a water supply. A lake was excavated, and extensive grading enlarged the lawn space. Trees were planted wherever they could be placed to advantage. Among others, two rows of spruce were set out to border a driveway, and the driveway was afterward changed to a footpath, that the trees might have a better chance. Long lines of graceful Lombardy poplars were placed along the highway. Wherever attractive shade-trees were discovered within available distance, negotiations were entered into for their purchase, and among those transplanted were two dozen exceptionally fine spruces from the ground of the old H. A. W. Tabor mansion in Denver. It cost \$50 or \$60 apiece to remove them. Shrubbery and flowering plants were obtained from all over the world, many of them being brought direct from Japan.

At the side of the entrance to the grounds stood two stone posts, surmounted by carved bulls' heads, modelled from the crest of the family coat-of-arms. Conspicuous in the grounds were a pair of large totem poles, which had been obtained from Alaska by the assistance of Admiral Evans and which have been preserved by Henry Wolcott as ornaments of his beautiful home at White Plains. A space near the house was laid out as a garden in more formal fashion. This was adorned with a marble fountain, brought from Italy, and with an elaborately carved sun-dial on which was inscribed, "What shadows we are; what shadows we pursue!" In the spacious yard there towered high above the trees a slender flag-pole, from which the Stars and Stripes floated whenever Mr. Wolcott was at home, causing facetious, if not envious, neighbors to remark that "the Senate was in session."

The house was designed by T. D. Boal, a skilful artist of Denver. It was originally sheathed with rough slabbing, but brick was substituted for this. It was not all built at one time, but was continually receiving additions and being subjected to alterations to meet the demands of the restless disposition of the owner. It was a rambling structure, the principal parts of it being in the form of a right angle, and

much of it only two stories high. Sculptured reliefs and other curios, picked up mostly in France, Italy, and Spain, were set in the walls here and there.

The most notable room was the library, about sixty feet long with a great fireplace and carved mantel at one end, and windows on both sides. Between the windows were book-cases, and over them paintings. Among the artists represented were many of long-established renown, as well as those belonging to later schools. He had portraits by Moreelse, Rootius, Sir Godfrey Kneller, and Prud'hon, and landscapes by Cotman and Constable. He had also specimens of Gérôme, Weissenbruch, Bloemers, and W. T. Richards. But in the later years of his life, when he visited Paris more frequently and for longer stays, his taste turned more to the French artists, and especially to the Impressionists or Luminists. Michel, Thaulow, Pissarro, Monet, Boudin, and Sisley were accordingly among those who were represented on his walls.

His taste in books was inclusive. His Wolhurst shelves contained all the standard authors in history, poetry, and *belles-lettres*, and many of them in rare editions and fine bindings. It was no mere "gentleman's library," bought by the yard and intended to look well upon the shelves. On the last page of each of many of the books would be found his autograph with the date and place, when and where, he had finished the reading of it. He had also a fancy for extra-illustrated books, and he owned many and costly specimens.

His study adjoined the library, and here were kept most of his books of reference. The walls of this room were adorned with photographs, chiefly of his associates in the Senate, and these generally contained autograph inscriptions. The billiard-room was close at hand, where it was convenient to run in and pick up a cue when one had only a moment to spare. The dining-room connected with a sunny breakfast-room, and that with a series of sun-parlors, straggling on one after the other.

All of the lower floor was fitted with Oriental rugs and with comfortable and curious bits of furniture, and with a profusion of odd bits of bric-à-brac. Here and in the

thirty bedrooms of the second floor was a great array of framed pictures, oil and water-color paintings, etchings, engravings, often old and scarce, and photographs of works of art. He had a collection of pictures of famous men, mostly artists and authors, many of them unusual, which were generally framed in groups, and it was a favorite pastime among the guests to see who could identify the greatest number of these.

Wolhurst was the source of much pleasure to its owner, and his life there developed many of his most charming characteristics. He sought to make the place attractive in every way. He was a sincere friend of the birds and of all inoffensive wild creatures. It is a fact not generally known, but still a fact, that he introduced into Colorado the Mongolian pheasant, a fowl of rare plumage. He imported three or four dozen of them at considerable expense, and had them and their progeny protected and cared for at Wolhurst until they had increased to many times the original number. Under this fostering care the birds multiplied rapidly until in time they became very numerous throughout the valley of the Upper Platte, and now constitute the most attractive game-bird in the State. He never permitted the killing of birds or other game within his boundaries. The result of this protection was that the Wolhurst lands became the resort for all kinds of wild creatures, for something more than instinct teaches them where to find refuge. In the spring-time, to the great delight of the proprietor, the big cottonwood trees in the river bottom were full of the music of the feathered flock, and there never was a time that there were not many of them in sight. It is a pleasure to add that Mr. Thomas F. Walsh, who succeeded Mr. Wolcott as proprietor of Wolhurst, continued the protection of the feathered pets, practically maintaining the place as a bird reserve as long as he lived.

Mr. Wolcott's love of trees was strikingly manifested in his protection of a giant cottonwood he found standing in the way of an extension to his kitchen. Not wishing to destroy the tree, and yet bent on the addition, he directed that the kitchen be built around it, thus leaving the tree

standing. So long as he owned the place the tree continued to thrive although its trunk was enclosed.

At great expense he ran water from the Platte to make a lake near his house, and this body of water was the source of much pride to him. He was very fond of walking around the lake, a distance of almost a mile. On one occasion a party of friends who were visiting him took advantage of this habit to play a practical joke on him. One after another of them proposed the walk, and so pleased was he to show the beauties of the water and its surroundings that for some time he did not realize that he was being made the subject of a teasing process. When at last he did discover the prank he enjoyed it quite as much as any one else, and declared that each circuit made had been a pleasure to him. "You can't get too much of a good thing," he said. He also found much enjoyment in tramps along the banks of the Platte and through other portions of his grounds.

When he wanted to be really secluded at Wolhurst, as often was the case when political problems taxed him, he would have the telephone disconnected and thus protect himself from much intrusion. The roadway through the grounds was so constructed that those who continued driving after passing the house soon found themselves facing an exit—possibly a hint that the merely curious were not expected to remain long.

#### MANNER OF LIFE

At Wolhurst, Mr. Wolcott lived splendidly and in excellent taste. There he was more at home than probably at any other place, and there he dispensed a hospitality in keeping with his generous and lordly nature. His house was most spacious, and in it he entertained not only innumerable of his Colorado friends, but many persons of distinction from other States and from foreign countries. The house was built for comfort, and within its generous environs were the most attractive corners and the easiest chairs. The walls were lined with pictures, the floors strewn





WOLHURST, Mr. WOLCOTT'S COUNTRY HOME, NEAR DENVER.

Previous to enlargement and general improvement.





with rugs. The library contained the choicest volumes; there was music for those who desired it, and invitation for a row on the lake, for a spin to the mountains, or for one of many games was ever open to all invited guests. He knew how to entertain, and he was quite as careful not to surfeit the visitor with attention as he was not to neglect.

Hon. Edward Kent, now Chief Justice of Arizona, who for several years was Mr. Wolcott's neighbor across the Platte, and who was a frequent visitor at the Wolcott residence, has kindly furnished the following picture of Mr. Wolcott at home at Wolhurst:

Shortly after my arrival in Denver, where I removed to from New York in 1896, I went to live in the country some three miles from Wolhurst, the home of Senator Wolcott, and across the Platte River from him. The slight acquaintance that I had had with Senator Wolcott was soon increased by constant meeting upon the trains to and from Denver and in the country, and ripened shortly into a close friendship which existed until his death. For a number of years, when the Senator was at home, I was a frequent visitor at his house. He was fond of being with people whom he liked, and his house was constantly filled with guests, sometimes singly but oftener, particularly at the week-end, in numbers.

Senator Wolcott was a royal host and his invitations were greatly prized by all who were fortunate enough to receive them. Life at Wolhurst and the week-end gatherings there were much like similar life and similar gatherings at English country houses, entertainment of all sorts being available for the guests, and with full liberty to make such choice thereof as might seem best to each individual—only the formal dinner at night bringing together at any stated time all those staying with him. His magnetism, so strongly felt by all who have listened to his wonderful oratory, was not lost in the more intimate and closer relations of host and guest. His cheery smile, his deep and ever ready sense of humor, combined with the magnetism that radiated from him, kept the atmosphere charged with a sort of mental electricity, as it were, that sharpened the wits of others and made his dinners and evening gatherings not only attractive but brilliant.

Senator Wolcott was not only a widely-read man, but a man of learning on many and varied subjects. What he knew

he knew well, and he had little patience with superficial knowledge in others, or, indeed, in himself. I remember one evening when he had been speaking most entertainingly of certain customs and beliefs and superstitions of the Chinese, —of whose country he was very fond and of which he had a wide and accurate knowledge—some mention was made of certain analogous facts in Roman history, concerning which he was appealed to for corroboration. His sweeping statement that he knew nothing of Rome or of Roman history was most characteristic, for though his actual knowledge of such history was probably greater than that of any one there present, he himself felt, since it was not so deep or so accurate as his knowledge of most things, that it was but superficial and not available.

A student of history and a lover of it, like most great men, his chief delight was in the reading of the actual doings and sayings of other great men, and the books he preferred and spent the most time over were biographies. A man of action always and of a nervous temperament, he took his rest and recreation actively. I do not recall ever seeing him at home sitting quietly doing nothing as is the wont of most of us at times. He was fond of cards and played most games fairly well, though hardly an expert at any of them. He was particularly fond of solitaire, and at home when only a few were with him played it incessantly, taking part the while in the general conversation, his active mind and restless spirit needing the additional outlet the game afforded.

Fond of his State and zealous of her good name, loyal to her and his country's interests, with the recollection of the part he had so well played in the councils of the nation, conscious of his ability still further to be of great use to his State and the nation, and with a great desire to continue to use his great talents and knowledge in such service, his defeat for re-election to the Senate was not only a great loss to his State and the nation, but a great shock to his pride and his sense of what was justly due him for his past services. The evidence of the ingratitude of his own people whom he loved and had so well served sorrowed his later days at Wolhurst, if indeed it did not, as the expression is, break his heart, and contributed in no slight degree to his early untimely death.

His faults and failings were those of the man whose blood runs red and strong in his veins, and he was a man so big and so full of brain as to be almost in the class of men we call men

of genius, who, as Napoleon said, are not to be judged by the standards applied to ordinary mortals. Orator, statesman, lover of his country, loyal friend, generous, and ever ready with help and advice, well hated as well as well loved, as a strong man should be, Colorado was proud of him and the fame he brought her, even when she discarded him, and held him, as she holds him now, as her greatest son.

In 1900, Mr. Wolcott became interested in the establishment of a National Soldiers' Home in Colorado, and while he was laboring in that interest some "good friend" printed a rumor that his principal object in pressing the subject was to open the way for the sale of Wolhurst to the Government for the Home. The report aroused his indignation. Referring to it in an interview printed in a Denver newspaper, he characterized it as untrue, saying:

"There is n't money enough in the Government to buy Wolhurst. It never occurred to me that any one should even think of such a thing until I saw it in that paper."

The pursuit of health and attention to business affairs kept Mr. Wolcott much away from Colorado after his retirement from the Senate, but that it was his fixed intention to remain in the State and to make his home at Wolhurst he told many persons, and he "put it in black and white" in two letters to Judge Kent. The first of these was written from the quaint frontier resort Luchon, in the Pyrenees, whither on account of his health he went soon after he left the Senate in March, 1901. It is dated August 17th of that year, and the portion pertaining to his residence plans is as follows:

I read with great interest what you say about my returning to Colorado, and I appreciate the friendship that prompts the suggestion. But there is n't the slightest ground for anxiety. I hope to be able to remain out here a couple of months yet, and am in no haste about returning. But when I do get back, I intend going to Wolhurst for good, and to spend the whole winter there, and the months following. It would be idle for me to say that I did n't hope to go East frequently. I have always done this. But for the bulk of every year while I live it is my intention to live at Wolhurst. If you could see the

bills I've paid lately to fix up its water supply, and generally improve it, you would n't doubt it. It is going to be a little hard at first, because I've had to be so much away, but up to this time I've never had a thought of spending less than eight months of every year in Colorado.

The second letter to Judge Kent was written from Denver, January 29, 1903, immediately following his defeat for the Senate. In that letter he not only declared his purpose of making his home at Wolhurst, but indicated his intention of retaining his hold on political affairs. The letter follows:

The result changes all my plans of life, and I shall stay here for the next few years the bulk of the time and make an active fight all along the line.

Believe me, I have no deep sense of personal disappointment, but I do feel outraged at this betrayal of the party; the more so as I am inclined to fear that the line of representations of this cabal really have influence at Washington. I am going East for the purpose of spending a short time in Washington, but shall be back here by the first of March, and shall reopen Wolhurst permanently and make this my home.

I feel too deeply to write much about the whole situation, but I hope you will be this way before long and we can talk it over.

So it was that Mr. Wolcott lived his varied life, flitting from Denver to Washington and from Washington to Europe, and never failing to put in a day with the "home-folks" at Longmeadow when he could find the time to do so. After all, the dearest place to him was the home of his father and mother so long as they remained there.

Unfortunately, Father Wolcott did not live long enough to witness the full fruition of his hope for his favorite son. However, before his death, he was fully satisfied with the young man's achievement in the world and so expressed himself.

#### MARRIED LIFE

Mr. Wolcott was married soon after entering upon his first



term as Senator and divorced about a year before the close of his second term. His wife was Frances Metcalfe, widow of Lyman K. Bass, Mr. Wolcott's predecessor as general counsel of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. The wedding ceremony was performed at St. Paul's Church, Buffalo, New York, on May 14, 1891. Owing to temperamental differences, the marriage was not a happy one, and through a mutual understanding it was annulled by a decree of divorce, which was granted March 5, 1900.

In his early years Mr. Wolcott would seem to have had comparatively few love affairs, but there were some. His manner was so full of charm, and he tasted so fully of all the delights of life that he could hardly fail to fall under the spell of the gentler sex. In his Cleveland days he entertained an attachment for one of his schoolmates, which ran through most of the years of his adolescence. The letters given earlier from his Norwich schoolmates show that he was on cordial terms with the ladies of his class at the Academy. He tells of an infatuation contracted at Keokuk, Iowa, when on his way to Colorado, but evidently there is more jest than earnestness in the account. He said in effect that the lady in this case was very charming, but that "her father was in too robust health to render possible an alliance," a phrase which does not indicate great seriousness. It is probable that his poverty and the meagre social attractions of the town in those early days guarded him from any entanglement while he was at Georgetown. About the time of his removal to Denver, he became engaged to a young woman from a middle Western State whom he had met on his first trip to Europe. The engagement was suddenly broken off, and soon after its annulment the young Coloradoan was travelling eastward. Passing through the State in which the lady resided, he fell into conversation with a fellow-traveller. Upon learning the Colorado man's name, the other gentleman, who had heard of the engagement, made reference to it and showed an inclination to converse about it. Quite embarrassed for the time, Mr. Wolcott found little difficulty in getting out of the predicament. "I wish," he said, "you would not press that subject; the

gentleman who was engaged to the young lady is a relation of mine, and I feel a little sensitive about it."

"I see by a newspaper sent me by Addie Carroll," he wrote in 1876, "that ——, an old Norwich flame of mine, is just married. The flowers of the forest are 'wede awa.'"

He found Georgetown a lonesome place when he first arrived there, and two months afterward wrote his father:

Your remark (probably in a joke) in regard to my getting married has more in it than you suppose. No man can live in this country a life of any comfort or satisfaction unless he has a home. It wouldn't cost me any more, if as much, to live, if I were married, as it does now. I have no one in view, or in mind. If you will select one for me,—a little money or some law-books, no hindrance,—I will come on in the summer and marry her. Will you do it?

Almost six years later, December 29, 1877, we find him writing to his mother:

I spent Christmas day at Blackhawk and was taken quite by surprise to receive from you the very work I had been wanting to own and to read. Henry was also very much pleased with his present. A man should be married, or live at home, properly to appreciate and remember the holidays. It seems as if they came and went with less interest every year, and like most everything else, their pleasure is in the recollections they recall. I have still on my table a little basket for papers given me by you in 1857, just twenty years ago, on Christmas day.

Much in the same strain as late as July 13, 1884, in a letter to his father, he said: "You are busy at Longmeadow. I wish I had a wife and a lot of babies and could spend the rest of my life quietly in some country town, tilling the soil; but I cannot, and that is the end of it."

He liked to tease his mother over the possibility of getting married, as, for instance, when, in 1875, he wrote in a postscript to a letter to his father:

"Please ask mother if it is the business of the gentleman to see about wedding cards and such trash."

On another occasion in the same year, to his mother herself, concerning his accounts, he wrote:

“If a kind Providence ever blesses me with a son (and there’s no telling what a kind Providence won’t do) I’ll not make him keep an account; would you?”

In a campaign speech in Colorado in 1886, reviewing the Cleveland Administration, Mr. Wolcott said:

“The one act of President Cleveland in his whole Administration of which the people approve, is his getting married and then going fishing—and the high example this furnishes should induce you, my fellow-citizens, to ‘go and do likewise.’”

#### DEATH OF FATHER AND MOTHER

Dr. Wolcott died at Longmeadow, February 24, 1886, two years after the removal of the family from Cleveland, and his death was a sad blow to Ed, as indeed it was to all the members of the family. Fortunately, a family account of his demise has been preserved. It is in the shape of an undated letter from Miss Clara Gertrude Wolcott to her brother Edward, and is as follows:

All last week, we could see that Father was losing strength, but it was very gradual, until Saturday night. Saturday afternoon he insisted, as usual, on being completely dressed, even to collar and cuffs and neck-tie, and then he walked to the end of the hall and back again. But this exhausted him evidently. Sunday he was so weak that he did not try to move himself, but was lifted into his chair several times. He took nothing Sunday or afterward but a few spoonfuls of wine and milk at intervals. After Sunday we did not try to move him, except from one side of the bed to the other, for a change of position. Wednesday morning was a beautiful morning. Mother spoke of it several times before breakfast. Lottie and I stayed with Father while the others were at breakfast. We noticed that his breathing was a little harder than it had been, but just a little. But when Mother came up, she saw there had been a change in his face—a pallor, and the others were called.

Father breathed for about ten minutes after this. His breathing became fainter and then just stopped. That was all. I could not imagine anything so peaceful and lovely—just like

the day that had so impressed Mother. He is still in his room, and his face is so beautiful. It expresses all the patience and trustfulness that Father has shown through all his sickness. I think he had been so brave, Ed, longing to stay, but willing to go. I do not think any one could see him now and have any doubt of the Resurrection. Once on Sunday, when he was lifted into his chair, he raised his hand with considerable effort, and held it up while he pronounced the benediction—clearly, every word, and then wanted to go back to bed.

We miss our older brothers, the three who were born in Longmeadow.

As I think of Father's illness, I can see so many things to be thankful for—that he was so free from suffering, and could be made so comfortable.

A few years after Dr. Wolcott's death there was a movement looking to the preparation by the family of a biography of Dr. Wolcott, and Edward did all that was possible toward encouraging and promoting the undertaking. Some of the members of the family went to the extent of writing an extended sketch, and Senator Wolcott wrote part of an introduction, which it is believed should be preserved here for many reasons, the principal of which are: That it presents in succinct form many of the virtues of the father as outlined by his favorite and distinguished son, and that so far as known it is the only effort the son ever made in the direction of writing a biography of any one. He did not contemplate the construction of the entire preface, but undertook to supply only the opening and the closing portions of it. These were written at Hot Springs, Virginia, in September, 1889, following his entrance into the Senate in the preceding March. He was at the Springs on account of gout, and while there read the manuscript which had been prepared by others. He wrote at length about the production, making suggestions for changes here and there and preparing his part in his own hand. His suggestion for the introduction opening was as follows:

This volume, for private circulation only, is printed because there are many among Dr. Wolcott's old parishioners and friends who will be glad to have, in enduring form, some little memorial sketch of his life, because his hymns published through different



channels, some of them having found their way to extensive circulation, were thought worthy of being collated in one volume.

The sketch of his life and work is slight, and can give but little impression of Dr. Wolcott to those who did not know him. His personality, his glowing enthusiasm, quick, noble impulsiveness, and ardor, entered into all his work; the dignity of his presence and his clear voice lent strength to his utterances, and in his daily life his sunny side and happy temperament brightened the days for those who came in contact with him. Those who knew him well will recall him as they read this little volume, and if it should fall into other hands it will at least serve to tell the simple story of a life devoted to the Master's work: a life in which those who knew him best can recall nothing but sweet and gracious memories, and as such it may not be entirely without interest.

For the close of the foreword he suggested the following:

The foregoing tells in outline Dr. Wolcott's more public labors. In his profession and calling he had high standing, and won the respect of every man who knew him. In any other calling or profession he would have commanded equal respect, and would have won greater fame. At the Bar he would have attained eminence. He had fine presence and bearing, and he did not know moral or physical cowardice. His mind was analytical and clear and logical, and in his oratory he was effective, impassioned, and moving. Whatever he did, he did with all his might. He chose to devote his life to the ministry, or rather his calling was chosen for him when he was a lad, with his acquiescence, and throughout all the years of his ministry he lived a life of self-effacement, seeking only the advancement of Christ's Kingdom, and whatever honors came to him came always unsought. His temperament was always sunny and hopeful, and he was frank and as open as the day. He had a large family to be educated; he found a way to keep them all at school and college as long as they were willing to attend, and the economies he practised to give his children an education really brought him pleasure, and with them all he was always generous wherever he could find something or somebody to help. Nothing moved him so deeply as injustice or wrong to others. During the earlier years of his ministry his mind dwelt constantly on the existence of slavery in the States, and his thought and utterances were deeply affected by it. During the War his soul was constantly astir,



and if he had not known that he could do better and greater service in his Church and with the Christian Commission, he would have taken his musket and marched in the ranks. Yet when the War was over, and there was no more human slavery, he gladly devoted himself to the work of building up the poorer churches in the West, work which would be uncongenial to most men of his training and temper, but he made it congenial to him because it was work. Apparently, perhaps, he belonged rather to the Church Militant, yet in all his ministrations, whether visiting the sick or the afflicted or burying the dead, he was always a pastor beloved.

The biography was not completed.

There is no record of the last days of Mother Wolcott similar to that of the father's illness and death which is given in the letter quoted. She lived until February 5, 1901, surviving her husband fifteen years. Her son Samuel's tribute to her memory has been preserved. It was written from Laredo, Texas, his place of residence, on the day of his mother's death, and reads:

Even to-day as I think of my mother the picture which comes to me oftenest and most vividly is as she was in Cleveland and in Providence. No matter how much we children tried her she never spoke a fretful or hasty word to us.

Her judgment in regard to every question that arose seemed deliberate and perfect.

To her might have been applied the eulogy of the mother of King Lemuel:

"She openeth her mouth with wisdom; and in her tongue is the law of kindness. Her children arise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her. Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all."

A picture of the family group of the father and mother with their ten children was taken at Thanksgiving-time 1880, when they were all assembled at Norwich for Katherine's marriage to Mr. Toll. Mr. Elizur Wolcott, of Jacksonville, Illinois, a brother of Dr. Wolcott, wrote on the margin of a copy of this picture which hung in his home the following:

"The woman sitting near the middle of this group is the mother of the ten sons and daughters who are about her,

nearly all of whom have reached manhood or womanhood, and neither her husband nor any of her children has ever heard from her an impatient or ill-natured or unadvised word."

Ed Wolcott's death was a signal for Henry's removal from Colorado, and since then he has resided on a farm at White Plains, New York, where, surrounded by agreeable conditions and near his friends in New York City, he has continued to live, as Ed lived at Wolhurst, the life of a country gentleman.

Thus the year 1905 saw the close of the careers of both of the Wolcotts in Colorado, one permanently, and the other at least temporarily. Each left his impress upon the young commonwealth. Both had been closely and helpfully identified with the formation and early history of the State, and the memory of the substantial achievements of the one will continue long to be cherished in connection with the recollection of the brilliant characteristics of the other.

## WOLCOTT ABROAD

ALL your sons are fond of their home, and yet they have all been away from it more than most boys. We are all inclined to be restless, or have been. I cannot read of a steamer's sailing for Europe without wishing that I was on board of it. I always am wanting to "go somewhere." I suppose the cure for this feeling comes when a man either acquires some money and interests in a locality, or when he finds that he has influence among particular people. I possess neither at present, but "live in 'opes."

So wrote Mr. Wolcott to his father from Georgetown, February 19, 1875. Henry had just been on a visit to "the old folks." Referring to the brother's trip, Edward was led to a dissertation upon home and its attractions, and in thus indulging himself he divulged two interesting traits of character: No man liked more to have a permanent abiding place, and few were fonder of travel.

He had been in Colorado only a year or two when there was an opportunity for him to go abroad to assist in the sale of a mining property. He was sorely tempted, but because of the possible injury to his business resisted the offer, much as he wanted to see the outside world.

Writing from Georgetown concerning the Centennial, June 7, 1876, he said:

"I should be more anxious to see it if I didn't still expect to some day see the rest of the world and have my 'Centennial' in the different countries I visited."

He made a trip to England on business before he left Georgetown, and the journey was extended to the Continent. On his way back, he said, "How the men at Georgetown

will open their mouths at the stories that I shall have to tell them about what I have seen." He made a voyage to China about 1880, while a member of the State Senate, and once visited Central America. He crossed the ocean to Europe many times, the journeys becoming more frequent after he was elected to the United States Senate, and particularly after he began to be interested in international bimetallism, which subject had served to introduce him to some of the higher official and social circles of the capitals of the Old World, in which he found much enjoyment. After his retirement from the Senate he lengthened his visits abroad, and it was his fate to die in a foreign land.

The object of the European trips was threefold: He went in search of health or pleasure or in promotion of the interests of the country. The waters of Carlsbad he believed to be beneficial to him, and he spent much time at that resort. He had many friends in England and France. He enjoyed being with them. Italy appealed to him on its own account. From 1893 to 1900 he gave much attention to the promotion of an agreement in the interest of the general coinage of silver, and while he did not succeed in accomplishing the full scope of his desire in that direction, he laid broad foundations which yet may be built on, and he added largely to his list of foreign friends.

Among the letters from Mr. Wolcott which have been preserved is one to his mother, written from Carlsbad, June 27, 1899. It affords a fleeting view of many phases of a trip abroad and is given entire:

Here I am again in this place of wonderful waters. I reached here Thursday, having been detained ten days in Paris with a most painful tooth, which I had to have treated there. My partner, Mr. Vaile, who has been far from well lately, is also here, and we see much of each other.

There are thousands of visitors here from all over the world, although the German language largely predominates. Most of the people are uninteresting to look at, and there are any number of Jews among them. Everybody, however, is devoted to the one purpose of taking the waters and following the diet, and nobody has time for pleasure.

I rise soon after six and go to bed at nine, and spend most

of the day walking over the hills. One is always more or less irritable and depressed while here, but, after the treatment is over, the years fall away and one feels a different person. It was a very great disappointment to me that Henry could not come also. These waters would have done wonders for him. I am selfish about it, too, for I should have enjoyed the days if he had been here with me, while now I am lonely enough.

We had a wonderful voyage over. There was no day that the sea was not as smooth as glass, and not a single passenger was ill. I fear it has spoiled me for all other sea-journeys. I sat at table next Godkin of the *Evening Post*, with whom I disagree on almost every subject, and we got on famously. Fortunately on the other side of me was an old English friend, an ardent bimetallist whom I had known well in London.

Everybody in London was most kind to me. Mr. Choate asked me to luncheon and dinner, but I was so engaged that I could not accept. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made me the guest of honor at his Queen's Birthday dinner, and the same evening I went to Lord Salisbury's reception, where I met all sorts of pleasant Englishmen. The most interesting event to me of my English visit, however, was hearing the debate in the House of Commons over the grant to Lord Kitchener, who sat with Field Marshal Lord Roberts close beside me in the gallery.

I soon tire of foreign travel, however, except in Italy, and am already counting the days before my return, which, I hope, will be early in August.

An old friend writes of a week-end visit Wolcott made to Warwick Castle:

We were a very large party, politicians, sportsmen, fashionable ladies, and odds and ends. I can recall the Duke and Duchess of Beaufort, Mr. Winston Churchill, Lady Londesborough, Lady de Trafford, Mrs. Sneyd; Prince Francis of Teck, the brother of the Princess of Wales, now the Queen of England; Lord and Lady Algernon Lennox, who had been Wolcott's guests at Wolhurst; Lord Herbert Vane Tempest; Miss Plowden, now Lady Lytton, and others.

Wolcott brought to a gathering ennuyéd with a London season a complete change of atmosphere. I remember at luncheon on Sunday one delicious episode. Lord Warwick, referring to the recent death of Queen Victoria, said: "With Her Majesty's taking



off, the word 'veneration' has really disappeared from our dictionary. We admire and greatly respect Lord Salisbury, but whom do we 'venerate' any more?" The Senator's eye twinkled and he said: "Yes, the magic of that one word 'Queen' whenever an Englishman was within earshot! It mattered not though a black Queen had been referred to; still always the image of the little lady at Windsor filled the mind's eye. I recall a grotesque instance." And then there was a silence at table; what was this prodigious man going to say next? He continued slowly and quite seriously: "I was in the stalls of a New York theatre a year since and a travelling couple, evidently English, probably straight off the ship, sat next to me. It was the wonderful spectacular play, 'Antony and Cleopatra,' and after that river scene and the furious love passages with Antony when the barbaric Queen bares her breast to the asp and dies, the husband said: 'My dear, fine! fine! it could hardly have been better staged in London itself.' 'Fine!' said his lady, 'fine! well perhaps so; but, after all, if you come to think of it, how very little it resembles *the domestic life of our own dear Queen!*'"

After luncheon he told me lovely Lady Warwick had taken him off in an electric launch to explain the future "Socialist State." "I told her," he said, "that I would weigh it all carefully, but I thought the State of Colorado was more to my liking," and he added: "Will all you charming ladies dress as becomingly in the Socialist State? I doubt it."

One of the ladies of the party said to me later: "What part of America does he represent in Congress? I think you said Venezuela?" "Yes," I said, "Venezuela!" Greatly we miss the Senator from Venezuela!

The last trip abroad was that made in the winter of 1904-5, on which he was accompanied by his brother Henry, and which, though made in search of health, ended only in death.

## OUT OF THE ORDINARY

OCCASIONALLY, but not often, Mr. Wolcott tore himself away from his immediate surroundings to enter upon the discussion of questions which did not pertain to the moment. He was in no sense a dreamer; he was extremely practical—perhaps it were better to say he was entirely “current.” He was too much occupied with the pressing problems to give frequent heed to matters the consideration of which might be postponed or left to others.

Still, there were times when he liked to enter upon the discussion of such questions. He could be speculative, contemplative, introspective, when occasion tempted the mood. But he was more disposed to indulge his fancy in those respects by the quiet of the fireside and in the presence of a few friends than in public. Nor was he much inclined to write on speculative or sentimental themes. Indeed, he seldom wrote on any subject for print. Aside from his contributions to Cleveland papers regarding Colorado soon after he reached that Territory, and to the *Georgetown Miner* while editor of the paper, very few instances of his writing for the public are recalled. A notable exception was an editorial tribute to President Garfield, printed in the *Denver Tribune* of September 20, 1881, the day following the death of the President as the result of his shooting three months previous by the assassin Guiteau. The editorial is given entire:

### OUR PRESIDENT DEAD!

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No lips can utter and no words express the grief of the

Nation—the desolateness—which has fallen upon the people. Garfield, our Great Heart, is dead; the bruised and wounded body, torn by the cruel bullet, emaciated by disease, and worn by pain, is already bathed in the eternal splendors.

The alternate hopes and fears of the past eighty days had in no wise prepared our minds for the possibility of this sad event, for the remembrance of his clean life, and the realization of the great need we had of him, and the belief that God is good, had induced the hope that somehow, we knew not how, the Almighty would spare this splendid life; but the prayers of a great, a Christian, people could not avail him, and at eleven o'clock last evening "Nicanor lay dead in his harness."

Only a few short days ago, and he was the embodiment of manly vigor—strong and brave, wearing his honor as his shield. Only a few short days ago, and now the patient eyes are forever closed; the voice which so nobly and so fearlessly spoke for the right, is forever stilled, and the brave hands that lifted high the battle flag of the Republic and never faltered in defence of his country's liberty, are nerveless and cold in death.

The waves off Elberon fell and rose, and rose and fell last night, but they no longer brought repose to our dying leader; the waves off Elberon will rise and fall, and fall and rise until time shall melt into eternity, but he whose gaze fell lingeringly upon them while his long night was coming on, has crossed a mightier ocean, whose waters are waveless and whose shores return no echo.

The humdrum of busy life will commence again and the world move on as before,

"But, O, the heavy change now thou art gone,  
Now thou art gone, and never must return!"

The least of all considerations at this time is his assassin; whether the dog lives or dies, or how he lives or how he dies, is of no sort of moment, for Garfield is dead.

The lesson of the hour has not yet been burned into our hearts; our grief is too recent for that, but even at this hour there comes to every true American heart the determination that the Republic must live and not die; that no assassin's bullet shall destroy, and no faction dismember it; that so long as men love liberty and hate oppression, so long shall this Government, founded on the will of the people, be perpetuated. Garfield's life was devoted to this high resolve. We, who loved

him in his life, will show reverence to his memory by following in his footsteps.

May God save our country!

Although frequently urged to contribute to the periodical press, Mr. Wolcott consistently declined to do so, except in the case of *Harper's Weekly*, for which he prepared the article on the silver question which is referred to elsewhere. He did not fall into the habit of some public men of signing compositions written by other people.

He hesitated even to make speeches out of the ordinary lines, such as school commencement orations, and frequently wrote his father telling of the difficulties he encountered in that labor. A fitting example is the following letter of December 2, 1884, concerning some remarks made by him before a Denver charity organization:

Bert tells me that he sent you the papers containing my short address at the Opera House on Sunday evening. I am anxious to know what you think of it. You can hardly have an idea of the difficulty I experienced in preparing something so entirely out of the line of my ordinary professional work, to deliver before an audience so different from any I had ever before addressed. Fortunately, it was enthusiastically received, but I am through with that sort of thing. The nervous wear and tear is too great.

#### FEDERAL LEAGUE

That, when opportunity afforded, Mr. Wolcott could and did discuss the fundamental problems of government, is evidenced by the following in the American Correspondence column of the *National Review* of London for April, 1905, the month following his death:

The sudden death in France of ex-Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, removes one of the most brilliant orators of his day, a man of charming personality and high ideals, who recognized the debt his country owed to England, and always endeavored to remove friction between the two people, and bring them close together for their own good and the lasting benefit of the whole world. An English friend, who was very close to

Mr. Wolcott during the past fifteen years, has sent me the following interesting letter, which I gladly make public.

“During December Senator Wolcott was confined to his rooms by an acute attack of bronchitis, and I was in the habit of spending an hour or two with him almost daily. The position in Colorado was much in his mind and on his spirits; his relations with his State were difficult, indeed almost impossible, although his service to the Republican party in the crisis of 1896 had won him the affection and the gratitude of President McKinley. With, perhaps, a prophetic insight into the future of his difficulties, Wolcott declared, in a speech made in Colorado just after the assassination of the President:

‘Let others hail the rising sun,  
I bow to him whose race is run.’

“But I do not venture to burden your notes with these merely local issues, issues which have died with him. During the last few days that he was in America, he opened up a subject of extreme interest, namely, the service done by Washington and Hamilton to all mankind, and the great success which continues to attend the development of the Federal principle of government. But for the Federal nexus, he thought that perhaps now, but certainly later, these forty-five States would have become forty-five nations, with government on the South American plan. To commemorate the splendid success of the Washington-Hamilton experiment, he talked of the possibility of establishing within our two great communities a Federal League—an association outside politics, but which would recruit itself to enormous dimensions by the enrolment of those who would secure peace and good-will through the expansion of the Federal principle.

“The Irish difficulty, which he ever regarded as such a menace to good relations and good politics equally here and in Great Britain, would, he thought, disappear if public opinion, instructed by inter-Federal discussion and literature, were to discover that Ireland demanded something more than the ‘State Right.’ She is entitled to the State Right of a Federal unit; but she would have no sympathizer on the continent, he held, did she demand the right to secede. He thought that some such league of Federals, interchanging visits and securing speeches from the best men of all parties, would do more to inform and harmonize public opinion in the two bodies politic than could be effected in any



other way. Our two communities, if once convinced that the growth of the Federal principle points the road to the kingdom of peace, would, if acting in concert and yet with no formal or 'entangling alliance,' be not twice, but ten times more powerful in international diplomacy than either the one or the other acting singly.

"Wolcott thought that the initiative should be with America—with some group of distinguished Americans; that the platform should be prepared here and sent over. My friend having represented in the Senate Colorado—a State where women exercise the franchise—disapproved woman's suffrage; but he thought that women might do almost the more valuable share of the work of a Federal League such as that which he foreshadowed. I feel that in this imperfect sketch of an idea there is the last will and testament of one who greatly loved England and all England stands for; he loved her indeed hardly less than he loved his own country."

The friend quoted is Mr. Moreton Frewen.

Five years after Mr. Wolcott's death the Federal idea for the British Empire advanced by him in the conversation quoted by Mr. Frewen materialized in general gatherings in its support, and there were many indications of growing favor. Unquestionably some Englishmen had contemporaneously cherished the views he entertained, but his enunciation of them on what was practically his death-bed lent to his utterances a weight which might not have attached to the expressions of others along the same line.

He had endeared himself to all Englishmen by the friendly sentiments expressed in his Venezuelan and other speeches, and had many personal friends among the English people. No result of the Spanish War was more pleasing to him than the effect it had in bringing England and America into closer relationship, and if he had lived there can be no doubt that he would have exerted himself to make the tie stronger. It is fitting, therefore, that the English should show their appreciation of his interest and of the impetus his words gave the cause, as they are doing by frequent mention of his name in connection with the Federal movement—a movement which many of them dream may include—in a different way, of course—the United States.

A union for offence and defence has not infrequently been suggested, and that such a combination would have its advantages on this side the Atlantic is believed by many to have been demonstrated by the aid given by Great Britain in preventing other European nations from interfering while the United States gave attention to Spain. How far Mr. Wolcott would have gone in support of such alliance no one can now say. His words speak for themselves. They have been printed in pamphlet form and circulated throughout the British Empire, and Mr. Wolcott's English friends consider them one of the strongest influences in bringing the people of that Empire into closer relations.

## LITERARY POSSIBILITIES

If Mr. Wolcott had turned his attention to literature, success would have been certain. His speeches and letters afford abundant evidence of the attractive quality of his style, and his broad reading, retentive memory, and general understanding supplied all that could have been necessary to insure the attention of a large circle of readers. In his letters, as in his speeches, he dealt generally with questions of the hour, and very seldom entered upon a description of surroundings or an elaboration of detail. There were exceptions to this rule, however, and two letters have been segregated from the volume of his correspondence to demonstrate his capacity in this respect.

One of these was written to a sister, and is as follows:

GEORGETOWN, COLO., May 5, 1878,  
Sunday Evening.

MY DEAR CLARA:

A long time ago, when I used to go to the High School in Cleveland, there was a boy named Cutter—I remember him as having a sort of bullet head—whose father had a lazy bob-tailed horse; and we used to take him in the fall of the year, and drive out to just this side of the same Shaker settlement you write about, and gather hickory nuts. I remember it always rained in a drizzly kind of way. We used to take ten cents apiece with us, and with it we would buy of the Shakers all the milk we could drink, and all the apple-pie and preserves we could eat. I don't know where Cutter is now, and the hickory

trees may be cut down, but I imagine that the Shakers still keep cows and make pies and preserves. I would n't know the road now, but I recollect it as a very pleasant drive.

If it is n't too far, there is another little place worth visiting. It is what is left of an old Mormon settlement, and the ruins of the temple were very pretty when I saw them fourteen years ago. I went by the place on foot, selling pictures, and getting from Chardon to somewhere else—I forget where.

Once in a while I used to go on the horse-cars as far as Wilson Avenue (they did n't go any farther then) and walked out to East Cleveland to see a girl named —— who was as sweet as the morning, and whose father kept bees and sold Dorking eggs. She's married now and has a lot of children, I believe; but I remember the road down by her house was a particularly pleasant one.

I never used to care much about the Rocky River road, except once when Father went out to marry a couple one evening, at a half-finished brick house (I don't believe it's finished yet) just beyond the toll-gate, and he took me with him; we had a nice supper and Father and I both kissed the bride, and we drove home in the moonlight. It was as light as day. The bridegroom either worked at Maltby's oyster-stand in Superior Street or at the shoe store next door; perhaps he sold oysters during the months that an R is in them and shoes the balance of the year.

Then, there is a man who sells leather, and has a beautiful place way out on the Lake Shore on the same side of the river you live on. We used to get permission Sundays after Sunday-school to walk in the old cemetery on Erie Street (Father thought it would divert our minds from the vanities of this world) and get Johnny Outhwaite's or somebody else's wagon and drive out to his place on the Lake Shore and go swimming. Long afterward Mother and I went out to a house close by there, on the St. Clair road, I think, and spent the day. It was very warm and there were lots of flies, and we went out and picked berries. What was the lady's name, Mother? And was n't it with Mrs. Spencer's horse and buggy we drove out there and home again?

Just this side of the house there is a gully where there are woodcock in the fall. I went after some there once with somebody, I don't remember who, who was the proud possessor of a gun. We did n't get any woodcock, I believe, but I recollect a random shot sent one or two buckshot into my pantaloons

just grazing my skin, and for a moment I thought I was mortally wounded.

I've told you of all the drives I think of, Clara. You've probably found them all before this, and many others too. It will be splendid exercise for you, and after awhile you'll look back and wonder at what pleasant times you've had. Nearly all the pleasure in the world is in remembering, and memories of days at home are very tender. Write often. With love,

Your affectionate Brother,

ED.

All this to induce his sister, who was delicate, to take outdoor exercise.

The other letter was to his mother and was written just after a visit to her at Longmeadow. It ran:

THE NEW MATHEWSON,  
NARRAGANSETT PIER, R. I., July 2, 1900.

MY DEAR MOTHER:

The day has been a long one, and rather tedious, but I got here finally. There were nearly two hours to wait at Providence, and I spent it in renewing my memories of the place. I walked up Westminster Street. The place on High Street near the corner of Dean, where the church used to be, is all built over, but on Dean Street, a little way back, is the same lumber yard that was there when we lived in Providence. The old Hoyle Tavern is gone, and all High Street seems poverty-stricken and full of second-hand stores and the like. Few of the old houses are left, but our old house in High Street is standing exactly as it used to when we lived there. It is evidently a boarding-house. I thought of little Mary Alice whom I remember so well as she lay in the front room, and of the black men whom once or twice father hid in the attic, to the terror of us all.<sup>1</sup>

I could n't look over into the yard, but the foliage seemed luxurious, and I wondered if any of the pear trees father planted were still there. Do you realize, dear Mother, that I am speaking of a time forty-five years ago? As I came away I looked into the little area next our house, not on the Butts' side, and recalled "Fatty Bailey" whose father was a sign painter. Do you recall him? and the two thin misshapen — boys who

<sup>1</sup> Mary Alice was a sister who died in infancy. The black men referred to were fugitive slaves to whom Dr. Wolcott gave refuge and shelter.

lived upstairs across the way? The old Beneficent Church seemed rather neglected.

Then I followed, at the other end of the town, along North Main Street, and saw the little building where, upstairs, somebody we knew made and sold "the Royal Game of Goose." You remember we had it once. Then I followed along Benefit Street and back over the hill, and through the Brown University grounds to the station. The old Arcade we once thought so grand was rather shopworn. I was struck by the number of Irish faces I encountered.

After all, I think Longmeadow the pleasantest of all our old homes. I wish I could write you of the hundreds of early memories that swept over me, and most of them you would share: The Sunday they excommunicated Deacon Knight's widow, because the poor woman thought she conversed with her dear husband through a spiritualist medium; the time the railroad lost your new bonnet, and found it just after you'd got another like it; the different qualities of the four — girls, and any number of others.

I had such a happy visit at Longmeadow, my dear Mother, and I hope I may have another before many months.

I am almost the only guest here, and feel as if I owned a Beach.

Ever your affectionate Son,

ED.

Is there not a suggestion of Dickens in these letters? Or of Stevenson?

And does n't the narration given by Mr. Wolcott in the second letter take one back to the time when a third of a century previous he hauled his cousin "Addie" Carroll all around Providence to afford him an opportunity to jump over into the back yard of the same house, just as he had done when a boy? It should be borne in mind that this letter was written when Mr. Wolcott was nearing the end of his twelve years of service in the Senate and just after the Philadelphia National Convention in which he was one of the most conspicuous figures. The letter was one of his last to his mother, as she died early in the following year.



## INTEREST IN SPORTS

**A**THLETICS received no little encouragement from Mr. Wolcott. When a young man he was in the habit of indulging in long walks, of which he spoke with enthusiasm in his letters, showing that his enjoyment of them was quite unfeigned. The following from a letter to his father, written while he was living in one of the Boston suburbs in 1871, will suffice to indicate how vigorous a walker he was in those days:

“I had taken very little exercise the last week. So I started yesterday, with a friend early in the morning and walked through Watertown, Newton Corner, Newtonville, West Newton, and Auburndale, then across to Waltham and back through Waverly, Bellemont, and Arlington, between twenty-five and thirty miles, and as a consequence feel much better to-day.”

We also hear considerable, through his correspondence, of the young man's interest in baseball, in which as an amateur he was a frequent participant in his youth. He learned bicycling and was quite an expert on the “safety” when it first came into use. On his last visit to Denver in 1904 he walked from Fairmont Cemetery into the city, a distance of several miles. He was then far from well, but he enjoyed the exercise. For the most part, however, his interest in physical culture, during the later years of his life, was theoretical rather than practical; but even then he gave close attention to the general subject of athletics.

Captain James T. Smith of Denver, himself an enthusiastic lover of outdoor sports, tells us that Mr. Wolcott was firmly convinced that Colorado would produce the very best athletic

skill. He was well informed concerning the records of Colorado performers in all branches of sport in and out of college and never failed to manifest enthusiasm over an especial achievement by any of them. His views on the subject of rowing were expressed in an article by him published in the *Georgetown Miner* of July 10, 1873, when he was editor of that paper, and it is illustrative of his ideas on the general question of "sports." The article dealt with a regatta then about to be rowed at Springfield, Massachusetts, in which eleven colleges were expected to participate. In his handling of the subject Mr. Wolcott not only showed a thorough knowledge of the capacities of the various crews, but he learnedly discussed the general subject of training. Of the benefits to be derived from exercise with the oars, he said:

Rowing is fast coming into general favor throughout the country, and it will not be strange if the annual races, between our various universities, become as generally observed and attended as is the Derby in England. The amusement is healthy, and recent investigations have proved that no ill effects need be apprehended from the training. Certainly it is better that our young men should strive to excel in these athletic sports, which require temperance and hard work, rather than squander their leisure hours in billiard halls and fast living; so let us lend what encouragement we can to all of them.

## THE FRANCHISE FOR WOMEN

ONE of the most important and far-reaching official acts of the State of Colorado while Mr. Wolcott was in the Senate was that of conferring the right of suffrage on women. This step was taken in a State election in 1893, during Mr. Wolcott's first term in the Senate and during Governor Waite's administration. The question was submitted to the voters as the result of an act of the previous Legislature. That was an "off" year in politics, as there were no State officers to be chosen. Consequently, the suffrage question was not involved in partisan matters. The contest was a sharp one, but the result was favorable to the sex, the majority in support of the proposition being about five thousand.

The first opportunity afforded the ladies to exercise the newly conferred right came in connection with the campaign of 1894, and was generally taken advantage of. They, even more than the men, were disgusted with the turn that public affairs had taken in the State, and a majority of them unquestionably exerted themselves to overthrow Waiteism. Mr. Wolcott had signalized his term in the State Senate by introducing a franchise bill, but had not otherwise given especial indication of favoring the movement. Upon the whole, however, he was accepted as a partisan of the cause, and when his campaign for re-election came on, as it soon did, many of the women gave him vigorous and effective support. He made frequent references during this campaign to the new condition in State politics, always indicating confidence that the influence of the opposite sex would have a beneficial effect upon politics.

Upon his return to Denver in August, 1894, after an absence in Washington of some months, Mr. Wolcott was informed of a line of policy adopted by the Republican County Committee looking to the deprivation of the women members of the committee of their rights. He expressed deep regret over this occurrence.

How unfortunate! [he exclaimed]. I can conceive no greater blunder than to shut out the women from a full share in the duties of the campaign. We are fortunate to have the help of the women of the State in the impending struggle, and it is only through them that we can hope for success. The difficulty I had feared all along was that the good women of the State would shrink from exercising the rights the law gives them. I see my fears were groundless. Every possible inducement should be held out to secure their active co-operation. They are entitled to a full participation in the work and responsibility of the campaign, and should not be denied it.

On the memorable occasion of his reception by the ladies at the Brown Palace Hotel in Denver on September 17th of the same year, he spoke directly to them, saying in part:

I know of no honest desire which I might have as a citizen for the welfare of the State which is not shared by every good woman in Colorado for the same reason. The suffrage was extended to you not because you are women, but because you are human beings with the same interest that every honest man has in the administration of government, with the same intelligence to bring to bear upon the questions at issue from time to time, with the same splendid love of your State and of your country.

The hope to be obtained by suffrage is the advancement of society as a whole. This is to be accomplished by the enactment and the enforcement of good laws. There is nobody on earth more interested in the enactment and the enforcement of law than the good geniuses who preside over our homes and our firesides. Acrimony and hate have been the accompaniment of political campaigns almost since the history of our country. They bring no good; they settle no issue. I believe that with the advent of woman into politics and into government, much of that acrimony and hate will pass away.

In December, soon after the close of the campaign, Senator Wolcott united with Senator Teller in a letter concerning the operation of equal suffrage in the State. The statement was made in response to a request from Senator Hoar, who was a supporter of a movement for woman suffrage in municipal government in Massachusetts, and it was wanted for use in a campaign in that State which had that end in view. The Colorado Senators did not content themselves with testifying to the effect of equal suffrage in the Centennial State, which they declared to be good, but they entered upon an account of the participation of women in their first campaign, thus rendering the document of rare historical value.

Prefacing their report with the announcement that their observations had been confined largely to Denver and to the Republican party, they said:

Many weeks before the conventions were held, the women of the larger cities began to organize political clubs, composed exclusively of women, for the discussion of political questions. At these meetings men who had had experience or knowledge of political affairs were invited to make addresses, and frequent meetings were held. In Denver, and perhaps elsewhere in the State, parliamentary clubs were organized by the women for the purpose of enabling their members to familiarize themselves with the rules of parliamentary procedure.

The women's political clubs attracted from the first a large membership which increased as the time for the conventions drew near, and the fact was developed that among the women themselves there were great interest and intelligence respecting political questions. It further appeared that there were among their own membership many women who were able to discuss the political situation clearly, intelligently, and effectively, and a few women developed unquestioned oratorical ability.

The political machinery in Colorado, as in most of the States, includes committeemen for the different wards and precincts in all the large towns, and also a committeeman for each county in the State. The first step taken by the women was to secure some representation upon these committees. In some localities there was a little resistance to this suggestion, but, generally speaking, it was welcomed and the suggestion accepted as a valuable one, with the result that in each county of the State



a woman acted as a member of the State committee with the male member of such committee from each county, and in the towns a woman was appointed in each precinct to act in an advisory capacity.

The primary elections preceded the county and State conventions by a few days. The women's clubs had meanwhile been organized most effectively, and their members had made a house-to-house canvass of the most careful character, and they very generally interested themselves in the primary elections. In the history of Colorado there has never been an instance where the primaries have been so generally attended, and fully one third of the attendance in the cities was composed of women. The result was that the primaries were of the most orderly character, entirely free from any sort of disorder or violence, and the result was accepted by all members of the party as being the full, free, and fair expression of the will of the voters.

In the county conventions which followed the primaries the women were largely represented as delegates, and participated, though in a quiet and unobtrusive fashion, in their deliberations.

A number of women from many counties in the State were elected as delegates to the State convention. This convention was the largest in the history of the State, and was more generally attended in person and less by proxies than any other party convention since the State was created. It was held in a large theatre in Denver, and was composed of some eight hundred delegates, including a very marked sprinkling of women. Pending the report of the Committee on Credentials, and at a time when the convention was calling for speeches from members of its party from whom it was desired to hear, there were several women called for, who made brief addresses, and all of them were appreciatively listened to by the convention. In the proceedings of the convention the women took an active and efficient part. They had much to do with the shaping of the ticket, which was a very strong and acceptable one to the people of the State.

The women also attended personally to the registration of the women in the different wards of Denver, and it was very fully and completely done. The work of the women was perhaps more important in this direction than in any other. There has never been known such careful, perfect, and complete registration, and it was practically looked after in the larger cities by the women themselves. The election was remarkable in the fact that the vote was much larger than ever before in the history

of the State. Not only was it larger because of the fact that the women voted, but the vote was much closer to the registration than ever before. In Denver, where we were able particularly to observe the working of suffrage, the reason for this is manifest. Some twenty-five thousand women voted in Denver. A far larger proportion of women who were registered voted than of men who were registered. The women were on hand early in the morning to cast their ballots; the great majority of them had voted long before noon, and they devoted the remainder of the day to procuring the attendance of the women who had not theretofore voted.

Another somewhat noteworthy fact concerning the election may be stated. It had always been assumed that the personal likes and dislikes of women would count for much when they came to exercise their right of suffrage. In this election, all these feelings were obliterated in their determination that the ticket that they advocated should win, and the overwhelming majority of the women voted straight tickets without change or erasure.

In reviewing the occurrences of the election so far as women are concerned, we think the following are the fair and necessary conclusions:

Women bring to the exercise of the right of suffrage an intelligence fully equal to that of the male voter. They gave evidence of intense earnestness in the election. We feel it is yet to be determined whether or not this earnestness will be evinced generally in elections, or is to be attributed to the unusual state of facts existing at the time of the last election. One of the apparent results of the presence of women as participators in political matters is that political parties must exercise greater care than before as to the character and standing of nominees for office. The tendency of the women is to stand by the party ticket, and not to let personal favor or prejudice affect the exercise of their right of suffrage.

There were no unpleasant results apparent as the consequence of the voting by women at this election. There has been an undefined fear that the bestowal of the right might lead to certain offensive demonstrations in the way of what is termed the strong-mindedness of women. Nothing of the sort was in the slightest degree apparent. Women voted in a far greater proportion than men; they apparently felt they were performing a duty rather than exercising a privilege. Upon our State ticket a woman was nominated as Superintendent of Public Instruc-

tion, and there were three women elected as members of the Legislature. There was no unusual desire on the part of the women of Colorado to be candidates for office, and the women who were nominated and elected received their nominations without wire-pulling in their behalf.

In conclusion, we think we may say that in Colorado there is hardly a lover of good government who does not believe that the presence of women at the polls in November last was an undisguised blessing. If the question as to whether the right of suffrage should be bestowed on women should be again submitted to the voters of Colorado, it would, in our opinion, be carried in the affirmative by a far greater majority than it received a year ago. The influence and vote of good women will always be cast for the preservation and permanence of the home and of our institutions, and their presence as an influence in determining public questions brings hope and promise for the future of our country.

If there was any hesitation in Mr. Wolcott's endorsement of equal suffrage it was due to the apprehension that good women, occupied with other matters and trustful of their husbands and brothers, might fail to avail themselves of the privilege. The right once extended, he urged its exercise by women having the public welfare in mind. With their active co-operation, he was assured that the change would result in improved conditions.

# The Long Fight for the Coinage of Silver





## THE LONG FIGHT FOR THE COINAGE OF SILVER

TO no other question did Mr. Wolcott give so much attention while in the Senate as the coinage of silver as money, and, notwithstanding the apparent paucity of results, the capacity he displayed in that interest must form the basis of all proper estimates of him as a legislative advocate. Not only was his first Senatorial speech made in behalf of silver, but scarcely a session during his twelve years of service was permitted to pass in which he did not lift his voice in support of the white metal. Beginning his work by assisting in the passage in 1891 of the bill authorizing the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver a month (which subsequently, though inappropriately, took the name of the "Sherman Law"), he two years later did all in his power to prevent the repeal of that law, and, failing in that effort, he concentrated every energy upon an effort to obtain an international agreement looking to the recognition of silver as a coinage metal on an equality with gold. He made many speeches on the different phases of the subject and ever was willing to devote any resource at the command of his fertile mind to the advancement of the cause. He entered the Senate a silver advocate and he left it a silver advocate.

The pages of a biography are no place for any elaborate presentation of the silver question as such; but during the two concluding decades of the nineteenth century, political developments in the United States were so deflected by this great issue, and Mr. Wolcott's relations with his State and his party were so intimately influenced by these developments, that a short retrospective survey is essential to a

right understanding of the history of the period and of his place in that history.

From times almost prehistoric the two metals had been admitted freely to the leading mints of the world, and jointly they had constituted the international volume of full legal-tender money, the expansion or contraction of which volume raised or depressed the entire level of wages and prices. But in 1873 the world's established currency system was tampered with, first by one national legislature, then by another. To the United States belongs a doubtful pre-eminence. In February, 1873, the surreptitious demonetization of silver was procured at Washington. Almost on the heels of this action came the attempt of the German Government to exchange the whole mass of its currency at the French mints for its gold equivalent, and this move was followed by the enforced closing of the French mints to the free coinage of silver. Thus in 1873 the question of silver became a matter of extreme urgency. The production of gold from the world's mines was rapidly diminishing. Professor Suess and other leading geologists were of the opinion that the prospect for further considerable gold discoveries was not hopeful. Meanwhile prices of commodities were falling fast and the added burden of debt, whether national or private, was threatening a social upheaval.

In 1878 on the initiative of Congress, President Hayes issued invitations to the first Monetary Conference at Paris. It was perhaps natural, even though some may regard it as unfortunate, that the silver-mining States should have been the first to resent this novel proscription of silver and that the arguments of some of their representatives in Congress should have been based on the restricted ground of protection to a native industry. Be that as it may, the question thus emerging as a "local issue" immediately obtained the philosophic endorsement of the leading professors of political economy. On the continent of Europe the brilliant pens of Emile de Laveleye, of Wolowski, and of Cernuschi were at work before Washington was fairly awakened. In Great Britain the younger professors, such as Foxwell and Shield Nicholson, were teaching in their schools the necessity of what had now begun to be called "Bimetallism," and

the franc-tireurs and skirmishers in the coming Battle of the Standards were in evidence over a very wide field. In the United States, Professor Francis A. Walker, whose formative influence in the field of economics is admitted even in Europe to be greater than that of any teacher since John Stuart Mill, was writing the whole theory of the concurrent legal tender of the two metals in his great work *Money*, a work destined to be translated into seven languages. From every direction the note of warning was borne in on the legislatures as to the perils of that novel experiment, the "Crime of 1873." Save only two, the political protagonists within the halls of Congress have now gone over to the majority upon the farther shore of time. But for those two survivors, Henry M. Teller of Colorado and John P. Jones of Nevada, it is fair to claim an undisputed pre-eminence in the laboriously acquired philosophy of this question. General A. J. Warner, of Ohio, one of the most consistent and efficient of American silver-coinage advocates died after the preparation of this work was begun.

Fully acquainted with this history and intensely awake to the situation, Mr. Wolcott was from the beginning a loyal supporter of the double standard. He believed in bimetallism because he believed bimetallism right. Finding that from the beginning of history until very recent times silver had been given the same recognition as gold, as a money metal, though at a lower valuation, he believed that the long-established order was in the interest of the general welfare. He was distinctly a hard-money man—never a greenbacker; but he did not believe that the gold stock afforded a sufficient money basis for the accommodation of the currency of the world. He adhered to the quantitative theory regarding money, and, believing that the complete disuse of silver as money would cause untold suffering by reducing the volume of the circulating medium, he opposed the policy as unjust and inhuman.

To what extent his views were influenced by environment he probably could not himself have told. Representing a constituency whose chief industrial interest lay in silver mining, he foresaw the devastation that must follow

any adverse action, and that his big heart was touched by the prospect there are many evidences. But he did not admit the local influence as controlling; he maintained that the question was of world-wide importance and his interest general and not sectional. Possibly the material interest of his State in promoting the commercial value of the white metal had the effect originally of causing him to investigate more closely the silver side of the money question than he would have done under other circumstances, and to this extent we may concede the influence of surroundings and of local interest.

Was he right in his contention that silver coinage is essential to the welfare of the world? His speeches were made from ten to twenty years before the preparation of this volume was undertaken. In them he prophesied disaster as the result of the general adoption of the single gold standard. It will be said that the prophecies have not been realized. Nor have they been fully or continuously. Was, then, our orator a real prophet?

The reader of Mr. Wolcott's speeches must not pronounce against him simply because he finds that prosperity has been as much the rule since the general official pronouncement against silver as it was before that edict went forth. The purpose of this volume is to record facts rather than to propound argument, but it cannot be considered out of place to mention the one circumstance that in no previous period of like duration has there been anything like so large a production of gold as there has been since the general demonetization of silver. Almost coincident with the shutting down of the silver mines, as a result of this disparaging action, came the opening up of vast new gold fields.

As if in response to the command of a master, as soon as silver was discredited, the prospectors of Colorado turned their backs on the silver croppings and began to search for gold. The result was that they found much of the yellow metal where hitherto they had looked only for its white companion. Cripple Creek soon began to pour its twenty or thirty millions a year into the lap of the world; Leadville was transformed from a silver to a gold camp; Gilpin County

and the San Juan region continued sending out large supplies of gold.

The result of the newly directed effort was that the Centennial State soon took as a gold producer the lead which hitherto it had held as a producer of silver. Other of the Rocky Mountain States also increased their gold output, and the gold-producing activity of the United States was reflected throughout the mineral-yielding world. The frozen north came to the front with its Klondyke and Nome, and the yellow stream that soon began to flow from the direction of the North Pole was met by even a larger current from the Transvaal of far-away South Africa. Thus there was no lapse. As if providentially, the loss of silver was made good by the increase of gold.

Is there not, after all, then, some justification of Mr. Wolcott's quantitative theory in the present situation? Who can say what the result upon the human race would have been but for this fortunate augmentation of the gold supply? Who can say that but for the new gold discoveries the Wolcott prophecies would not have been realized even now? And, alas! who can say that with a diminution of gold production there may not be yet a fulfilment of the predictions of the Colorado Senator? Ten or twenty years is a very brief period of history. Prophecy covers a much longer time.

Not only did Mr. Wolcott enter the Senate an advocate of the free coinage of silver, but he favored its coinage by the United States regardless of the action of other nations. He left it an advocate of international co-operation. This is a broad statement of fact, and, like many broad statements, would do injustice if left unqualified or unexplained. In the beginning of his Senatorial career he did not consider international action possible of attainment; otherwise he would not have opposed it. Toward the end he saw that silver coinage was out of the question except by such international action, and, in addition, there was such a change in world conditions that for a time a general movement in behalf of the white metal did not seem improbable.

In view of the fact that Mr. Wolcott's silver speeches



are published, there will be no effort to review them here. Only brief extracts from them will be given, and these will be inserted for the purpose of showing his attitude from time to time—of giving point to the narrative.

If space permitted, it would be both profitable and edifying to insert more extended excerpts, for the purpose of illustrating his force as a speaker and his skill as a tactician, for seldom if ever has a more forcible or a more convincing campaign been made in the interest of a losing cause. No man who ever sat in the Senate had greater capacity for sarcasm than the Colorado Senator, and few could plead more effectively. But, superior as he was in those directions, his greatest strength lay in his logic; in his directness of speech and his appeal to reason. All of his great powers were used in this, to him, the dearest of all interests.

Courageous to the verge of rashness when conviction was involved, he did not hesitate to attack a foe, concealed or open, with all the weapons at his command, and many and pronounced were the conflicts with opposing Senators over this same silver question. In one breath he resented all accusations of personal interest in silver on the part of the people of the West and chided the East for attempting to break down and destroy so great an industry as silver mining. But so greatly charmed were all by his manner and by his convincing argument in support of each branch of his contention that no one pointed out this inconsistency. Every possible appeal was made to all sections and all parties. He showed that both Republicans and Democrats had pledged themselves to stand to the bitter end for silver, the Republicans in former years, the Democrats more recently. To the New Englanders he intimated that anti-silver legislation might be followed by the abandonment by the West of the Protective policy; the Southern Senators, whose pet theories had been attacked by the Force Bill, were reminded of the assistance that had been given by their Western colleagues in defeating that measure. Knowing the partiality of the Senate to the privilege of unlimited debate, when the talk on the bill repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman law had proceeded for several weeks and there was an attempt to curtail the speech-making by

a rule of *clôture*, he announced a willingness to submit, but said that the rule must be general and for all time and not special and confined to the Silver Bill. He especially chided Senator Sherman of Ohio for repudiating the platforms of the Republican party, and he took the utmost delight in flaying Senator Hill of New York and Senator Voorhees of Indiana, both Democrats, because, while professing to be friendly to silver, they still were advocates of repeal. Of Mr. Hill he said: "He keeps the word of promise to our ear and breaks it to our hope"; of Mr. Voorhees: "His words were writ in water."

Briefly reviewing the course of Mr. Wolcott in the Senate, we find him making his first speech in advocacy of the passage of the Sherman law providing for the annual purchase, for coinage in the American mints, of 54,000,000 ounces of silver. By the time this speech was delivered, June 17, 1890, it had become evident that President Harrison would oppose any effort at independent free coinage by the United States, and the discovery was a sore disappointment to the pro-silver men. His previous utterances had justified them in looking for something better. Never awed by high functionaries, the Colorado Senator did not hesitate to attack from his seat in the Senate the President's position, and the attack was so forceful and so eloquent that it commanded universal attention.

As going to show his general attitude on many phases of the question during the early days of his Senatorial career, the following extract from a speech made by Mr. Wolcott March 1, 1893, may be quoted:

The people of the West are for silver, not alone because they produce it, but because they believe in hard money, gold and silver; because they believe there is not gold enough in the country to stand back of the credit of the nation in the proportion that money should stand back of credit. I believe the time is surely coming when the people of the West who do thus believe will stand like a stone wall with the people of the East against the issue of irredeemable paper and fiat money. We are silver people because we believe that the credit of the Government should be properly backed. A majority of us are Republicans. If it comes to a question between silver and the

Republican party, we are for silver; but we do not believe that well-advised and sincere patriots will ask that that be made a party issue. We continue our allegiance in the ranks of the Republican party because we cannot but believe that better counsels and wiser judgment will not attempt upon a financial question which has no place in party politics to drive men out of a political party in which they were born and whose principles they love.

Mr. Wolcott's anti-repeal views on silver were concretely outlined in a page contribution made by him to *Harper's Weekly* of May 27, 1893. A few extracts from that article are therefore reproduced as follows:

The West believes in the free coinage of silver because its people have been taught, as has the whole civilized world outside the money centres, that the stock of gold in the world is insufficient for the needs of the world in the transaction of its business, and that the annual supply applicable for coinage by no means keeps pace with the growing demands of commerce and increasing population, the development of vast areas of country, new industries which invention and enterprise are creating, and the infinite and constantly extending needs for money as a medium of exchange in new communities remote from old commercial centres.

The vast majority of the people cherishing these convictions are solvent, intelligent, thoughtful citizens, to whom the national well-being and the stability of our institutions are as dear as life itself. They have no sympathy with paternalism, or with any movement which shall rob human effort of the fruits of industry and ability.

An international coinage agreement would be of incalculable benefit, but without it the United States, with free coinage at the present ratio, would maintain the parity of the metals.

#### REPEAL OF THE SHERMAN LAW

With the extraordinary session of Congress in 1893 came the greatest of all silver contests. Called for the express purpose of repealing the Silver Purchase Law, that subject received undivided attention during the three months the session continued, from August 7th to November 3d. The measure was put through the House after very brief dis-

cussion, so that almost all the time of the session was consumed by the Senate. There never was much hope for the opponents of Repeal, but they struggled to the last, even going to the extent of conducting an open filibuster to postpone the day of fate. Mr. Wolcott was an active participant in these proceedings, and at all times was prepared to go to the front when necessity demanded sharp and effective speech.

In his call for the special session President Cleveland had specified no other subject for consideration. Finding, as he said in his proclamation, that "the present perilous condition is largely the result of a financial policy which the Executive branch of the Government finds embodied in unwise laws which must be executed until repealed by Congress," he convened Congress "to the end that the people may be relieved through legislation from present and impending danger and disaster." In his message to Congress, which was received August 8th, the day after Congress met, the President said:

I earnestly recommend the prompt repeal of the provisions of the act passed July 14, 1890, authorizing the purchase of silver bullion, and such legislative action as may put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and the ability of the Government to fulfil its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries.

Thus the single object of the session was plainly announced, and it had not long proceeded when the Repeal Bill was brought in.

Strangely enough the question of international agreement received attention from Mr. Wolcott in the first speech made by him on the bill, and it shows not only his own state of mind, but the general view of the American silver advocates of the time. He said:

The friendship for silver expressed by every member of each House of Congress who has spoken on this question is remarkable and unanimous. No Senator in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Sherman Act has failed to announce in solemn words his belief in bimetallism. The statement may

be soothing to his conscience, but it serves no other purpose so far as favorable legislation is concerned. The Senators who state that they are bimetallists, but that international agreement is necessary before we can adopt the double standard, misstate the proposition. International agreement must depend on the attitude of Great Britain. If Great Britain consents to a double standard, they are bimetallists. The policy of Great Britain, which they are powerless to shape or to control, is the policy they advocate. They are willing to sacrifice not only a great region of our country, whose resources are of infinitely more material value to the East than all our trade with Great Britain, but also the welfare and prosperity of every farmer and toiler in the land, in order that we may be in entire accord with Great Britain in our financial policy.

Later in the same speech, he said:

We are constantly assured that our abandonment of silver will force England to an international agreement. This may be true. There is not gold enough in the world to do its business, and some day this will be recognized by monometallist countries. But the time is far away. Capital is strong and selfish. This Senate Chamber to-day is the best possible exemplification of its power, and a long period of suffering and a shrinkage will pass before we return to the double standard.

A few weeks afterward, on October 9th, he spoke even derisively of international action, saying:

The people of this country, the largest producer of the precious metals, who believe in the double standard, are referred to Great Britain for legislation and for relief. International agreement is a chimera, a myth. Two members of the late conference are in this body. They will not hesitate to tell us that there is no hope for it at this time. Without Great Britain's assent it is impossible. Why should she consent? Her policy is plain, her interests are evident.

Then followed this wonderful picture of the result of repeal, which all too soon was to be partially, though fortunately, only temporarily realized:

Meanwhile the sections heretofore devoted to the search for



silver will become largely depopulated. The mines will fill with water, the timbers which sustain their walls will rot, the vast industries dependent for success on the mining regions will become bankrupt, and a generation will not serve to renew their prosperity, even after silver may be remonetized. The investments in railroads, mines, smelters, and other property directly and fatally affected by the action recommended by the Finance Committee aggregate more than \$1,000,000,000, and they are all to be sacrificed that we may make our financial policy in exact accord with Great Britain, the creditor of the world.

Probably in no connection did he more forcibly present in condensed form his reasons for his position than in the following from one of his speeches of 1893:

The people of the far Northwest favor the resumption of the free coinage of silver because they believe in the principle of bimetallism. We are not inflationists; but we do not advocate fiat money. We believe that, as the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Jones] so aptly put it, the rude obstacles which nature interposes offer a better safeguard for the people than the wisdom or unwisdom of their rulers. We oppose the single standard because there is not enough gold to do the business of the world and furnish the inhabitants with the currency they need.

The history of all times has shown that a scarcity of circulating medium means a continuous fall in prices, depression in business activity, the impoverishment of the people, and a decline in civilization. The last twenty years have but emphasized the experience of the centuries. Silver has not depreciated; gold has appreciated. The double standard lessens the tension which may be caused by the lessened production of the one metal or the increased production of the other. It secures to the debtor at the maturity of his debt money of the value he received when his debt was incurred. The two metals together furnish a standard which has permanency, stability, accessibility, and is a suitable and adequate measure of value.

Mr. President, the question as to whether silver shall by the passage of the bill before us be finally demonetized is national and not local. The claims we urge in behalf of the recognition of silver are not pressed because we of the mountains ask your sympathy for a region which your proposed action would impoverish and ruin. If we represented any other section, with our knowledge of the possibilities of the great West, we would

be equally tenacious for the preservation of the white metal as a standard of value. No man removed from the money centre, and realizing the illimitable resources of this Republic and its constantly expanded needs, will ever stand for the contraction of a currency already insufficient.

Our interests, our hopes, and aspirations are identical with those of the other sections of our country which are borrowers and not lenders; with those of the Carolinas, of Alabama and Mississippi, and Arkansas and Missouri, the Dakotas and Washington in the remote Northwest. We demand the coinage of both metals because the history of our country and of all lands has taught us that they afford the safest and most adequate basis for the currency of the people.

We are not influenced by our environment. It is true that for a generation at least many States, some of them larger in population than any one of three of the New England States, and having greater resources, minerals included, than all of them put together, will suffer if this bill shall become a law, to an extent impossible to describe, and which in our lifetime cannot be repaired; but we can endure it. The strong will survive and the weak will go to the wall. It is the lot of man. But before you complete your work, I beg of you to pause long enough to realize that this is the first time in the history of republics—nay, even of governments—that a people devoted to one of the noblest of human industries, the search for the precious metals of the world, were doomed to destruction by their fellow-men because they produced too much of them.

Almost immediately after the repeal of the Sherman Law Mr. Wolcott began to investigate the possibility of obtaining international action in the interest of bimetallism. But he moved with caution, and in the meantime he exerted every effort to find a means of relieving the situation and of easing the blow which had been struck at the silver-producing industry. In that interest he at one time proposed a resolution inviting negotiations with Mexico looking to the coinage of Mexican dollars in the mints of the United States and out of metal produced in the mines of this country, and at another, he introduced a resolution providing for the coinage of the silver seigniorage which, owing to the far greater value of silver as coin than as bullion, was no inconsiderable sum. The former proposition failed of passage,

but the seigniorage measure went through Congress. On both bills Mr. Wolcott spoke at length, and after the veto of the Seigniorage Bill he made a review of the silver question as affected by politics, in which he plainly indicated that because of the President's position, as well as because of the opposition of the Eastern States, he recognized the hopelessness of further effort in the interest of independent coinage by the United States. In the course of this speech, which was delivered on the 9th of April, 1894, he said:

We were told by Senators upon this floor, including members of the Finance Committee, that as soon as the infamous Sherman Act should be brushed aside, the first moment would be utilized in reintroducing a bill for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, for which the President of the United States would undoubtedly stand as sponsor. That position has been somewhat cleared. If by this veto any one thing has been made clear to the minds of the people of the United States, it is that its Chief Executive is the consistent and implacable and eager enemy of silver. He has been consistent throughout and has had the courage of the convictions of the national banks and the trust companies of the United States, to all of which the name of silver is a stench and an offence.

The veto has further shown us that the silver sentiment of the country is local and not political. In the New England States and in the Northeast both parties have vied with each other in adulation and praise of the President's action, while in the rest of the country the veto has been viewed with sorrow and with indignation. In the New England States and in the Northeast the unanimous feeling is that the President of the United States is infinitely better than his party. So universal is this the prevailing sentiment that the Democracy of that section apparently intend to endorse the openly expressed contempt of the President of the United States for the Democratic party at large by voting overwhelmingly in favor of the Republican ticket; while in the West and South, irrespective of party, there is a prevailing and unanimous sentiment that the President of the United States has betrayed not only the platform of his party but the interests of his people, and that he has treated the just claims of those great States of the Union, which are devoted to mining and to agriculture, which are borrowers and not lenders, with scorn and with derision.

The veto has further taught us that during the incumbency of the present Executive there is no hope whatever for the cause of bimetallism. And the self-respect of those of us who believe that the day of prosperity will never come to this country again until silver is rehabilitated and restored to its place as a money metal should require of us that we advocate and vote for no makeshift and no temporary expedient. If the lesson is to be learned it may as well be learned during the present Administration as at any other time; and we owe it to our own dignity, and the respect due the cause, that we oppose upon this floor every measure which does not follow upon the lines of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  or 16 to 1.

#### INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT

In the spring of 1893, Mr. Wolcott was compelled to go to Europe on account of the precarious condition of his health, and while in England and France he met many of the bimetallists of those two countries. From all of these he received encouragement to believe that an agreement for a general recognition of the white metal could be brought about. Indeed, generally, the Europeans showed a willingness to take the initiative in urging the wisdom of a movement by the United States in the interest of a new international conference. But, while as zealous in their advocacy of silver coinage as he was, they were united in preaching the necessity for concerted action.

Soon after Senator Wolcott's return to the United States the following statement regarding this visit, evidently authorized by him, was published:

Senator Wolcott had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Balfour socially and had a very enjoyable time with him in London. The silver question was discussed in all its relations, and while Mr. Wolcott knew, of course, that Mr. Balfour was a strong advocate of bimetallism, he was surprised to find him so deeply interested and thoroughly informed on this question, especially in view of the fact that Mr. Balfour's efforts in behalf of the double standard were purely philanthropic and based upon the belief that the masses were suffering untold calamities by reason of the adoption of the single standard, the demonetization of



silver, and the great increase in the purchasing power and value of gold.

Mr. Wolcott went abroad again in 1894, this time with a far more friendly inclination toward concerted action than before. He had thought much of what he had heard on the previous visit, had become convinced of the sincerity of his European friends, and was almost satisfied that they were right in their contention that the only road to the rehabilitation of silver lay through general international co-operation. Unquestionably the closing of the Indian mints and the cessation of the large and regular monthly purchases of silver by the United States were forcible factors in bringing him to this point of view. At any rate, he now was found a willing listener to the suggestions of his English and French friends who had differed from him only on the one point of the method of carrying bimetallism into execution. He was forced to concede that because of its comprehensiveness their plan was preferable. But was it practicable? For a time it seemed to be.

In 1894 there were many interviews with people of distinction on the silver question, and there was one notable dinner in London, given by Sir William Houldsworth, at which the unofficial American envoy received much encouragement to believe that even England might be influenced to grant such concessions as hitherto had not been considered possible. The dinner was tendered to a number of Americans of distinction, including Senator Wolcott, Hon. W. C. Whitney, General Francis A. Walker, and Mr. Brooks Adams, and there were invited to meet them the Right Honorable Arthur J. Balfour, the Right Honorable Henry Chaplin, the Right Honorable William Lidderdale, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Grenfell, Mr. Moreton Frewen, Mr. Herman Schmidt, Prof. Foxwell, Mr. Heseltine, and Mr. Murray Guthrie, all more or less pronounced advocates of bimetallism. Indeed, it was an informal, unauthorized international conference on silver under the guise of a social function.

There were a number of speeches, and most of them were encouraging. There was an exception in the case of Mr. Chaplin. Quite as earnest a bimetallist as any present and



just as desirous of success, he still did not fail to point out the great difficulties in the way, principal of which were the conservative character of the English people and the self-interest of the London bankers. The sequel proved that he was right, for there can be little doubt that, whatever the instrument with which the final blow was struck, the London influence directed it.<sup>1</sup> His speech was not, however, intended to throw a damper on the movement for a conference, and at the time it received comparatively little attention.

Senator Wolcott was among the speakers. He said:

I feel that much more real interest attaches to the attitude of Mr. Whitney and General Walker at the present time than to the attitude and efforts of those who think with me that the United States with open mints can single-handed act as the world's money-changer, and can maintain the parity of the metals. And seeing that for three years to come no effective silver legislation can be secured at Washington, such legislation during President Cleveland's term being impossible, the bimetallic contest has to-day shifted itself from Washington to Westminster. But I am glad to endorse General Walker's assertion to-night that ninety per cent. of the people of the United States are earnest and convinced bimetallists. The question then for us in the United States is not one of principles, but of methods only—how best we can encourage action on the part of Great Britain; and this being the position we think, some of us, that perhaps the offer to your colonies and India of lower tariffs as contrasted with prohibitive tariffs may attract your colonial premiers to a little friendly but determined girdling at Downing Street. I notice, however, that just as a distinguished American humorist was prepared to demonstrate his

<sup>1</sup> In his Autobiography, Senator Hoar, who gave much attention to the question of an international agreement, attributes the failure of the mission to the influence of the London banks. "I conjecture," he says, "that the English Administration, although a majority of the Government, and probably a majority of the Conservative party, were bimetallists and favored an international arrangement on principle, did not like to disturb existing conditions at the risk of offending the banking interests of London, especially those which had charge of the enormous foreign investments, the value of which would be constantly increasing so long as their debts were payable, principal and interest, in gold, the value of which, also, was steadily appreciating."

patriotism by sending his wife's relatives to the field of battle, so also, whether in Australia or at the Cape, England at the present time contemplates the sufferings of her relatives with considerable equanimity.

In concluding a speech that was followed with very close attention Senator Wolcott said that just as the promise of improvement to come immediately after the repeal of the Sherman Act had been delusive, so also the improvement to follow after tariff reform might be not less visionary, and that many who had voted for repeal less than a year since were likely at the coming elections to accept the alternative of free coinage.

As in London, the Colorado Senator's reception in Paris was again cordial, and upon the whole his investigations greatly strengthened his conviction in favor of an international movement. He reached the conclusion that Europe might inaugurate such a course at any time, and he determined to do all that he could to place the United States in the way of co-operation in case it should be undertaken.

Accordingly, having returned to the United States, on the 23d of February, 1895, he introduced in the Senate as an amendment to an appropriation bill a measure providing for the appointment of a commission. This provision was incorporated in the law and, while no action was taken under its authority, it proved the forerunner of the subsequent legislation under which the Wolcott Commission was appointed. This amendment authorized participation by the United States in any international monetary conference that might be determined upon by the European powers. In presenting it, Mr. Wolcott said that he had felt under some embarrassment from the fact that it might be construed abroad as indicating an undue desire on the part of this country for an international compact, but, taking all the circumstances into consideration, he had concluded that it would be wise to give the authority in order that the appointment of commissioners might be made, if occasion should arise for them during the Congressional recess which then was approaching. In his comment he could not resist the opportunity to take a fling at the professed bimetallists

who had not shown their faith by their works. "It is," he said, "entirely satisfactory to those bimetallists who vote for bimetallism; it should be equally satisfactory to that devoted band of bimetallists who talk for us and vote against us, and who look with ravished eyes for English approval before they register their votes." He added: "We are for the establishment of bimetallism by the United States alone. If other countries will join us so much the better."

Speaking again on the 28th of the same month to the same amendment, Mr. Wolcott gave utterance to a few sentences showing the real reason for his interest in silver coinage.

The result of my studies [he said] is the conviction that the suffering and poverty all over the world have been caused by the abandonment of silver and the appreciating value of gold. If by any act of mine I could bring all over the world some amelioration of existing conditions, I should feel that I had played an important part in the legislation of my country; and as a citizen of a Christian nation I should be unwilling to shut out from view the nations of the world.

Replying to objections to the measure from Senator Stewart of Nevada, Mr. Wolcott briefly referred to the struggles of the European bimetallists.

Why, Mr. President [he asked], does the Senator from Nevada forget that, under the most unfavorable circumstances, all through these years the bimetallist party of England, with both the great parties against it, has been struggling year after year to make its converts; that in the heart of the great creditor nation of the world, where every instinct of every man who has a dollar due him is to oppose silver, these men have, unaided, fought a gallant fight with such glorious outcome that the other day in the House of Commons the leader of the party in power did not dare to oppose a motion made by a member in behalf of bimetallism? [He added:] Rather than contest it in the House of Commons he yielded his opposition, and, declining to permit the vote to be taken, abandoned the position which for years the Liberal party has held, and virtually announced that for years the English Government would share in any inter-

national conference which might be called upon the question of bimetallism.

So in Germany, where the owners of land have gradually seen their land grow less in value; against the Government, against the great banking houses of Berlin and the other German centres, the bimetallists have steadily, year by year, fought their fight, until in spite of the opposition of the Government, the Socialists, and the Radicals, they have forced the Reichstag to agree practically to the calling of an international conference.

The Senator from Nevada refers to the Republic of France, as if that country might not favor international bimetallism! Fortunately I have just received an accurate statement of what took place in the French Assembly the other day upon an interpellation on this very subject; and with the permission of the Senate I will read it, for it is vital to the great questions which are now at stake.

He then read a statement showing marked progress by the bimetallic movement in the French Republic, and, continuing, said:

So, Mr. President, does this great question press forward. In England success is almost at hand. In Germany success is practically reached. In France there is hearty co-operation. This movement has been brought about not by our enemies, but by our friends; by earnest men who have the solemn conviction that prosperity and civilization can be advanced only by a return to the double standard. We in this country, certainly in my section, believe that America alone can maintain the double standard. But, for that reason, shall we reject advances of other countries?

Mr. President, in the six years I have been in the Senate I have seen wandering about these corridors, day after day and week after week, the same hungry faces of lean men with claims pending before Congress. I am told some of them have been here thirty years and more, seeking some payment or restitution by Congress of something they have lost. So day after day they haunt these chambers, and they plot and plan and dream. If they met success and Congress should give them what they seek, they would die. So I fear it is true with some of the advocates of bimetallism. They have preached their gospel, their true gospel of salvation, so long, that, if the people



of the world became converted, their occupation would be gone and they would have to close up shop.

I am for bimetallism not because I want to fight; I am for bimetallism—and I am for waging an unceasing fight for its accomplishment—because I believe that out of the contest we can bring success. And for that reason, Mr. President, I stand for the amendment as it is. We are for American bimetallism, with or without international agreement, but if we fail to grasp the extended hand of other countries when it reaches out to meet ours, we will deserve and receive the eternal odium which should attach to us for having failed to embrace the greatest opportunity that has been since silver was stricken down.

Speaking in Denver on August 13, 1894, of his observations in England, Mr. Wolcott said:

I happened to be in England when Professor Francis A. Walker, Brooks Adams, ex-Secretary Whitney, and other prominent Americans were there, and attended a banquet at which I met many English bimetallists. This and other meetings have served to bring the bimetallists of both countries into closer alliance and will result in much good. It is none the less true, however, that there is no sound reason why this country should wait for the action of Great Britain. My own belief is that if the United States entered on the free and unlimited coinage of silver and at the same time maintained a fair protective tariff Great Britain would be more speedily forced into bimetallism than by any other pressure.

Our great hope in England must lie in a change of Government. The first advantage was gained by the retirement of Gladstone, who was the open enemy of silver. Lord Rosebery has never declared himself hostile to the white metal, and many of his friends express a hope, from what they know of him, that he will not oppose it. At best, however, it will be a long time before we can hope for any radical change in the policy of Great Britain on this question.

The present English policy toward India is admitted to be a failure. I am inclined to think that Great Britain would even now be glad to make concessions as to its Indian policy, if we should see fit to enter upon the free coinage of silver. All over Europe, wherever there is an owner of land dependent upon its products for support, there is a growing and abiding conviction that, until silver again takes its place as a standard, the



price of gold is certain to appreciate, and the price of agricultural products and of lands to decrease. I fear, however, that it will take years of further suffering to work a change in the European financial policy.

I find a wonderful interest shown over there in the progress of the silver cause in this country. No important speech was made by my colleague, Senator Teller, upon which the English bimetallists were not informed. They are preparing themselves fully for the struggle, when it does come to them.

#### PARTY POLITICS AND SILVER

These were the preliminary steps looking to the appointment of an international commission, but the real action in that interest did not take place until about three years afterward. In the meantime Senator Wolcott had vigorously continued his efforts in support of silver legislation in Congress. He had been re-elected to the Senate in the face of the determined opposition of Waiteism and Populism in his own State, and later the Republican National Convention of 1896 had come, bringing with it a split in the Republican party, and resulting in the defection from the party of his colleague and a large following of that gentleman throughout the West.

To Mr. Wolcott the period was a trying one. He had said repeatedly that when it came to a choice between his party and silver his support would be given to the white metal. That time had come, and he remained a Republican. Failing to discover any probability of relief from any party, he had concluded that he could not promote bimetallism by leaving one political organization to join another. True, the Populist party was committed to free-silver coinage, but Senator Wolcott felt assured that that party never could attain to national control, and the result shows that in that respect his conclusion was correct. Moreover, free silver was only one of the tenets of Populism. It stood for almost everything else which established society had not seemed to want. The Colorado Senator was in sympathy with it only on the one point of silver coinage. For these and many other reasons he found it impossible to cast his lot with this organization.

Probably as fair an expression as Mr. Wolcott has left as to his attitude toward his own and other parties in connection with silver is found in his speech before the Republican State Convention of Colorado in 1894. This was two years before the test of leaving the party came, and it will be observed that his threat of departure was not unconditional.

Whenever I am convinced [he said] that the free coinage of silver is not attainable at the hands of the Republican party, and is attainable at the hands of some other party, I will join that party. And so will every citizen of Colorado. But, my friends, that determination will never bring you or me into party affiliation with Mrs. Lease and Governor Waite. My earliest recollections are associated with the Republican party. When I was a lad our house was a station on the underground railway. After nightfall, in our New England home, some black man would be secretly let in to sleep in the attic, and started off at daylight on his road to Canada. The first years of my manhood are associated with the attack on the flag and its restoration. All the life I have known is identified with that of the Republican party, and draws its inspirations from that party's achievements in the protection of American labor, and American products, and American manhood; in its eternal vigilance for the maintenance of the honor of the flag at home and abroad, and in its elevation of the human race. And since that eventful session of Congress a year ago, what growth we have seen has come through and in and by the Republican party. My friends, with you I love the party and every line in its history, and when we leave it it will be to different music than any Populistic party has yet piped.

Not very different was his speech at Colorado Springs, September 16, 1896, after the die had been cast and he had decided to remain with his party. Then he said:

"We don't want silver if we must take mob law with it; and if in this country any man who wants to labor is not protected in the exercise of that right, even if it takes all the armies of the United States to secure it to him, then this Government is not worth preserving, nor will any change of financial policy bring it prosperity."

To turn elsewhere with any prospect of accomplishing

results was quite as impossible. The Democracy was hopelessly in the minority, as Senator Wolcott realized. Moreover, the country had found in Cleveland, the only Democratic President of modern times, the most implacable and determined foe that silver ever had encountered in the Presidency. And Cleveland did not stand alone in his party in opposition to silver. A large percentage of the Eastern Democracy ardently supported his view. There was, therefore, at least no certainty of favorable silver action in case of Democratic success. Had not a Democratic President compelled the repeal of the Sherman Law?

Why, then, in view of these conditions, should Senator Wolcott leave the party into which he had been born and of which he had been a member during his entire life, for another party which to his mind promised no more than the Republican party? If by taking such a step he could have insured the rehabilitation of silver he would in all probability have taken it. He had no such assurance.

In his heart of hearts, Wolcott was ever a party man, and he could not and would not break with a great historic party over an economic issue merely as such. There was nothing pontifical in his nature. True, he was a leader, but not the leader of any pilgrimage to Canossa; not of an exploring expedition into uncharted seas; and when in the late 'eighties, and still more after the failure of the last Monetary Conference at Brussels in 1893, there were ominous symptoms that the Republican party could not subdue organic dissensions arising from this issue, it was clearly the time to take careful soundings. The great party which Wolcott loved was in danger; the career of its leaders might be compromised; the ship with a rapidly falling barometer was off a lee shore. That he counted all the cost—this was well known to his friends. He had come, however reluctantly, to the conviction that silver must needs be fought out upon a wider stage.

From this time he gradually drifted away from the counsels of the silver Senators, taking his new inspiration more from Senator Hoar of Massachusetts perhaps than from any other one man. For his new mood and for wise guidance he could have found no better mentor in the entire

United States. Mr. Hoar was no reactionary. He was, indeed, one of the most courageous men in public life. He had a nation of admirers because he was the very embodiment of all those moral and yet liberal principles which form the rugged traditions of New England. Granted that he knew far less about currency than the silver Senators, yet, doubtless, argued Mr. Wolcott, he had a wide view of history and was quite as likely to see the blazed trail over and beyond the mountain. And, above all, he, like Wolcott, was a devoted party man. Hoar, too, was entirely sound on the international aspect of silver. It may be well to quote here a cable drafted, or at least amended, by Senator Hoar, which was sent to a reform gathering at the London Mansion House in May, 1895:

THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON, the Mansion House, London :

We desire to express our cordial sympathy with the movement to promote the restoration of silver by international agreement, in aid of which we understand a meeting is to be held to-day under your Lordship's presidency. We believe that the free coinage of both gold and silver by international agreement at a fixed ratio would secure to mankind the blessing of a sufficient volume of metallic money and, what is hardly less important, secure to the world of trade immunity from violent exchange fluctuations.

(Signed) John Sherman, W. B. Allison, D. W. Voorhees, George F. Hoar, Nelson W. Aldrich, William P. Frye, C. K. Davis, S. M. Cullom, Henry Cabot Lodge, Calvin S. Brice, O. H. Platt, A. P. Gorman, Edward Murphy, David B. Hill.

It will be observed that this comprehensive message bears the signatures of all the Senators from the three great States of New York, Massachusetts, and Ohio, and is signed by every Senator who had been active in promoting the repeal of the Sherman Act. It shows vividly the state of mind of the "sound money" Senators of that day.

There was a further influence which was probably assisting Mr. Wolcott in his growing conviction that the silver issue would be settled on international lines. During his visits to England in 1889 and 1890 he had established very pleasant relations with Mr. Henry Chaplin, at that time in



Lord Salisbury's Cabinet, and the acquaintance had been renewed on each subsequent visit. In England Mr. Chaplin was and is a very interesting figure both in politics and in society. He was the intimate friend of King Edward. A thorough man of the world and of affairs, he had won with *Hermit* the blue ribbon of the English turf in the most sensational Derby of that generation. Mr. Chaplin was second only to Mr. Balfour in his earnest advocacy of international bimetallism. The Cabinet in this matter was much divided. Lord Salisbury was benevolently neutral, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Goschen, was strongly opposed, for the temperature of the City of London was then, as always in treating this question, below zero. Mr. Chaplin was greatly attracted to the Colorado Senator, as was the Senator to him. The two men had much in common, joyous, vigorous, vital sport-loving natures—natures which look forward and not back. Through Mr. Chaplin the visitor saw no little of Mr. Balfour in these early visits. The tide seemed running strongly for the restoration of silver even in England, and especially in France and Germany, and the world of finance appeared to be coming to its senses. Doubtless Mr. Chaplin had strong influence in causing his American friend to give consideration to the world-wide aspect of the silver question.

Extremely important as showing the set of the wind was the resolution adopted by the British House of Commons, February 20, 1895, which was in line with previous pronouncements by the legislative bodies of France and Germany:

That this House regards with increasing apprehension the constant fluctuations and the growing divergence in the relative values of gold and silver, and heartily concurs in the recent expressions of opinion on the part of the Governments of France and Germany as to the serious evils arising therefrom; it therefore urges upon Her Majesty's Government the desirability of co-operating with other Powers in an international conference for the purpose of considering what measures can be taken to remove or mitigate these evils.

Again on March 17, 1896, the following resolution was adopted by the House of Commons:



That this House is of opinion that the instability of the relative value of gold and silver, since the action of the Latin Union in 1873, has proved injurious to the best interests of this country, and urges upon this Government the advisability of doing all in their power to secure by international agreement a stable monetary par of exchange between gold and silver.

Thus apparently the three principal European nations had committed themselves voluntarily and authoritatively to silver coinage. Is it surprising that the American advocates of international agreement felt encouraged?

Following close upon the action of Parliament, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, a monometallist, but fair-minded, was reported to have declared that if the other nations formed a bimetallic league, the British Government would reopen the Indian mints and by other means promote an increased use of silver in coinage, to help the general movement. Mr. Balfour asserted that in these circumstances Great Britain would do more for bimetallism than any other country in the world.

Fortunately Mr. Wolcott has left us an explanation of his conversion to the international theory, which saves the necessity for speculation. In a speech made February 12, 1900, one of the last of his speeches in the Senate, he said:

When I entered the Senate eleven years ago, and afterward, I believed, and asserted my belief, that the United States alone, unaided by any other nation, could establish and maintain for the whole world the parity between gold and silver if it opened its mints to the free coinage of both metals at the old ratio of 16 to 1; and under the conditions then existing, and which seemed certain to follow our action, I still believe it might then have been accomplished. What was true a few years ago is no longer true. The commercial value of silver was then far greater than now; India had but just closed her mints, we believed temporarily; Russia had not declared her ratio of 24 to 1; Japan was still upon the silver standard, and the annual product of gold was normal, showing a slight but steady increase year after year, and the world's supply of metal money was grossly inadequate. To-day we face a vastly different condition of affairs, and for one I should shrink from entering upon the experiment alone and at the old ratio. Not only the hostility

of the vast majority of the taxpayers of our own country, but the attitude of the civilized governments of the world, the existence in India of a thousand million ounces and more of silver, uncoined, sold from day to day in the bazaars, the uncertainty as to the future of the Orient,—all these vexed and unsettled problems might well make us pause. It is not necessary now to discuss further that question, but it is my judgment that, if Mr. Bryan were to-day President of the United States, and if a majority of Congress were of his way of thinking, they would never dare seek to impose upon this country the responsibility of entering alone and unaided upon the duty of maintaining a parity at the old ratio.

For these and many other reasons, the environment in which Wolcott now moved greatly influenced his drift away from the predominant sentiment of his own State, which was almost unanimous for the free coinage of silver by the United States without regard to other nations.

Then came the St. Louis platform of 1896. The die was cast; he would attempt to hold Colorado for the Republican party and for international action if only a corporal's guard would follow him.

#### THE FOREIGN SITUATION

In its declarations at the St. Louis Convention the party placed itself on record as "unreservedly for sound money," and for the first time declared itself "opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world." Then followed a promise to promote such agreement, which in turn was succeeded by a declaration for the maintenance of the existing gold standard until such agreement could be obtained. This was an advance over previous platforms in favor of gold monometallism of such a pronounced nature as to render the situation very trying to the Republicans who favored silver. The only relief was in the pledge for the promotion of an international agreement.

The campaign was fought on this issue, and Mr. McKinley, was triumphantly elected over Mr. Bryan, although seven-eighths of Colorado's vote was cast for Bryan. Very

little had been said during the campaign about the party's declaration for international bimetallism; but Mr. Wolcott and his fellow silver men in the party who had remained true were quite determined that it should not be lost sight of. No sooner, therefore, had Congress convened after the election than they set themselves to work to vitalize it and make it the basis of an active propaganda. At the first caucus of the Republican Senators, Mr. Wolcott called attention to the declaration, and at his instance the ball was set rolling in the interest of an agreement.

At this conference Senator Hoar related the particulars of interviews he had had with prominent bimetallists during a recent visit to England and France, and added his plea to Mr. Wolcott's in favor of taking steps toward an international agreement. After considerable discussion, a caucus committee was agreed upon to further the movement, and Senator Wolcott was placed at the head of it, with Senators Hoar, Chandler, Carter, and Gear as his associates. It was due to their labors that the law of March 3, 1897, providing for a commission, was enacted.

Mr. Wolcott did not, however, confine his efforts to Congress. He lost no time in placing himself in communication with the new President, who even then was seeking a way to aid silver. The result was his second silver prospecting trip to Europe. This trip was made at the instance of the President and was therefore semi-official in character.

The Colorado Senator's determination to adhere to his party, notwithstanding the St. Louis platform, rendered it all the more important that he should demonstrate to the world that he had been consistent in his advocacy of bimetallism, and that his party had been in earnest in pledging itself in the recent platform to an international arrangement. His confidence in the President was so great that he believed that he would do all in his power to promote the movement, and in his inaugural address, delivered March 4, 1897, after Mr. Wolcott had sounded the European Governments, the President went far toward justifying this confidence. In that pronouncement the President declared his adherence to the platform pledge as well as to other portions of the financial plank of the St. Louis Convention, saying:

The question of international bimetallism will have early and earnest attention. It will be my constant and earnest attention to secure it by co-operation with the other great commercial powers of the world. Until that condition is realized when the parity between our gold and silver money springs from and is supported by the relative value of the two metals, the value of silver already coined and of that which may hereafter be coined must be kept constantly at par with the gold by every resource at our command. The credit of the Government, the integrity of its currency, and the inviolability of its obligations must be preserved. This was the commanding verdict of the people, and it will not be unheeded.

Independently of his personal attitude, the election of William McKinley marked a death-blow, as we now see, to the "free silver" agitation. The basis of that agitation was the painful fall of prices. There was, it is true, in the background the great problem of the silver exchanges with Asia, a problem which may yet emerge as the real and paramount silver issue—a great racial danger. But it was the fall of prices occasioned by the contraction of the currency which formed the stock argument of almost every speaker. Had it been imagined for one instant that the tide had just turned in 1896 and that the world already had crossed the threshold of such enormous and unprecedented supplies of new gold from the mines as must quickly inflate the Western currencies and raise all prices, it is possible that the Democratic platform of 1896 would have contained no "free silver" plank. In the new President, however, the silver men had a good friend. When a member of the House of Representatives McKinley had voted for free coinage. In 1892 in an address to the Republican League of Ohio he had said of President Cleveland:

During all the years at the head of the Government he was dishonoring one of the precious metals, one of our own great products, discrediting silver and enhancing the price of gold. He endeavored even before his inauguration into office to stop the coinage of silver dollars, and afterward and to the end of his Administration he persistently used his powers to that end. He was determined to contract the circulating medium and de-



monetize one of the coins of commerce, limit the volume of money among the people, make money scarce and therefore dear. He would have increased the value of money and diminished the value of everything else—money the master, everything else the servant. He was not thinking of the poor people then. He had left their side. He was not standing forth in their defence. Cheap labor, and dear money; the sponsor and promoter of those professing to stand guard over the poor and lowly. Was there ever more glaring inconsistency or reckless assumption? . . . He believed that poverty is a blessing to be promoted and encouraged, and that a shrinkage in the value of everything but money is a national benediction.

Holding such views it was inevitable that the President should consider how best to employ the prerogative of his great office in order to forward an international settlement and this without a day's delay. He looked round for the emissary most agreeable to Europe. Who, by reason of his services to and sacrifices for his party, because of his knowledge of the silver question, and particularly because of his intimate acquaintance with the chief pieces on the European chess-board, could do better service at this juncture than Wolcott? The new President at once despatched him to Europe, unofficially, to inform himself as to the lay of the land. Lord Salisbury was again in power. Without committing the President or his Administration Wolcott could discover from Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chaplin the prospect for a successful formal commission later. A commission could only harm the party and the President if the position in Europe was hopeless; but if, on the other hand, sufficient encouragement was vouchsafed Wolcott understood that he was to return soon to Europe with a full-fledged official body.

Mr. Wolcott inevitably regarded the mission as the grand climacteric of his life. If it was possible to achieve a lasting settlement, the Republican party would splendidly justify its attitude in the recent furious campaign, and he himself in view of the line he had taken in Colorado would emerge an historic figure. A very great opportunity had come to him; what had the Fates in store? And his friends remarked in him during the year that followed a



greatly increased sense of responsibility. He sailed for Europe during the winter of 1896-97, spending the months of January and February in England and France with the exception of a few days in Germany.

Since his previous visit, the unfriendly Gladstone Administration had terminated and the Conservatives had come into power, placing many of the foremost bimetallists of Great Britain in positions of responsibility. M. Méline, the French silver champion was Premier in France. Senator Wolcott was received with open arms in both the French Republic and the British Empire. He was a social lion among the leaders of the bimetallic thought in both London and Paris, and he was told that an American commission would receive a cordial welcome, in case it should be appointed. France was especially reassuring in her attitude. Mr. Wolcott was informed that, if in the then approaching tariff legislation in this country French interests could be properly considered, such a course would have a most beneficial influence upon the French people. Mr. Wolcott, who had become a member of the Senate Committee on Finance, promised to give his attention to these representations, and it should here be said that he afterward did so, influencing many important changes in the Dingley Tariff Law in the interest of French exporters to this country without in any wise impairing home industries.

It is important to recognize that in England in 1897 the views of the bimetallists had undergone an important modification. The Indian mints had been closed to free coinage in 1893 with a resultant collapse in the price of silver for which history has no precedent. Thus it was appreciated for the first time how very much Great Britain had done for silver during the previous century by keeping the mints of her vast dependency open to the free coinage of that metal. So that on Wolcott's arrival the best friends of the white metal advised him not to advance extreme proposals as to the inclusion of Great Britain, but to rest satisfied with the restoration by her of silver monometallism in India with open mints there, and the promise of a continued free gold market in London.

The all-important point was to persuade France, her

traditions all friendly to free coinage, to go hand-in-hand with her sister Republic in restoring that monetary system which before 1873 had served the world so well. The view of those consulted as to Germany's attitude was rather to let Germany make the advances if and when she wished. The two great Republics were to take the lead. England's partnership, though very important, was to be looked upon as subordinate. It was thought that all that was scientific in French and American finance and all the idealism of the two great nations would respond to a settlement in which the "effete monarchies" were to knock later for admission on the door of the allied Republics.

This Plan of Campaign was not devoid of audacity. Would France rise to such a fly? Would it satisfy the McKinley Administration? If so, the inclusion of India, though all important, might, it was felt on all hands, be taken for granted.

After leaving London Wolcott next spent a fortnight in Paris and found to his delight and surprise that M. Magnin, the Governor of the Bank of France, was most sympathetically with him in the conviction that the monetary area of the two Republics, with India, was quite wide enough within which to establish free coinage and fixed exchanges, and that the arrangement proposed would give Paris and New York a predominant position in the world's bill market; that not only would a great and profitable exchange business be obtained by the two partners, and this largely at the expense of London, but that projects such as Asiatic railroads and other constructions requiring capital would be likely to come where, because of open mints, the world's silver markets had been localized.

Immensely satisfied with the beat of the European pulse, Wolcott returned to America to carry his report to the White House. The business depression in the United States at this time showed no sign of lifting. Not the President only but the Republican chiefs, Hanna, Allison, and Aldrich, were quite with the President in thinking that a rational settlement to which France was a party and for the sake of which England would coin silver freely for three hundred millions of her people, would not merely be at-

tended by a business revival but would be regarded as the crowning triumph of the Republican party; that where the Democrats would, if victorious, have taken a devious and dangerous road leading into a possible morass, the "Grand Old Party" had procured by a quick diplomatic effort a practically invincible Triple Alliance.

#### THE BIMETALLIC COMMISSION

When, in March, 1897, Mr. Wolcott returned from his informal mission, he found that the way for the appointment of a commission had been prepared by the passage of the Caucus Bill, the essential portion of which read:

Whenever after March fourth, eighteen hundred and ninety-seven, the President of the United States shall determine that the United States should be represented at any international conference called by the United States or any other country with a view to securing by international agreement a fixity of relative value between gold and silver as money by means of a common ratio between these metals, with free mintage at such ratio, he is hereby authorized to appoint five or more commissioners to such international conference; and for compensation of said commissioners, and for all reasonable expenses connected therewith, to be approved by the Secretary of State, including the proportion to be paid by the United States of the joint expenses of any such conference, the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated.

That the President of the United States is hereby authorized, in the name of the Government of the United States, to call, in his discretion, such international conference, to assemble at such point as may be agreed upon. And he is further authorized, if in his judgment the purpose specified in the first section hereof can thus be better attained, to appoint one or more special commissioners or envoys to such of the nations of Europe as he may designate, to seek by diplomatic negotiations an international agreement for the purpose specified in the first section hereof. And in case of such appointment so much of the appropriation herein made as shall be necessary shall be available for the proper expenses and compensation of such commissioners or envoys.

The bill was a Republican measure, passed in accordance with the pledge of the St. Louis Convention, but it did not antagonize the views of President Cleveland, and he attached his signature to it March 3, 1897, only a few hours before retiring from office.

Very soon after the Colorado Senator's arrival from Europe the Commission was appointed. For the purpose of showing his good faith President McKinley decided that all the members should be silver men of pronounced views, and to that end he selected Mr. Wolcott as Chairman, giving him as colleagues Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, a Democrat who had been Vice-President of the United States when Mr. Cleveland was President and who had been the recent running mate of Mr. Bryan for the same office he previously had held, and General Charles J. Paine of Massachusetts, a private citizen, but a bimetallist and a Republican.

In view of the fact that the Commission came within an ace of complete success and that the failure came from a quarter not for an instant anticipated, it is perhaps ungracious to criticise its make-up. But at the time it was felt that in a matter of such transcendent importance Mr. Wolcott should have strengthened his Commission by the inclusion of Senator Allison or Senator Aldrich, because his companions, though both men of zeal, position, and intelligence, could not bring to their chief all the assistance he needed in meeting the infinitely complex problems which were daily in evidence and often from the most unexpected quarters.

Much attention was given by the Commission and by the Administration to the method of proceeding. In view of the fact that since the general demonetization of silver in 1873 there had been three futile attempts to establish world-bimetallism through international conferences, it was thought best not to suggest another such conference without definite knowledge of conditions. Hence, it was decided that the great commercial powers should be officially and still further sounded on the subject before suggesting a conference. If there was sufficient encouragement, the conference was to come later. The first part of the programme



was carried into execution; the second was not. No conference was held. The Commission appointed, the plan was to first proceed to France, "the point of least resistance," and, in case the French authorities were found to be friendly, as Mr. Wolcott was confident they would be, to go thence to England, and if there should be encouragement there, to then lay the subject before the German and other European Governments in succession, when, if a sufficient number were willing, the conference was to be called. It was quite generally believed, however, that the United States and France could maintain the double standard if the consent of Great Britain to the re-opening of the Indian mints could be obtained. In the event of such union, Germany's co-operation would have been welcomed though not absolutely necessary.

France yielded without remonstrance, and it was quite well understood that if England would make the concessions desired of her there would be no objection from Berlin. England was asked to reopen the Indian mints, if not her own. She unexpectedly referred the question to the Indian Government. The Indian Government just as unexpectedly declined the proposition. This refusal meant the total failure of the mission, and so it proved. The preliminary inquiry did not go further. The authority for an international conference was not withdrawn, but after the return of the American emissaries because of the attitude of the Indian authorities, the subject never was revived seriously.

From the time of the appointment of the Commission, President McKinley manifested the deepest interest in its movements and he insisted upon being fully informed concerning its negotiations, as he constantly was by its chairman, both by cable and by letter. He undertook to give the envoys all the assistance in his power, and this he did by fostering favorable sentiment in the United States and by instructing the American representatives in Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia to further their purposes by every legitimate means. By despatches sent at his instance from the State Department while the Commission was en route to France, Ambassadors Hay, Porter, and Uhl, and Minister Breckenridge were instructed to take immediate



steps to ascertain the views of England, France, Germany, and Russia respectively on the advisability and practicability of holding a new monetary conference. The instructions also set forth the importance to the commissioners of having at an early date full and trustworthy information as to the attitude of the four countries toward international bi-metallism. To this end the American representatives were instructed to visit the proper officials in London, Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg and endeavor to ascertain from them the views of their respective Governments. These instructions were faithfully carried out. Ambassador Hay especially was untiring in his efforts to promote the objects of the mission in London, and Mr. Wolcott never flagged in sounding praises of that official's tact and zeal in behalf of the mission.

#### NEGOTIATIONS IN FRANCE

The Commission sailed from New York on the 8th of May, 1897, and arrived at Paris on the 16th of the same month. Headquarters were established immediately at the Hotel Vendôme, and steps were taken for the beginning of the work of the mission. The members first put themselves in communication with the officers of the Bimetallic League of the French Republic, and, in the absence of Ambassador Porter, utilized Senator Edward Fougeirol, the president of that league, and M. Edmond Théry, the head secretary, as their intermediaries in communicating with the officials of the French Government. Through them they brought about interviews with President Faure, Premier Méline, and M. Hanotaux, Minister of Foreign Affairs. M. Méline was cordial and encouraging, as he had been during Mr. Wolcott's former visit, and he did not fail to lend all the support of his great office to the furtherance of the Commission's labors. Messrs. Faure and Hanotaux were more conservative and more inclined to raise obstacles, but apparently these were due rather to difference in temperament than to divergence in conviction. At any rate, the Méline view triumphed, and within less than a month's time the French Government had decided to co-operate with the

American envoys in presenting the necessity for silver coinage to the British Government and to other European powers.

The Commission was enthusiastically received by the French National Bimetallic League, by which its members were tendered a banquet at Paris on May 29, 1897. In his speech of welcome, President Fougereol greeted the envoys cordially, saying:

We have the great honor to have in our midst Mr. Wolcott, the American Senator, Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, late Vice-President of the United States of America, and General Paine.

These gentlemen, who arrived in France only a few days ago, and who have been invested by the United States Government with a special mission to the Governments of Europe in order to establish with them the basis of an international understanding for the re-establishment of bimetallism, have also been kind enough to accept our invitation.

I thank them in the name of the French League, which sees in their acceptance a valuable testimony of their esteem for its efforts and work.

Are not their presence and the official mission with which they are charged by the Government of Mr. McKinley, the best proof, gentlemen, that in the last Presidential struggle in the United States it was not the gold standard, as our adversaries have been pleased to say, but international bimetallism itself, such as we have always defended, which has triumphed in the person of Mr. McKinley?

We salute these official representatives, and we see in their presence here the pledge of the near solution of the monetary question.

Thus you can see, gentlemen, the way covered and the progress made in so short a time.

As to France, the presence of M. Méline in power is a sure guarantee to us that his Government will respond to the appeal that is made to it and that there will be a loyal and sincere union between the two great sister Republics for the re-establishment of monetary peace in the world.

We are firmly convinced that in the presence of this union the gold-standard Governments of Europe, and especially those of England and Germany, will understand that the hour has come for them to take their part resolutely in a work in the success of which they are perhaps more interested than ourselves.

M. Méline was also a guest at the banquet. He was most sanguine of success, and after declaring the cause practically won, spoke of the American commissioners, of whom he said:

To-day the situation is changing its aspect. The government of a great power is taking the initiative, and is taking a decisive step in approaching the principal powers of Europe. It is sending as ambassadors statesmen who are capable of assuring the success of the cause they espouse, for they combine with their incontestable ability and with the high authority which they enjoy in their own country a very just idea of the difficulties which they will encounter in their negotiations. They have made every effort to overcome them before their arrival here, and we must thank Mr. Wolcott, in particular, for the conciliatory disposition of which he has recently given proof.

I am convinced that this disposition will be strengthened still further by his stay among us. For he will find that our co-operation will not be wanting on behalf of the great cause which we are ready to defend with him.

It may be worth mentioning that for a time at the beginning of their negotiations in Paris the commissioners found themselves considerably puzzled over the attitude of M. Hanotaux, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. That official at first had raised a question about the American tariff as fixed by the then recently enacted law, but when shown by Mr. Wolcott that, in accordance with promises made by him in his previous visit, the features in the bill which had been considered objectionable to the French exporters had been modified, apparently he still was obdurate. Interviews with him were unsatisfactory and his general bearing was such as to create a feeling of uneasiness. But when the forebodings aroused by these conditions were imparted to M. Méline, he laughed them away as unfounded, and apparently they were, for not only did the French Government give its adherence to the plan of the American envoys, but the French Ambassador to Great Britain, Baron de Courcel, was instructed to co-operate with the American Commission in its effort to obtain the assistance of the Island Empire in bringing about a return to bimetallism.

An agreement with the French authorities to press for a general restoration of silver coinage with the French ratio of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 in favor of gold was reached; and with the assurance of the support of the Parisian Government the American envoys immediately betook themselves to London, where they lost no time in communicating with Ambassador Hay, who in turn brought them into official touch with Lord Salisbury and his Cabinet.

#### IN LONDON

Noting the arrival of the Commission in London and commenting upon the attitude of Mr. Wolcott a press correspondent remarked:

He is at once as cheerful and reticent as ever. His faith in the ultimate success of the movement for international bimetallism is unclouded with doubt or suspicion. The reasons for that faith he is too wary to disclose, and he is wise. His success in dealing with the French Government and the British Ministry has been due in large measure to his talent for silence. He confers confidentially with financiers and Ministers, and has the good sense to keep his work out of the newspapers. He cannot be drawn into an interview or premature statement of his purposes, which would serve only to excite controversy and expose him to attack.

Another journalist commented:

Whatever may be the final outcome of the bimetallist mission, it cannot be doubted that the McKinley Administration has succeeded in presenting this question to the European Governments in the best possible way and in employing the right men for the work. Senator Wolcott is not only a keen controversialist, whose heart is in his work, but he is also a thorough man of the world, with a talent for conciliating opponents and convincing them, not infrequently against their will. His successful work during his previous silver tour was not adequately appreciated in America. It was remarkable for diplomatic finesse and intellectual force.

Even with influential members of the British Government



friendly conditions in Great Britain were not so favorable as in France. London as the heart of the commerce and finance of the world had for many years been recognized as the centre of gold monometallism. A large majority of the banks and business houses and of the press stood for the single standard. It was scarcely hoped that any influence could be brought to bear to bring about the opening of the English mints to silver, but the conditions in India were such that it was thought probable that the Indian mints might be reopened. Only a few years previous the Government of that dependency had evinced a willingness to such a course provided there should be sufficient co-operation on the part of the great commercial nations, and no silver advocate dreamed of the possibility of a change of front in that quarter.

Upon their arrival in London the commissioners immediately began preparation for their negotiations with the British Government. They were formally presented to Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, on July 7th, and we are told by the press of the day that they were "cordially received." For the first time the public learned that the two Republics were not only united in sentiment on the subject but actually co-operating. Noting the interview with the Premier, the London correspondent of the *New York Tribune* wrote:

An important point which is not yet understood outside of the Foreign Office, is that these envoys will have two Embassies behind them in place of one. They produced so good an impression upon the French Government during their stay in Paris that the French Embassy in London has been instructed to co-operate with the American Embassy in such conferences and negotiations as may be conducted with the British Government. It has been known that M. Méline and the French Ministry were outspoken in expressing their sympathy for the objects of their mission and in promising that their concurrence would not be wanting for the triumph of the cause of rational bimetallism on international lines, but it has not been suspected that the French Government would be prepared to lend diplomatic as well as moral support to this movement of the McKinley Administration in favor of bimetallism. It is, nevertheless, true that these envoys in their negotiations with the Foreign Office and the



Chancellor of the Exchequer will have the hearty co-operation of the French and American Embassies.

Messrs. Wolcott, Stevenson, and Paine are not here on an errand of political adventure, devised for the sake of duping Western and Southern voters and playing a game of impossible compromise for moral effect in America. They are successful negotiators, who have carried their main point in Paris, and have enlisted not only the good-will, but also the active co-operation and diplomatic support of the French Government in their London campaign. Ambassador Hay has been arduously at work on the same lines ever since his arrival in London, and his prestige and influence are now of the greatest possible service in facilitating the work of the envoys, who are likely to remain here several weeks before returning to Paris.

What was originally a sincere effort on the part of the McKinley Administration to carry out the pledges of the Republican platform respecting bimetallism grounded upon international agreement has become already a joint movement on the part of the United States and France to bring about a settlement of the monetary question through the action of a new conference. France is the natural ally of the United States in this movement, because she has greater interest than any other European State in bimetallism. The Bank of France contains in its vaults over \$255,000,000 in silver which has been withdrawn from circulation. Both Governments have a common interest in obtaining the adjustment of this monetary question which has caused a disturbance throughout the commercial world, and they are naturally supporting each other in the negotiations now opening in London.

Senator Wolcott and his colleagues will say nothing for publication on this subject, and the American Ambassador is equally reticent, but the main fact that the two Governments are acting together through their representatives here is not to be questioned. It proves that the McKinley Administration is not leaving any stone unturned to bring about a satisfactory solution of the silver question by international action, and that it is having greater success than has been generally supposed on either side of the Atlantic.

The first formal presentation of the proposals of the envoys in England took place at the Foreign Office, July 12th, when, as noted by the account of the interview published by the British Government, there were present:

The Marquess of Salisbury, Her Majesty's Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Right Honorable Lord George Hamilton, Secretary of State for India.

The Right Honorable Arthur James Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury.

The Right Honorable Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

His Excellency the Honorable John Hay, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States.

The Honorable Edward O. Wolcott,	} Envoys of the United States on Special Mission.
General Charles J. Paine,	
The Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson,	

The joint proposals of the United States and France as then made were as follows:

1. The opening of the Indian mints, and the repeal of the order making the sovereign legal tender in India.

2. The placing of one-fifth of the bullion in the issue Department of the Bank of England in silver.

3. (a.)—The raising of the legal tender limit of silver to, say, 10*l*.

(b.) The issue of 20*s*. notes based on silver which shall be legal tender.

(c.) The retirement, gradual and otherwise, of the 10*s*. gold pieces, and substitution of paper based on silver.

4. An agreement to coin annually 1.<sup>1</sup> of silver.

[Present silver coinage average for five years about 1,000,000*l*., less annual withdrawal of worn and defaced coin for recoinage about 350,000*l*.]

5. The opening of English mints to the coinage of rupees and of a British dollar, which shall be full tender in Straits Settlements and other silver-standard Colonies, and tender in United Kingdom to the limit of silver legal tender.

*Alternative for Proposal 4.* Agreement to purchase each year 1.<sup>1</sup> in silver at coinage value.

<sup>1</sup> These blanks were not formally filled, but the American and French envoys were united in the opinion that England should purchase annually 10,000,000*l*. of silver in case the English Government refused to concede the opening of the English mints to free silver coinage.

6. Action by the Colonies and coinage of silver in Egypt.
7. Something having the general scope of the Huskisson plan.

The only official account of this interview was prepared by Senator Wolcott at the request of Lord Salisbury. Later it was submitted to the two Houses of Parliament by Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, and thus became public. It is of sufficient importance to be given entire, and is as follows:

Lord Salisbury invited a statement from the Representatives of the United States as to the nature of their mission, whereupon Mr. Wolcott, on behalf of the Special Envoys, recited the essential provisions of the law under which he and his colleagues had been appointed, and explained the objects of their mission. He said also, in substance, that the Special Envoys had determined that it was important to ascertain, as definitely as possible, in advance of an International Bimetallic Conference, if one should be called, the views of the Governments which might participate therein, and the extent to which they would contribute to bring about a favorable result of such Conference.

Mr. Wolcott explained that the Special Envoys had determined, in the first instance, to ascertain the views of the French, English, and German Governments on the question of reaching an international agreement respecting bimetallism. This determination was based upon the Resolutions heretofore passed by the English House of Commons on the 17th March, 1896, by the Prussian Landtag and Herrenhaus on the 16th and 21st May, 1896, and upon the Resolution proposed in the French Chamber of Deputies by M. Méline, on the 17th March, 1897, and signed by 347 of his colleagues, all of which Resolutions Mr. Wolcott read.

Mr. Wolcott said that the Special Envoys had proceeded first to France, and that they had reached a complete and satisfactory preliminary understanding with the Government of that country; that in the negotiations to be carried on in England, the Special Envoys believed they would have the full co-operation of the Ambassador of the French Republic in London, his Excellency Baron de Courcel; that the French Ambassador was, for the moment, absent from England, and that the Special Envoys of the United States would have asked a postponement of the meeting, had it not been for the fact that the French

Ambassador had requested them to proceed with the meeting in his absence.

Mr. Wolcott then presented some reasons which, in the opinion of the Special Envoys, rendered it desirable that some international agreement for the restoration of bimetallism should be reached, and explained why, in their opinion, the success of this effort depended upon the attitude which England would take regarding the question. He then stated that the Special Envoys requested that England should agree to open English mints as its contribution to an attempt to restore bimetallism by international agreement, and dwelt upon the importance of the fact that France and the United States were together engaged in an attempt to bring about such an agreement, and were co-operating to that end.

Lord Salisbury desired to know if the French Government would co-operate upon the basis of opening their mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Mr. Wolcott answered in the affirmative. Lord Salisbury then asked at what ratio, and was informed by Mr. Wolcott that the French Government preferred the ratio of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, and that the United States was inclined to yield this point and accept this as a proper ratio. Considerable discussion on the question of the ratio and the method by which it should be settled then took place, the Special Envoys taking the ground that the countries which opened their mints should among themselves determine the ratio. The Chancellor of the Exchequer suggested that if Indian mints were to be opened, England might be held to be interested in the ratio, but the Special Envoys did not accede to this view, and called attention to the fact that by opening Indian mints the English Government did not thereby adopt bimetallism in any form.

It was then suggested that further proceedings should be deferred until the French Ambassador also might be present.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in further conversation, said that if the suggestion of opening the English mints was to be made, he thought an answer in the negative would undoubtedly be given. The First Lord of the Treasury asked whether, assuming this request for opening English mints to be refused, it was desired that the subject be discussed upon the basis of something different and less than the opening of English mints.

Upon a mutual understanding that in the absence of the French Ambassador anything said should be considered as said informally, a discussion then took place as to the concessions



that England might make toward an international solution of the questions, if it should refuse to open English mints.

Mr. Wolcott, for the Special Envoys, presented the list of contributions which, among others, England might make towards bimetallism if an international agreement could be effected, and some general conversation followed in regard to the suggestions. The interview terminated, to be resumed on the 15th July, 1897, when it was understood that the French Ambassador would also be present.

When on the 15th the conference was resumed, the French Ambassador, His Excellency Baron de Courcel was present, as was also M. L. Geoffray, Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic. On this occasion Baron de Courcel was the principal speaker. He discussed at some length the contributions which England could make toward the proper recognition of silver in the absence of the free coinage of that metal by the English Government. The official account continues:

Lord Salisbury asked whether the French Government would decline to open its mints unless England would also open her mints. The French Ambassador replied that he preferred to discuss the subject upon the basis that France would go to open mints if England would consent to open her mints, but that he would not exclude from his view the question of contributions by England toward maintaining the value of silver, short of open mints. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in response to this suggestion, stated definitely that the English Government would not agree to open English mints to the unlimited coinage of silver, and that, whatever views he and his colleagues might separately hold on the question of bimetallism, he thought he could say they were united upon this point.

The French Ambassador, upon being asked what contributions he suggested, replied that among other contributions he thought England should open her Indian mints, and should also agree to purchase annually, say, 10,000,000*l.* of silver for a series of years.

The suggestions made by the Special Envoys at the interview on the 12th of July were again read, and the Special Envoys accepted also as important and desirable the proposal that the English Government should purchase annually, say, 10,000,000*l.*



of silver, with proper safeguards and provisions as to the place and manner of its use.

#### REFERENCE TO INDIA

There is no available record of the subsequent proceedings of the British Cabinet, but it is known that a decision to refer to the Indian Government the question of the reopening of the Indian mints was arrived at, and this reference was made in a communication from Lord George Hamilton, Secretary of State for India, bearing date of August 2d. In his despatch Lord Hamilton enclosed a communication from the Foreign Office containing the American-French proposals, and after referring to it said:

It will be seen that among the proposals is one for reopening the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, and the repeal of the order making the sovereign legal tender in India. My Lords regard this as the most important of the proposals which they are invited to consider. The question which it raises involves serious issues in India; and, before expressing any opinion on it themselves, they will be glad to learn the views of the Secretary of State and of the Government of India.

Foreseeing no antagonism from India, the American commissioners regarded the reference as a mere formality. It was expected that when received the reply would materially aid the Salisbury Cabinet in reaching a conclusion favorable to the proposals and not that it would block the negotiations, as it did.

While awaiting the response of the Indian Government the envoys were not idle. They were engaged in every way that might possibly assist in bringing about the favorable termination of their mission. Possibly their most important accomplishment was the obtaining of the consent of the governor of the Bank of England to keep one-fifth of the reserve of that great and conservative financial institution in silver. This achievement was of such importance as to attract the attention of the world of finance, and, important though it was, it may well be doubted whether it did not result in more injury than benefit. Not until the

announcement of the fact was made did the money centres have knowledge of the progress the Americans were making. This publication opened their eyes, and they lost no time in putting into operation all the vast and potent influences at their command, in opposition, not only to the proposition regarding the bank reserve, but in antagonism to all the proposals of the envoys. Presumably if there had been a further compliance with the wishes of the Wolcott Commission, this opposition would have been manifested in the end, but if it could have been postponed for a time it might have been less harmful.

The willingness of this great central bank to do so much to aid the purpose of the Commission was announced in an official letter. The press on which the communication was printed was not dry when the enemies of silver coinage throughout the Empire were shouting their disapproval from the house-tops. The papers, hitherto silent, were called into active service. The Salisbury Government was soundly denounced. Especially severe was this denunciation in London, where columns were devoted daily to excoriation of the commissioners and to condemnation of the friendly attitude of the Government toward the mission. Discussing the question at this juncture, the *Times* spoke of the "characteristic crudeness and boldness of American diplomacy," which it claimed was shown "in sending a bimetallic commission to ask for the reopening of the Indian mints while at the same time dealing the worst possible blow at British commerce by passing the Dingley Tariff."

While the delay due to this reference to the Indian authorities was unfavorably commented upon by Mr. Wolcott's detractors in America, it was recognized by thinking people as necessary if the Indian Government was to be permitted to voice its wish in the matter, and the real friends of the movement saw in it no real menace. That, however, Mr. Wolcott was not entirely at ease, we have his own testimony. In a letter from France to a sister, dated September 19th, he speaks of the engrossing interest of his work, and adds: "These are anxious days." But some silver advocates who had been skeptical were converted to a more favorable view. Among those of this class was Mr. Moreton

Frewen, the most tenacious as well as the most consistent of English bimetallists. Mr. Frewen wrote a letter to Judge C. C. Goodwin, of Salt Lake City, soon after the announcement of the postponement. The letter throws so much light upon the situation and shows so clearly that Mr. Wolcott's hopes for a favorable outcome of his negotiations were not without substantial foundation, that it is here reproduced almost entire. Writing from London under date of August 7th, Mr. Frewen said:

The situation here is extremely complex. The personal factor—the attitude of half a dozen men, here, in Berlin, in India—upon this seems to be turning at this moment, the monetary history of the twentieth century. Your men, it is only fair to admit, have done extremely well here. I was one of those who thought that little good could come of such a mission at such a time. I feared that it might sidetrack the energies of silver men on your side, while adding nothing to the movement of public opinion here. But this is not the case, and I am quite surprised at the serious way in which the right people here are now discussing the problem.

This quite unexpected movement toward free coinage by France has come as a bolt from the blue. French finance has always appeared to us wholly admirable. That thrifty, conservative France should adopt the attitude, that the two great Republics could safely "go it alone," if our Indian mints reopened, and if Berlin would agree to take a little silver annually, and sell none—it is hardly possible to overrate the moral effect of such a development as this. It is not America then that is to-day dragging forward an unwilling France; it is rather France that is about to become the target of your gold press! When Wolcott returned from France last February and declared that Méline, the French Prime Minister, was in a likely mood, he said very little more, and the thing seemed to us wholly improbable. But here is Baron Courcel, the French Ambassador, collaborating with your men at every step, and Méline declared to a friend the other day: "If we [the Government] are put out because of our support of silver, we shall not be out long." You can then imagine the surprise of our people at the attitude of the French Ministry. Bryan, we were told, was a low fellow; he was a "repudiator"—a "fifty-cent-dollar" man; but here is the French Government working quietly for a "forty-five-cent"

dollar, for a ratio of 1 to 15½, and our press, in dumb surprise, has not yet found any adjectives.

It is strange that the member of this Cabinet from whom the least was hoped, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, is apparently the most anxious of all to help things forward to a speedy settlement; while, on the other hand, that member whose speeches in the past have done the most to arouse public opinion here to the great dangers impending, is to-day making all the trouble within the Cabinet. I refer to Mr. Goschen, who was the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Salisbury's former Government.

. . . . .

Bimetallism at 1 to 15½! That is rupee exchanges at ten to the sovereign; the tael and the yen and all the exchanges with eight hundred millions of Asiatics deprived of the present gold premium of 100 per cent. This seems to be too good to be true. Commercially it means a new heaven and a new earth; a far better world to-morrow for all the white races. It is better not to anticipate such blessing as near at hand; but I do feel, after a period of despondency, that perhaps the very last chapters of this strange history of financial anarchy, which dates back to 1873, are even now being written.

#### INDIA'S REJECTION

The announcement of the adverse decision of the Indian Government and of Great Britain's consequent rejection of the proposals was delayed almost three months after they were submitted. It came through official communications from Lord Salisbury to Ambassador Hay and Baron de Courcel.

These letters were dated October 19th. They were identical in language and read:

Her Majesty's Government have given their most careful consideration to the proposals respecting Currency which were submitted by the representatives of the United States and France at the Conferences held at the Foreign Office on the 12th and 15th of July last. Of these proposals it is evident that the first, which relates to the reopening of the Indian mints for the free coinage of silver, is by far the most important, and consequently a despatch was addressed on the 5th of August to the Govern-



ment of India by the Secretary of State in Council asking for an expression of their opinion on the subject.

I have the honor now to enclose a copy of a letter from the India Office to the Treasury, forwarding the reply of the Government of India to this country. It will be observed that their "unanimous and decided opinion is that it would be most unwise to reopen the mints as part of the proposed arrangements," and that this conclusion is endorsed by the Secretary of State in Council. Her Majesty's Government have carefully considered the reasons by which this conclusion is supported. Among other arguments, the Government of India point out that they can hardly be expected to give up the policy which for four years they have been endeavoring to make effective, in the absence of substantial security that the system to be substituted for it is practically certain to be stable. If, owing to the relative smallness of the area over which the bimetallic system is to be established, to the great divergence between the proposed ratio and the present gold price of silver, or to any other cause, the legal ratio were not maintained, the position of silver might be much worse than before, and the financial embarrassments of the Government of India greater than any with which they have as yet had to contend.

These are arguments against the proposals as they stand of which it is impossible to deny the force. But even were they less strong than they appear to her Majesty's Government, or than they will probably appear to the representatives of the United States and France, the Government of India could hardly be compelled against their own decided opinions to make a second important change in Indian currency within so short a period as four years at a time of exceptional difficulty and suffering.

In these circumstances her Majesty's Government feel it their duty to state that the first proposal of the United States representatives is one which they are unable to accept. Due consideration has also been given to the remaining proposals, but her Majesty's Government do not feel it to be necessary to discuss them at the present moment. The proposal respecting the Indian mints was not only alluded to by the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the debate in the House of Commons of March 17, 1896, as by far the most important contribution which could be made by the British Empire towards any International agreement, with the object of securing "a stable monetary par of exchange between gold



and silver," but it would also appear that the representatives of the United States and France entertain a similar opinion with regard to it. Her Majesty's Government are, therefore, desirous to ascertain how far the views of the American and French Governments are modified by the decision now arrived at, and whether they desire to proceed further with the negotiations at the present moment. It is possible that the time which has elapsed since the proposals were put forward in July last may have enabled the representatives of the two Governments concerned to form a more accurate estimate than was then practicable of the amount of assistance which they may expect from other Powers, and of the success which their scheme is likely to attain. Her Majesty's Government might then be placed in a position to consider the subject with a fuller knowledge than they now possess of many circumstances materially affecting the proposals before them.

In their response the Indian Viceroy and his Council gave many reasons for the rejection of the proposals, one of the principal of which was that the proposed ratio was too favorable to silver. The imposition of the ratio of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, while the actual market ratio was 35 to 1, would, it was contended, shatter, for the time at least, the export trade of India; would gravely affect the relations between the State as landlord and the cultivating classes; would diminish the receipts from the State railways, and would give a shock to commercial and social relations by a sudden and large increase in the value of the rupee from 16*d.* to 23*d.*, to be followed, in all probability, if the anticipations of the bi-metallists were not realized, by as rapid a fall, "probably to 9*d.* or even lower." The whole cost and risk of the experiment would, it was contended, be, substantially, borne by India alone. The fact that France and the United States had a certain stock of gold on which they could rely if the new system were to break down, and which they would undoubtedly take measures to protect, was pointed out and made much of. But India, "reduced to a monometallic silver basis," would be unable to help herself. She could not hope to get back to her position by again closing the mints. Moreover, the change in prices to which France and

the United States looked with hope would be injurious to India's commercial interests.

They could not think that France and the United States would be likely with the help of India to be able to maintain the relative value of the two metals at the ratio suggested. Only a general international union of all or most of the important countries of the world, they argued, could accomplish so much. Then a further doubt arose in the possibility of either France or the United States being reduced for a time to a paper currency, when the agreement would cease to operate for an indefinite period. This they admitted would be of no importance in a union comprising all the important countries of the world, but could not be disregarded when only two or three were concerned. Moreover, an agreement between two or three nations was open to much greater risk of termination than a wider union.

The position was then taken that unless England was in full co-operation India could not see her way clear to enter the proposed union. On this point it was said:

We believe, however, that whatever inducements are held out to us by other nations, our best policy in monetary matters is to link our system with that of Great Britain. Our commercial connections with that country are far more important than those with all the rest of the world put together, and more than a sixth part of our expenditure is incurred in that country and measured in its currency. The advantages which in this respect we gain by following the lead of Great Britain are not obtained, or not fully obtained, if we become members of a monetary union in which Great Britain takes no part. And, indeed, as we have already explained, we have little hope of an efficient union being formed unless Great Britain is a member. We think it a reasonable position for us to take with regard to the present proposals by France and the United States, that we should say that the Government of India strove long and earnestly to further the formation of an International Union; that when they saw that the opposition of England rendered impossible the attainment of that object within any measurable time, they temporarily abandoned their efforts in that direction, and decided, as the least prejudicial of the courses open to them, to throw in their lot with Great Britain, and to adopt the gold standard; that, as it appears improbable that an effective union

will be formed without the adhesion of Great Britain, and as the measures adopted to introduce a gold standard in India are now approaching final success, they consider that it will be wisest to adhere to the course adopted in 1893 until Great Britain is prepared to join in International Bimetallism; and that they therefore wish to adhere to the same monetary standard as Great Britain, with which nation they are most closely linked both in respect of their commercial relations and in all other respects, and to refrain from becoming a party to arrangements with other nations in which Great Britain sees ample reason for refusing to join.

The despatch concluded:

To sum up, our reply to your Lordship's reference is a strong recommendation that you should decline to give the understanding desired by France and the United States. Our unanimous and decided opinion is that it would be most unwise to reopen the mints as part of the proposed arrangements, especially at a time when we are to all appearance approaching the attainment of stability in exchange by the operation of our own isolated and independent action.

Plainly, nothing was left to the American Commissioners but to discontinue negotiations. They recognized that without the opening of the mints of India it would be impossible to obtain the co-operation of France, to say nothing of Germany and the other Powers, in the interest of silver coinage. They therefore decided upon an immediate return to the United States. This resolution was carried into effect and, sailing soon after the receipt of the communication, they arrived early in November, 1897. The mission was of six months' duration.

#### AFTERMATH

That the failure of the mission was due to the mysteriously potent money centres is now certain, and this influence was exerted unfavorably from the time the commissioners set foot on British soil. Coincidentally with the beginning of their work silver began a rapid decline, and down it continued to go until in a very short time it had

reached the then unprecedentedly low price of 55½ cents an ounce.

Probably the exact means used for the accomplishment of the result never will be generally known, but the reason for the opposition is not so difficult of determination. There was but little effort on the part of the English press of the time to conceal it, as witness the following from the *London Graphic* of October 18, 1897:

Gold may yet become current in India if the policy of 1895 is boldly pursued. Then the single gold standard would rule throughout the Empire. That is our interest, but as producers and lenders of gold we are not going to throw it away in order to put money into the pockets of Colorado mine owners, or to help Mr. McKinley out of electioneering difficulties.

And this from the *Statist*, of October 30th, in connection with comments on the proposals of the Commission:

“Every one who really knows English opinion must be aware that no Government that ever existed in this country could venture upon such an experiment, and that if any Minister were rash enough to propose it he would be instantly hurled from power.”

The reference by the Imperial Government to the Calcutta Viceroy in dealing with a question such as this is probably without precedent in British administration. The question of the Indian currency is pre-eminently a question for the Imperial Parliament, and the mouthpiece of that Parliament is the Secretary of State for India, not the Viceroy and his Council in India. The event almost justifies a suspicion of bad faith somewhere in high places.

The disappointment left Wolcott a changed man. His hope, amounting for a few weeks to a conviction that he had with such facility and expedition settled a question which had baffled all previous monetary conferences; which had led to one of the fiercest controversies of the century; which had come very near to disrupting both parties in the United States—this hope was shattered at a moment when he had the right to suppose that the goblet of success was at his very lips. It made the disappointment all the keener that the final reference to the Calcutta Govern-



ment was really an afterthought of the Imperial Government, a matter of official or diplomatic courtesy. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said to Wolcott on an afternoon soon after the conference: "I suppose that we should in a matter of this sort ask the views of the Indian Government," but he left no doubt whatever in the mind of his auditor that the reference to Calcutta which elicited the despatch of disapproval was hardly more than a matter of form.

To the student of history the entire course of events connected with the Wolcott Commission furnishes the material for perpetual surprises. The decision of the two Republics that they would reopen their mints to silver if the great Indian dependency would revert to silver monometallism, was in the highest degree unexpected by the whole world of contemporary finance. Again, the Government of India was in the greatest straits. It was believed by all competent economists that just as the closing of the mints had been a colossal blunder, so also India would find it necessary to reopen them without waiting for outside help; that the refusal to reconvert into money the silver ornaments of the peasantry at any time of famine must swell the death-rate immensely during these frequent and sinister visitations, and that by the full difference between the exchange value of the rupee and its bullion value the export trades of India were being crippled and reduced. In short, every Government of India since 1873 had been praying for just such outside support for silver as France and America had now offered. And yet, when the offer was made, it was refused in a despatch bristling with jejune fallacies in every paragraph.

The surprise and disappointment were heart-breaking, and Wolcott returned home greatly depressed. Yet it is not improbable that his work may yet bear fruit. The present awakening of China is destined to prepare the way for a vast absorption of silver and for a great rise in its price, and when the moment comes, some offer linking on to that of 1897 may be made to the British Government, when wiser counsels may prevail.

Though in great trouble over the result, it is fair to add that Wolcott never referred to the English Chancellor of the Exchequer without indicating high regard



and appreciation. Sir Michael Hicks Beach was a monometallist of the straitest sect; he had the reputation in his own country of being a strong but essentially a narrow-minded official, steeped in Tory prejudice and stewed in Tory juice; but throughout these complicated negotiations the American Commission found the Chancellor not merely anxious to promote the desired co-operation of Great Britain and India, but prepared also to disregard, and on more than one occasion to disregard with expressions of contempt and disavowal, the ignorance and the obsession of so-called "City influences." The Chancellor of the Exchequer was aware, what even London's City Fathers are sometimes inclined to forget, that silver is the money metal of some eight hundred millions of their smaller customers, and that, as this metal loses its value in exchange, so also the purchasing power of the Orient shrivels and shrinks with catastrophic consequences to British trade.

There was, of course, much and varied comment by the American as well as the foreign press on the result of the mission. The gold-standard papers were pleased, and they did not hesitate so to express themselves. The more radical silver advocates had never believed England would yield, and their disappointment over the failure to obtain silver coinage was visibly tempered by their satisfaction at having their prophecies fulfilled. Probably as fair and impartial a statement as was printed in the United States was contained in the editorial comment of the *Washington Post* of October 24, 1897. In part the *Post* said:

The Administration's course in the premises so far has been characterized by conscientiousness and good judgment. The St. Louis platform has properly been its guide of action. That platform committed the Republican party to an effort to rehabilitate silver by international agreement. It did not pledge success to such an effort. It could not do that, because the question was recognized as a very difficult one.

The Administration upon coming into power promptly took the subject up. But not without a protest here and there. In more than one quarter there was a feeling and an opinion was expressed that no action at all should follow. The cynical sug-

gestion was made to treat the matter merely as a campaign promise without binding force in the day of success. The Administration vetoed this, and announced that the promise should be kept to the letter.

Then came the question of procedure. It was decided to send a special commission abroad, and to select its members from the ranks of those known to be earnest advocates of bi-metallism. The country expressed the liveliest satisfaction with the three men chosen—all men of substance, experience, high position, and undoubted abilities. It was at once arranged to give them all the support that the leading American embassies abroad could afford. So equipped, with full support at home, and assistance provided for abroad, the special commissioners entered upon their work, and have carried it along with patience and tact and much dignity. They have found sympathy in France, and respectful attention even in England, and the sum of their knowledge as well as of the world's knowledge on the subject as it exists up to date has been enhanced.

As the case stands to-day, therefore, the Administration has followed the line of the St. Louis platform, and the special commissioners have followed the line of the Administration's instructions. Difficulties in the way of accomplishing the end desired were known to exist, and they have been encountered. The commissioners will report the situation accurately, and it will then be for the Administration to determine its future steps.

#### MR. WOLCOTT'S ACCOUNT OF THE MISSION

Of all the opponents of the Commission in the Senate, probably Senator Allen of Nebraska and Senator Stewart of Nevada were the most pronounced. Soon after Mr. Wolcott's return the Nebraska Senator took him to task on the floor of the Senate concerning the Commission. He was pressing for a report, and in the course of his speech expressed the opinion that the \$100,000 appropriated for the payment of the Commission's expenses had been "thrown away."

Wolcott replied that if Allen would take the necessary time to investigate the accounts of the Commission, on file at the State Department, he would possibly correct the statement—a statement he had sent broadcast over the country and had "published in those patent insides in the West,

which constitute the bone and sinew and most of the brain of the Populist party." He added that of the \$100,000 appropriated for the Commission but \$16,000 had been spent. No member of the body had, he said, gone abroad except at the sacrifice of thousands of dollars of his own money.

Continuing his reply, he said:

The Senator from Nebraska says he always knew that any attempt to obtain international bimetallism would be a failure. I suppose the sapient Senator from Nebraska and his fellow-Populists at some cross-roads in the western part of his State, who know where Europe is on the map and know but little else of the countries of the world, got together and determined that no country but the United States was intelligent enough to have ideas upon the money question. They were unaware of the fact that the great leaders of thought in England, in France, and in Germany were, for more than a generation before the party of which the Senator from Nebraska is such a shining light was ever heard of, bimetallists from conviction and from principle, and from that day to this they have preached it as the one doctrine that can bring prosperity to the people of the world and can advance civilization.

On the 17th of January, 1898, Senator Wolcott made his official explanation of his mission to the Senate and the country. Like all his speeches, it was clear-cut and well expressed, but it was devoid of the spirit which was a marked characteristic of most of his speeches. This was due to the fact that he was reluctant to make the statement. He confided this fact to those nearest to him just before he began to talk. He did not like to speak of failures, and the non-success of his mission probably was one of the greatest disappointments of his life. He had been more hopeful of the result than any one had suspected, but, as he said on the floor of the Senate, the adverse reply of India to the note of the home Government concerning the opening of the Indian mints was "like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky to him." He had not counted upon opposition from that direction and had been quite unprepared for the blow when it fell. There also lingered within his breast the feeling that he had not received from the President's subordinates

in the Administration that co-operation which he thought he should have had, and he especially felt that the then Secretary of State, John Sherman, of Ohio, as well as the Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. Lyman J. Gage, had been remiss in this respect. Indeed, he asserted that they had placed such obstacles in his path as greatly to embarrass his every effort in the negotiations. He mentioned Mr. Gage in his speech, but not Mr. Sherman. For a period he was quite bitter on account of their course. He became so nervous that those who were connected with him at the Capitol found it pleasanter not to mention the subject of the mission in his presence. In time, however, his buoyancy reasserted itself, and he grew reconciled to the inevitable.

In this speech he gave a detailed account of the work of the envoys, explaining how in the end only failure had resulted, and at the same time how near they had been to achieving success, a success which, if it had resulted, would have revolutionized the finances of the world and influenced for ages the affairs of all mankind. The various proposals, including the Huskisson plan (which was a silver bank reserve scheme), were outlined and explained.

He gave the McKinley Administration credit for in the main assisting the work of the Commission, but severely criticised the utterances of Secretary Gage of the Treasury and of some of his subordinates. To President McKinley personally he awarded the highest praise, as he did to John Hay, American Ambassador to Great Britain.

The attitude of France and of Great Britain respectively was explained at length, and while there was much praise for the French, there was no censure for the English—not even for the authorities of India, to whose attitude failure was due. On this latter point, he said:

I am sure that I violate no confidence when I say that the answer of the India Government protesting against reopening Indian mints was as much a surprise to the English Ministry as it was a disappointment to us. While the protest was not final and while the English Government in London could have overruled the objections from India, yet such action would have been contrary to all precedent. As a matter of fact, the home Government, it is said, unanimously upheld the report.



Frequent statements in our papers assert that the answer of India was dictated from London. It may be that the blind and unreasoning fury of the City of London directed against any suggestion of contributions or concessions to an international settlement of the currency question which should recognize silver, and which threatened a panic, and the overthrow of any ministry which attempted it, may have rendered the reply of the India Government not wholly unwelcome; but the policy outlined in the letter of September 16th, signed by the Viceroy and his associates, must stand as the deliberate and uninfluenced judgment of that Government.

His peroration was an appeal for continued international effort in the interest of the double standard.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the ability of this country to maintain alone the parity between silver and gold [he said], there is no question that the concurrence of other nations would help and not hinder the cause of bimetallism in the United States, and efforts to secure it ought to receive the cordial support of every citizen who is opposed to gold monometallism.

International bimetallism is not a myth, a chimera. The people of Europe are, even as we are, struggling to keep their heads above water and seeking blindly for that which may make for prosperity and for progress. The evils of falling prices and dearer gold bring poverty and disaster to them as to us. It is said that the influence of money grows year after year. So also does the influence of those great masses who toil from dawn till dark upon soil which God made rich and unwise laws of man can make profitless.

With useless endeavor  
Forever, forever,  
Is Sisyphus rolling  
His stone up the mountain!

And every year of added burdens and lessened prices swells the ranks of those who refuse longer to believe that overproduction, cheaper transportation, and labor-saving inventions can account for the steady decline in values since the mints were closed, nearly a quarter of a century ago. Dollar wheat is



dollar wheat the world over; but it does not tell the same story in France and Germany, where drought and flood have left only starvation in their wake, that it does here where the misfortunes of the Old World have brought prosperity to the New.

Much of the recent legislation in Europe looking to the increase of gold holdings and the depreciation of silver, finds its origin in the exigencies of a situation where readiness for war is the paramount necessity. There is hardly a statesman in Europe who believes the last word has yet been said upon the question of the remonetization of silver, and hardly one who would not welcome an effort to settle the question internationally. Only a few days ago, just before Christmas, in a debate in the French Chamber, M. Méline again declared that the French Government was at one with the United States on the question of bimetallism.

In the face of such a declaration it is as cowardly to abandon hope as it is false to talk about failure. International bimetallism is to the gold monometallist a stumbling block, and to the silver monometallist foolishness, but it is nevertheless a splendid possibility. Its accomplishment would be the greatest blessing that could befall our people, and to achieve it we might well afford to sink for the time the hostilities of party and the bickerings of faction.

The English popular explanation of the conference was made by Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who, in a speech at Bristol, October 29, 1897, said:

We consulted the Government of India. We gave them certainly not too much time to consider this most important matter and to give us at adequate length their views in regard to it. Those views reached us in the despatch that has been made public. Now I should not like to bind myself to every statement or every argument in that despatch. I wish it had more clearly stated what are the reasons for which the Government of India believe that they will soon be able to make a gold standard effective in that country. But take the main arguments in the despatch, and bring them to bear upon the particular proposals which the United States and France have made. Speaking for myself, I certainly concur in those arguments and think that the Government of India was certainly right in rejecting the proposal that was made to them. Now, I dare say that that view is not shared by all my colleagues. But this

I may tell you, that, though some of them might not share the view, we were perfectly unanimous on this point, that it was impossible for us, in face of the views which the Government of India had expressed upon the particular proposals which had been made to them and of the nature of those proposals themselves, to override the judgment of the Government of India on a matter primarily affecting the interests of India herself and to compel her to make a change in her coinage system a second time within four years. Therefore, we returned, as we felt bound to return, a negative answer to the United States and France with regard to that most important one of their proposals, without the acceptance of which it certainly did not appear to me that it was worth while considering any of the others which they submitted to us.

In his message to Congress, delivered six weeks after the suspension of the Commission's labors, President McKinley seemed to entertain a hope that later the negotiations might be renewed with the possibility of better success, and Mr. Wolcott himself entertained the opinion that on another ratio, say 1 to 20, something might be accomplished. To make the record complete and to show the good faith of the President, his expression on the subject is here reproduced. The message bore date of December 6, 1897, and in it he said:

The gratifying action of our great sister Republic of France, 3, 1897, for the promotion of an international agreement respecting bimetallism, I appointed on the 14th day of April, 1897, Hon. Edward O. Wolcott, of Colorado, Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, and Hon. Charles J. Paine, of Massachusetts, as special envoys to represent the United States. They have been diligent in their efforts to secure the concurrence and co-operation of European countries in the international settlement of the question, but up to this time have not been able to secure an agreement contemplated by their mission.

The gratifying action of our great sister Republic of France in joining this country in an attempt to bring about an agreement among the principal commercial nations of Europe whereby a fixed and relative value between gold and silver shall be secured, furnishes assurance that we are not alone among the larger nations of the world in realizing the international character of

the problem and in the desire of reaching some wise and practical solution of it. The British Government has published a résumé of the steps taken jointly by the French ambassadors in London and the special envoys of the United States, with whom our Ambassador at London actively co-operated in the presentation of this subject to Her Majesty's Government. This will be laid before Congress.

Our special envoys have not made their final report, as further negotiations between the representatives of this Government and the Governments of other countries are pending and in contemplation. They believe that doubts which have been raised in certain quarters respecting the position of maintaining the stability of the parity between the metals and kindred questions may yet be solved by further negotiations.

Meanwhile it gives me satisfaction to state that the special envoys have already demonstrated their ability and fitness to deal with the subject, and it is to be earnestly hoped that their labors may result in an international agreement which will bring about recognition of both gold and silver as money upon such terms and with such safeguards as will secure the use of both metals upon a basis which shall work no injustice to any class of our citizens.

At frequent intervals after his return to America, Mr. Wolcott engaged in discussion of the silver question both in and out of the Senate Chamber, always championing the cause of bimetallism, ever predicting the ultimate return to the system, and consistently defending the international movement as the only plan to insure that result.

In an interview printed in the *Washington Post* of November 16, 1899, eighteen months after the close of his mission to Europe, Mr. Wolcott expressed his conviction that international co-operation would be necessary to the restoration of silver coinage.

"My views upon bimetallism do not change," he said, "but it is becoming perfectly evident that silver will never be restored to its parity by any act of the United States alone. When relief comes it will come through international action, and not otherwise."

In a speech made in the Senate in support of a legislative affirmation in favor of the double standard, as late as February 12, 1900, he took occasion to refer to his mis-

sion to Europe and then threw further light on the work of the envoys. In that speech he predicted reaction from the then prosperous conditions, when, he declared, "public interest will be again aroused to consider the wisdom of a policy which would do more than any other to ameliorate and lessen the hard times which seem the invariable attendant of our commercial life." The provision which he was advocating was an amendment to the pending bill, and concerning it he declared:

The amendment, together with the law of 1897, creating a commission for negotiation with foreign governments, still in force, is in accord and in line with its former declarations, and furnishes to the United States their only hope for an honest effort toward a restoration of a parity between gold and silver. It is true there are doubt and hostility in certain quarters, but the great mass of the voters of the country are bimetallists, provided always bimetallism can be secured without impairment of the national credit. "Truth is the daughter of Time," and sooner or later, when other experiments have failed, the principle will secure adoption by the intelligent nations of the world.

In this speech he took note of the then recent gold discoveries, but voiced the opinion that even with the vast additions the new mines were making to the world's stock of the yellow metal, silver still would be necessary to the proper transaction of business. On this point he said:

If this great output of gold shall continue and increase, as it bids fair to do, it will go a long way toward making permanent that general rise in values which is now bringing the world prosperity. But even so, Mr. President; if the Transvaal, when days of peace shall return in that region now devastated by war, should quadruple its output; if the Klondike and Cape Nome shall rival the Rand in wealth; and the wonderful gold production in Cripple Creek and throughout our mining regions continues and increases, as there is every reason to believe it will, it is still true that every civilized gold-using country which relies upon agriculture or which may compete with the silver-using countries in the labor employed in its mills and manufacturing will still suffer great and destructive disadvantage until at some fair ratio the two metals again march side by side.



Finding in the lapse of more than two years of time an excuse for a fuller revelation of some of the proceedings of the International Commission, he said:

The position of France was that she was bimetallic, and that under no conceivable circumstances would she make a change in her financial system. Unless there were important concessions from England, including the opening of the Indian mints, France would not proceed further.

There was another fact which lapse of time permits me to state without embarrassment to anybody, and that is the undoubted fact that when our envoys—for there was no conference called—had their interviews with the English Ministry in the late summer of 1897, before the proposals which we had made were forwarded to India, the English Ministry were of the unanimous opinion that the India authorities would quickly avail themselves of our offers, and that the result of our proposals would be the acceptance of them. That fact is as undoubted as any fact in existence. When people talk here of the futile efforts of the envoys, they little realize how near to the achievement of success we came.

There is one further fact of great importance in view of what I am going to say, and that is, I sincerely believe that if we had then been in a position, either in the summer before our proposals went to India, or afterward, upon their return, to negotiate with the English Government upon the basis of a change of ratio, not great, not enormous, but something of a change to meet the altered conditions, we might still then have come back with an agreement executed and not with failure. But we were not at liberty so to do. The hostility that prevailed here would have prevented.

Mr. President, it is undoubtedly true that our final success was perhaps neither furthered nor hindered by the attitudes and actions of parties and individuals on this side of the water. But there was nothing left undone by the extremists on both sides to injure and destroy our usefulness and the possibility of our success.

I do not care again to refer to the action of Administration subordinates. Above them all was the President of the United States, and it is beyond any question that he, as well as the ambassadors abroad, cordially and zealously co-operated with the Commission, gave us a free hand and the fullest power.



Discussing at some length the attitude of what he termed the "Bryan Democracy" in opposition to the work of the Commission, Mr. Wolcott referred with feeling to the antagonism he had experienced in his own State, and added:

I rejoice to say that there is a radical change taking place not only in Colorado, but in all the far Northwestern States. Our people are tired of hearing only a gospel of hate and sectionalism. We do not pay as much attention as we formerly did to the prophets of despair and doom, who are eternally warning us against the wrath to come, that somehow does not come. We are getting a glimmering shadow of an idea that if we want friendship, and prosperous communities, and capital for our marvellous resources, we are as apt to get them by maintaining cordial relations with the rest of the country, even if they do not fully agree with us on the silver question, as we are by bitter words and savage hate toward everybody who happens to differ with us; and that perhaps the cause of bi-metallism is not really furthered by an alliance with people who want to tear up railroads and tear down the Supreme Court, and whose principal mission seems to be to persuade mankind that they are on their way to the poorhouse.

Life is not all cheerfulness and content; but some of it is, and we are going to take ours without waiting for Mr. Bryan, for he may not arrive. The black spectre of the "Crime of '73" no longer walks abroad in Colorado and keeps us awake nights. It has gone "over the range," and we are coming out from the caves of gloom into the open sunshine of hope.

Our Commonwealth is the richest in natural resources in the whole Union, but its chief value is in the fact that it lies in the heart of this great free Republic, one of an eternal brotherhood of States, linked together in one common and immortal destiny.

He closed this memorable speech, his last in the Senate on the merits of the silver question, with a glowing prediction of a general return to bimetallism, declaring, however, that it could be brought about in this country only through the aid of the Republican party, "the party which has ever stood for the national honor and the national credit."

When a few days later there was an effort in the Senate to alter the phraseology of the amendment so as to declare that "the people of the United States are in favor of bi-

metallism," Mr. Wolcott opposed the change, not because he did not favor the broadest possible expression, but because his common sense told him that it was better to take what he could get, even though it was only partially satisfactory, than to hold out for what he could not get.

Mr. President, if I could frame the language of this side of the Chamber respecting an amendment which reiterates and reaffirms the principles and policy of the Republican party as to the restoration of bimetallism, I should [he said] make it strong and vigorous and unqualified and earnest. I should probably add many phrases to the declaration as it appears in the amendment reported by the committee. But, Mr. President, I cannot make the language for the Committee on Finance; I cannot frame the language for this side of the Chamber. In good faith I accept the declarations of honorable Senators belonging to a party whose record is one of honor and not of dishonor; and when, to a man, they state on the floor of this Senate that they are believers in the principles of international bimetallism, that they stand ready to assist in bringing about the accomplishment of that beneficent result, as an honest man I accept that statement and am grateful for that admission and that appendage to this bill respecting the currency. I accept it, Mr. President, because I know it is made in good faith. It may be, in the opinion of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Allen] puny and futile; it may be, in the opinion of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Cockrell] humiliating and disgraceful; but it is enough for me and enough for any man who wants to be a Republican and is a bimetallist and wants to believe that the Republican party will not agree to the reopening of the American mints at 16 to 1 without considering the wishes of any other country, but do stand ready to assist in bringing about, with the consent of the leading nations of the world, the restoration of the bimetallic system at some fair ratio. And because I believe that I accept it, and I am not going to be driven from my earnest desire as a Republican to stand with the committee and stand with the party by changes of phraseology, however specious or however attractive they may be.

After returning from Europe Mr. Wolcott expressed a willingness to depart from the American and French ratios for silver and accept a wider margin, say 22 to 1 of gold. The low price of silver was responsible for this change of

view. To Mr. Wolcott's practical mind silver at fifty-five cents an ounce was not worth as much gold as silver at twice that figure. The English bimetallists were behind this proposition and it develops that it was the subject of semi-diplomatic treatment. The suggestion contemplated the leaving out of France, which was not inclined to make any concessions on the ratio. The matter was presented to Secretary Hay, who, passing the proposition on to Mr. Wolcott, said in a note of October 10, 1898:

What our friends in England would like to receive from us would be an assurance that we are ready to act, upon the opening of the Indian mints alone at something like 22 to 1, without regard to the action of France, and even in view of a positive refusal from that country. I am inclined to think that our Government is not ready to go quite so far as this. We should probably not pledge ourselves to act in spite of the refusal of France, and I doubt if we should care to commit ourselves positively except with a fair chance of the adhesion of the French Government. I wish you would take a minute from your engrossing occupations to tell me what you think about it.

Nothing came of the English suggestion, but the Secretary did not abandon his efforts as is shown by the following letter:

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1899.

MY DEAR SENATOR WOLCOTT:

Understanding that you are about to visit Europe this summer, I take this occasion to say that I should be greatly obliged to you if, in the course of your travels, you could see and converse with some of the leading public men in England, France, and Germany in regard to the questions relating to currency, in which you were so much interested during your mission to Europe two years ago.

You know better than any one else the attitude of public opinion in this country, and of the leading men of the Government in regard to the question of practical bimetallism, and I, therefore, need not repeat to you that it is not considered expedient for the Government of the United States to reopen the subject at present. But the information which you might acquire as to the present point of view of some of the leading European States in regard to the matter could not but be use-

ful to us all, and I hope you may find it convenient to give a little time and attention to the subject during the summer.

I am

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOHN HAY.

Hon. E. O. WOLCOTT,  
United States Senate.

In his address in connection with the Wolcott Memorial Services held in Denver soon after the Senator's death, his intimate personal and political friend, Hon. A. M. Stevenson, dwelt at length and upon first-hand information on Mr. Wolcott's efforts in behalf of the white metal, and in a recent letter he has added somewhat to his previous remarks. These contributions throw so much light on the subject that liberal extracts are given. In his address, he said:

Mr. Wolcott went to Washington thoroughly imbued with the ideas and sentiments of the people of the West, and especially those of his own State, upon economic questions, and at once became a leader both in counsel and in debate upon all subjects connected with the monetary system of his country. He believed then that the free and unrestricted coinage of silver by the independent action of the United States was possible. His speeches in the Senate advocating this monetary policy will always be classed among the most convincing arguments in behalf of the double standard. He fought the fight until to continue the battle longer upon those lines, in his opinion, meant not only defeat, but more, the absolute certainty of accomplishing nothing for either his people at home or for silver as a money metal. He saw and realized long before the rest of us saw or realized that the inevitable result of a continuance of the struggle for free and unlimited coinage by the independent action of the United States meant defeat and failure, and he appreciated, as few Western men could appreciate, that some compromise must be accepted, or that legislation would be enacted which would cast aside silver as a money metal, and debase it to an ordinary commodity of commerce; he knew what that meant to thousands of his constituents. His first home here had been a silver-mining camp and he had all the sympathy that a loyal Coloradoan could have for men who worked and delved in the silver mines of the State. He realized that if silver was



cast aside, thousands of men throughout the entire West, and especially in Colorado, would be unemployed; that fortunes would be dissipated in a day, and that flourishing towns would be depopulated and their citizens left in want or driven from the State.

What was he to do under these circumstances? Had he better act the part of a demagogue and continue the hopeless fight, certain of applause and popular approval at home, or should he do what he considered best for the people of Colorado? He was a statesman, brave and courageous, and chose the latter course. He determined to seek some middle ground upon which he hoped all could meet, and which he knew would be of lasting benefit to his own people and work no injury to the rest of the country. He tried with all his energy and ability to convince his colleagues that at least American silver could be coined by the United States at a fixed ratio without danger of injury, and it is now to be regretted that in this masterful effort for Colorado he met with no encouragement at home.

He soon learned that the contest had been carried on so long and the opposition to silver had become so strong that even the free coinage of American silver was an impossibility; but he still refused to surrender unconditionally, and almost single-handed and alone he persuaded President McKinley during his first Administration to appoint a Monetary Commission, to visit the leading nations of Europe and try if possible to agree upon the relative value between gold and silver as money, with free mintage at a common ratio.

. . . . .

The trouble with it all was that most of us were still hoping for the impossible, and we did not see as the statesman, Wolcott, saw, that it could not be accomplished. His broad-minded statesmanship disclosed to him the true situation long before silver was abandoned as money, and long before the conditions which exist to-day had been accomplished. He refused, against the wishes of a great majority of his people, to continue the hopeless fight for free and unrestricted coinage by the independent action of the United States, and tried to do something for their interests upon the lines that I have indicated.

This was the cause of the unfortunate estrangement between Senator Wolcott and the majority of his party, and a majority of the people of his own State, in 1896.



In a personal letter to the author dated October 8, 1909, Mr. Stevenson wrote:

You will recall that Senator Teller and Senator Wolcott were never happy during the Harrison Administration. They both saw the tendency to adopt the gold standard and in addition to this they felt personally aggrieved at the President. Wolcott was then as devotedly attached to the cause of bimetallism as any other man in public life.

During the Harrison Administration at a banquet given to Senators Teller and Wolcott at the Brown Hotel, Senator Wolcott stated that should the Republican party declare for the gold standard he should not be bound by its declaration. I am confident that he never changed in his devotion to the bimetallic principle and that his statement at the Brown Hotel was from his heart and sincere. But up to that time Wolcott had not been much of a student of monetary questions. It was after this time that he commenced to investigate, read, and study, and finally he came to the conclusion that the unrestricted coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 by the United States alone was something that could never happen; that it was impossible, and that the only hope for silver as a money metal was through an agreement between the principal nations for a limited coinage at an agreed ratio. Wolcott therefore corresponded with the leading statesmen and financiers of England and the Continent and was encouraged to believe that he could bring about such a result. President McKinley promised to aid him in his efforts.

Wolcott also became convinced that the Democratic party was not honestly for the free coinage of silver and that it was using the silver question to get votes, and he believed that if it ever again came into office the result would be a repetition of the Cleveland Administration. He was not wanting in proof of this idea even from Democratic sources. Some of his Democratic friends in the Senate did not hesitate, in the cloak-room, to tell him that the Democratic party, if in power, would never enact a bill for the unrestricted coinage of silver. I have talked with him many times in a confidential way concerning these matters and I bear witness that his every action on the silver question was prompted by the highest and most patriotic motives. He sincerely believed he was best serving the people of his State by the course he finally adopted.

## L'ENVOI

THAT the efforts of Mr. Wolcott and his co-laborers in behalf of silver may yet bear fruit is the opinion of a growing number of thinkers, among whom are some Englishmen and Americans who have had especial reasons for studying conditions in the Orient. As the question presents itself to them, it is one of trade and exchange rather than of coinage, and as such they find in it possible potentialities which were not in operation when the problem was under consideration in Mr. Wolcott's day, although he foresaw that in time they would appear. One of these, a close observer of the times, a conservative Briton who enjoyed Mr. Wolcott's confidence and shared his views, has consented to prepare for this work an outline of the future possibilities as seen from the new view-point. Writing from London under date of July 11, 1910, he says:

I suppose that what most we desire for the lives of our friends is the fruition, however long delayed, of the work on which those lives have been expended. The subject of these memoirs was capable of prodigious, though, too often of intermittent, energies; and there is no doubt that the impression he so nearly succeeded in stamping on his time, and the superscription which he chiefly desired to make to the pages of our history, was some permanent settlement of the great problem of the currency.

Strange though it may seem in view of the lethargy of public opinion since his death, the probability is growing from day to day that the great silver issue is again destined to emerge. Whether almost at once, or more probably a decade later, it is likely that the work of the Wolcott Commission yet will be

extricated from the archives of the State Department and that on these foundations the world will yet clamber to safety.

That silver is politically dead—this is essential to its resurrection, if, as Professor Francis Walker declared, its unsolved problem is “a menace to our Western civilizations.”

The verdict of the historian will probably agree with Wolcott that in 1896 the Democratic party blundered out upon the political stage, possessed of a great half-truth, but in an unworkable platform, and that the ignorance of the masses of the electorate was not, and could not have been, leavened by a Presidential candidate whose knowledge of the question was so incomplete that only a very few years later he had apparently abandoned all interest in the issue. This is no unfriendly criticism of Mr. Bryan; far from it. The men who, in all the world, had in 1896 any thorough conception of the ramifications of this question could have been numbered on the fingers of one hand. Nor either were they men in the limelight of politics anywhere; nor had they followers anywhere; nor, again, were they anywhere in touch with the organs of the press in either hemisphere. Their voices, as of those who cry in the wilderness, would needs be listened for in bank parlors here and there in the far East: such men as Sir Thomas Jackson of the Hong-kong and Shanghai Bank, or Mr. T. H. Whitehead, the manager of the Bank of India and China. With Wolcott's death therefore it is not too much to say that the silver question temporarily disappeared, and monetary science as a science became not so much discredited as clean wiped off the slate. The leading reviews in Europe as in America had in the 'eighties and early 'nineties fairly bristled with the goose-quills of the professors, but for thirteen years after the debacle of the Wolcott Commission the entire subject was erased.

But in the early months of 1907 there was again in waiting for the world of finance, had it but known it, a new and conclusive object-lesson in silver, and this, too, on a scale hitherto unprecedented. The coming twelve months were destined to disclose the greatest collapse of all time in the world's history of the metal, a steady and continuous fall of some thirty-three per cent. Once again, as after the silver crisis in 1893, the financial earthquake was such that the very proudest of the modern credit sky-scrapers were seen to totter to their fall. The wreckage is now removed, the atmosphere is clearing, and there to-day emerges in full sight of all men the great crisis in the exchanges. Men no longer talk of “silver,” but they

are none the less discussing everywhere the effect of its recent tremendous descent as governing all those Asiatic industries which, with fleet steamships and railway expansion at low rates, have started on a ruinous competition with the like industries of the white races. It would not be easy to subject this vast question to a compression more remarkable and more luminous than that of the Chinese Mandarin Tong Shoa Yi, the leader of the "Young China" party, who was himself educated at Columbia University.

Writing to a well-known English bimetallist in February, 1908, the Chinese Imperial Commissioner says:

"In China fluctuations in exchange, such as those of last year, are of course very troublesome for our importing merchants; still no doubt last year's fall in silver greatly assists our mills and other manufacturing industries which might be damaged by the competition of imported foreign goods if the exchange rose. Thus the fall in exchange is even as an increasing tariff; but unlike a tariff our exports are not reduced, but are, so to speak, subsidized."

This letter of the Chinese Imperial Envoy at once attracted the attention of Senator Henry M. Teller, who, having agreed to serve on the National Monetary Commission, wrote to a friend in England to enquire what "index numbers" of Oriental and especially of British India prices might be available to assist the new Commission. To guide his correspondent as to the direction given to his own mind by the Mandarin Tong, Senator Teller wrote:

"Five gold dollars, or one sovereign, used to purchase three taels, and three taels formerly paid a day's wage to twenty-one Chinese mill-hands; while to-day five gold dollars purchase, not three, but eight taels, and eight taels pay a day's wage to sixty Chinese mill-hands."

Meanwhile there had been, albeit all unknown either to Washington or to Wall Street, a master mind attracted, nay magnetized, by this great problem of Oriental competition as fostered by a low silver exchange. In the spring of 1909 it began to be rumored in New York that Mr. James J. Hill, the President of the Great Northern system of railroads, had the entire exchange situation under review. In July a short authorized interview with Mr. Hill appeared in the cable columns of the *London Times*.

Mr. Hill said (*Times*, June 22d):

"We must await the proposals of the Monetary Commission at Washington. The silver problem is full of difficulty, and I



wish it were possible to ignore it. Our Consuls in Asia warn us, however, that at the present rate of silver exchange Asia has ceased to import American wheat, lumber, or flour, and that the Shanghai merchant who eighteen months ago bought a sovereign with five taels must now pay nearly eight taels. The result is disaster; he no longer buys."

The financial collapse of 1907 had sufficed to demonstrate the exchange crisis to the acute mind of Mr. Hill. But two years earlier the big Pacific steamships connecting with his vast system of railroads had been carrying to the East, from Puget Sound, wheat, lumber, and steel rails; but now, since the great fall in exchange, these ships were running to Shanghai empty and were returning filled with competing products of Chinese manufacture, such as pig-iron. Next a great steel rolling-mill with a capacity to roll four hundred tons a day had started at Hankau. Might not this perhaps be the very "menace to Western civilizations" which Professor Walker had adumbrated nearly twenty years earlier to a profoundly puzzled and skeptical world? Replying to a letter from Earl Grey, the Governor-General of Canada, Mr. Hill wrote as follows:

" GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY BUILDING, SAINT PAUL,  
January 17, 1910.

" MY DEAR LORD GREY :

" I must apologize for my delay in replying to your favor of the seventeenth ultimo.

" Your letter expresses forcibly and accurately the practical effect of the fall in exchange with the Orient, not only upon its trade with the rest of the world, but upon domestic industrial conditions in those other countries as well. I have expressed very briefly my opinion of the importance of the matter in an article on 'Oriental Trade,' published in the January number of *The World's Work*, a copy of which I take pleasure in sending you herewith. In addition to my own views I have quoted from a letter from Mr. Moreton Frewen, who has covered the subject exhaustively in a number of articles published within the last few years. Whatever one may think of Mr. Frewen's general theory of monetary standards, his discussion of the fall in exchange and its economic consequences is quite valuable, being matter of fact and not all theory.

" It seems to me that such facts as you cite, which are now becoming familiar in the experience of every country and are affecting profoundly industrial conditions throughout the world,



call, as you say, for a 'good deal of scientific thinking.' Nor will it be easy to discover and agree upon a remedy. The adjustment to each other of two civilizations differing not only in monetary standards and customs but in wages, hours, standards of living, industrial methods, and almost every physical and mental peculiarity that separates one race from another, is a slow and difficult process. It will not be accomplished without some cost to us.

"It appears certain that, as long as the workers of the Orient are content to accept silver at par for their low wage, while the merchant and manufacturer can sell their products abroad for gold and turn it into silver at current rates of exchange, not only must exports to the Orient tend to decrease rather than increase; but it will presently become a question whether the markets of the rest of the world can be saved from a competition stimulated by exchange conditions that we are powerless to control.

"Undoubtedly this subject needs as much attention as is being bestowed upon the general rise of prices, with which it is connected. It is not understood or even mentioned in the discussions of our time. But it will presently force itself unpleasantly upon the notice of other countries, not only in their changing trade balances with the Orient, but in the appearance in their home markets of a competition with which they are unprepared to deal. The adoption of prohibitive tariffs against the Orient, which implies retaliation and the destruction of that trade; the reduction of standards of living and of wages in other countries until the difference between these and those of the Orient shall cover only the difference in efficiency of labor, and some form of agreement upon monetary standards and ratios that will equalize exchanges once more, are the only remedial measures that suggest themselves. The matter is becoming sufficiently urgent to call for their earnest consideration.

"Faithfully yours,

"(Signed) JAS. J. HILL."

From England, it is true, there is little to chronicle that affords any immediate encouragement. Here the deplorable deadlock in politics and the rapid movement toward Protection at present holds the economic field. But the Government of India is understood to be much perplexed as to the operation of their novel "gold standard." May not their admitted tampering with the Indian currency be perhaps connected with the growing unrest

of their people? And, again, will not the new Chinese cotton-mills, which have shown such a mushroom growth during the past two years in Shanghai and elsewhere, be likely to supersede for the very consumption of India itself the fabrics of Bombay? May not India with "rated gold exchanges" lose not merely the Chinese market for cotton goods but her own market also? This is the opinion of Sir David Sassoon, the representative of immense financial interests in the great city of Bombay.

Lord Desborough of Taplow Court, an intimate friend of Senator Wolcott's and now the President of the London Chamber of Commerce, has written a pamphlet on *The Yellow Peril*, which has focussed attention on the new exchange problem, with all of the racial significance that it involves. To revert to America again, it is known that, shortly before he died, Mr. Edward Harriman had declared himself to a friend "a good deal of a silver man," and that he had announced to one who is himself a master mind in finance, Mr. Otto Kahn, a partner in the great international banking house of Kuhn, Loeb, & Co., that the whole subject of silver in its relation to the awakening of China had become of the first importance to the United States.

Such being the sporadic symptoms of our day, it is increasingly evident that important developments may not be very far ahead. Mr. Blaine once said, "No question is settled until it is settled aright." And if for the lack of proper settlement the Western nations are supplying Asia with all the weapons for their own destruction, then the silver question, at last understood, must again attract to its solution the wisest and the best minds of the civilized world.

How completely in accord with the above is the following from Mr. Wolcott's own lips, dating back to 1900, and to be found in an interview published just after the November election of that year:

In the general trend and growth of commerce and our commercial relations with other countries, especially if the Orient be opened to foreign commerce, the question of bimetallism will again be raised, probably by some of the nations of Europe. If it does again become matter for international discussion, it will be through some policy approved by England, France, Germany, and the leading commercial nations of the

world, at some change of ratio, and under conditions which will secure an absolute parity of value at a fixed ratio between the two metals. The question has long ceased to be one which may be settled by the United States alone.













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